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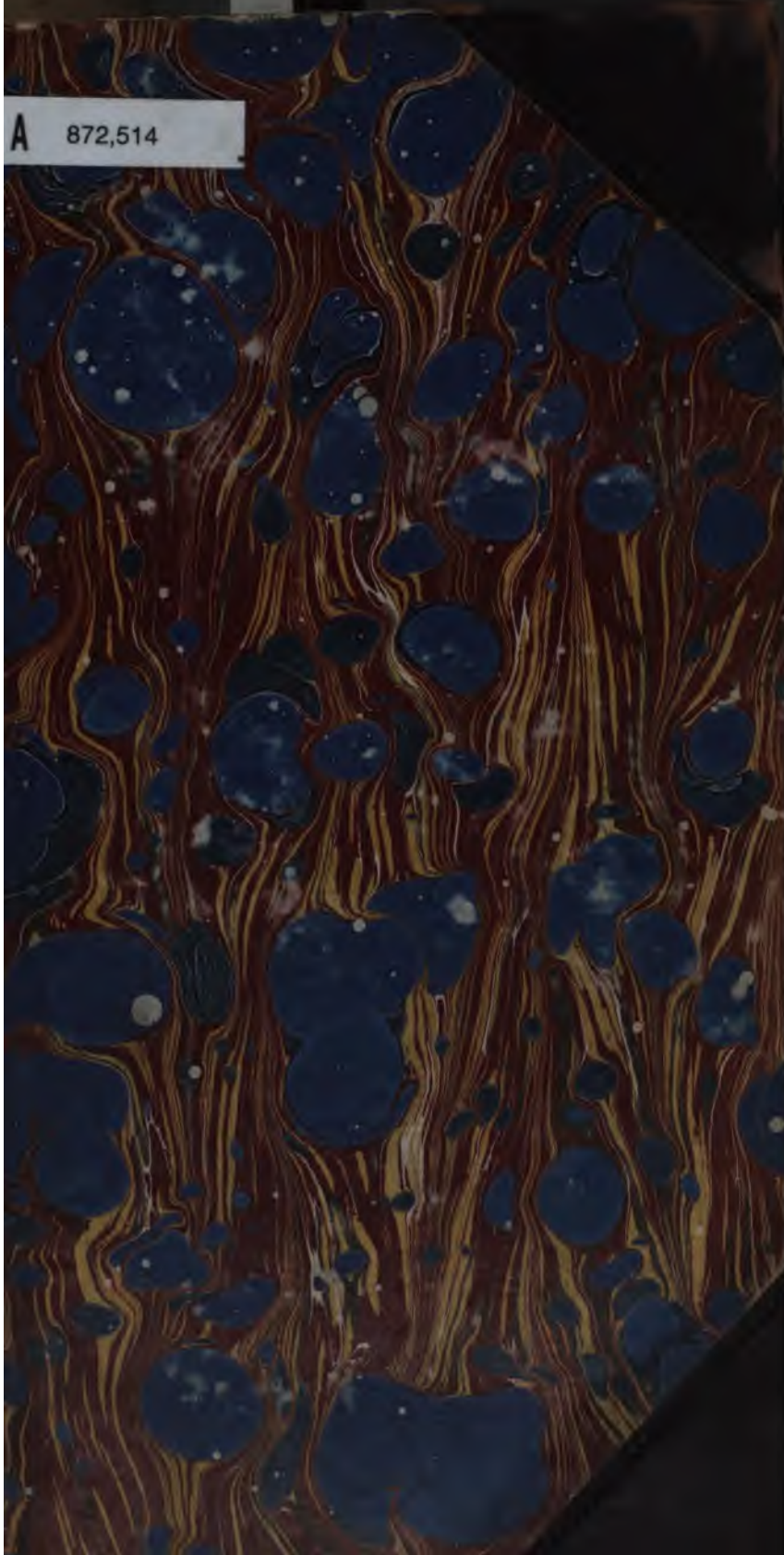
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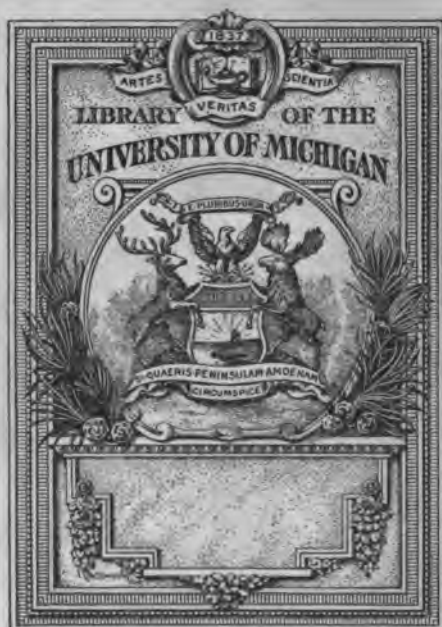
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1853.

Art. I.—*A Fortnight in Ireland*, by SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart.
London: Murray, 1852.

EVERY one remembers the poor plebeian in one of the Satires of Juvenal, harmlessly returning to his house at a late hour through the streets of Rome, when he is met by some young and wealthy member of the patrician body, as drunk and as dissipated as a lord of our own days, who straightway pretends to pick a quarrel with him, and sends him off home with what in plain Saxon English would be called a sound thrashing. The poor man has given him no offence; when struck, he does not even defend himself against his patrician assailant; but the transaction, though the active part of it is wholly on the one side and the passive part on the other, still is dignified with the name of an encounter; the rich and the poor man are equal combatants; and (in the eyes of the former at least) fair play has taken place between them; considering, that is, the immense disparity of rank which severs the humble toga of the plebeian from the rich purple of his wealthier brother. To use the caustic words of the poet,

“*Libertas pauperis hæc est ;
Pulsatus rogat, et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.*”

(*Juv. Sat.* iii. 299—301.)

It seldom happens that the pregnant words of this incomparable satirist may not be extended beyond the case to which they actually refer in his own pages; and it has often

struck us that the analogy is perfect between the poor man brutally beaten by the proud noble of Rome, and poor Ireland in the sufferings which she is forced to endure at the hands of every Englishman who chooses to pick a quarrel with her, whether on paper or otherwise. Does the poor man in Juvenal seek the quarrel? does he strike the first blow? does he even offer an insult to the gentleman in purple? Far from it. The rich man is drunk, his victim is poor and helpless, and the tribunal of justice is venal; so he lets fly at him at once. Resistance is hopeless, and only too glad is the plebeian victim to be allowed to escape to his home in the Suburra, with the loss of a few teeth, or with a bloody nose and swollen face. In the veins of the noble flows some old Trojan blood, he is one of the Lamiaë or of the Julian gens; the poor man is one of the dregs of the city, of Achæan or Syrian origin. He is plainly an alien; quite of a different race; so he is fair game; there can be no harm in a Roman patrician belabouring such a man as he is.

Precisely similar to this, we repeat, is the treatment which unhappy Ireland is for ever meeting from the hands of the wealthy aristocracy of Saxon England. They talk of the antagonism existing between the two countries, which yet they profess to regard as sister islands; they speak of their interests as incompatible with each other; they do not hesitate openly to denounce the Celtic population of Ireland as aliens from themselves in blood, in language, and religion: and to such a pitch have they carried this spirit of animosity, that at last they have forced upon their Celtic brethren a firm conviction that "England's necessity is Ireland's opportunity." And then forsooth, after centuries of injustice and oppression, they speak of the strife which reigns perpetually between them; after the lapse of some eighteen centuries, we see the Roman patrician re-appearing in all his colours; and we are able to recognize the accuracy of the definition of a strife laid down in the hypothetical statement of the poet,

"Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum."

Now, as we firmly believe that by far the majority of Englishmen stand obnoxious to the charge of habitually and almost unconsciously dealing out much about the same measure of justice to Ireland, with which (thanks to the lenity or laxity of the Roman police regulations) our

wealthy patrician friend treated the plebeian of Suburra, we do not intend to make any exception in favour of Sir Francis Head,* whose weakest point of resemblance to the above patrician gentleman lies in the aristocratic appendage of "Baronet" to his name. We have no hesitation in pronouncing our opinion, that of all the mischievous and unworthy attacks which have been made upon the inhabitants of the Sister Island within our memory, this volume, which Sir Francis Head entitles "a Fortnight in Ireland," is by far the most mischievous and unworthy;—perhaps we should rather say, it is the one which most worthily befits the unhallowed cause of intolerance, bigotry, and misrule, of which Ireland has so long been the victim.

"Sir Francis Head, Baronet," has entitled his work, "a Fortnight in Ireland," and upon the strength of such scanty experience as he could glean within that single "fortnight," he now presumes to decide upon the real cause of all the ills of Ireland, throws them all without reserve or qualification at the door of the Catholic priesthood, and ventures to decide, on his own *ipse dixit*, what is to be done for the country. It is obvious to suggest that possibly if Sir F. Head had chosen to prolong his stay in Ireland from a fortnight to a month, to say nothing of a longer period, he might have returned to England a wiser (and why should we not add a better?) man, and have been the author of a volume far more worthy of attentive perusal than the fat octavo with which he has thought fit to favour us. Who knows whether "A month in Ireland," might not have been a far more valuable production, and "Three months in Ireland," possibly even a real addition to our shelves? It is almost impossible to estimate the difference aright. A fortnight is just about that amount of time which it would take an active and keensighted traveller to make himself acquainted with a few external features of the country, or at least of such parts as he might actually visit in his travels; but in the name of every thing probable and possible we ask, how can an Englishman, even though he be a Baronet, who has never before set foot on the green shores of Ireland, and who has no local connexion with the country, hope to penetrate beneath the merest surface of things, in a single fortnight, or to do more

* This notice, we should say, was intended for insertion in our last number, but was postponed from the pressure of other matter.

than just collect a few random facts and then suggest that there *may be* some conceivable connection between these facts and the cause to which he is arbitrarily pleased to refer them? Nay, it is clearly impossible for any one to do this in so short a time, even when he has access to the very springs of knowledge on the subject, and by means of family ties or religious sympathies can dive into the state of society as it actually exists in Ireland. How, then, can Sir Francis Head reconcile it with common honesty to assert, as he has done most unequivocally, and without reserve, that "THE PRIESTHOOD OF IRELAND ARE THE CAUSE OF HER MORAL DEGRADATION?"

"I calmly defy," writes Sir Francis Head, "all the talents, ability, artifice, and indignation of the Irish priesthood, to upset the evidence I am about to adduce, for the avowed object of degrading in the estimation of every Irishman, and most especially of every Irishwoman, to their proper level, a clergy who—I will prove it—have brought scandal on the sacred character of the Catholic Church, who have disgraced the cloth they wear, and who are culpably driving from a beloved soil hundreds of thousands of men, women, and little children, whom it was their especial duty, spiritually and morally, to befriend."

Such is the open and avowed object with which Sir Francis Head sits down and records the events of his "Fortnight in Ireland." We could have conceived a nobler and more liberal object; we could have imagined that an educated Protestant gentleman, of high talents, and more than average acquirements, might have found a more hallowed task to occupy his leisure during what he calls "The Fag End of this Last Summer," than that of making a tour through the pleasant scenery of Ireland, for the deliberate purpose of degrading in the estimation of their countrymen and countrywomen a priesthood which, if in some instances it may fall short—thanks to a policy of which we shall speak at greater length hereafter—of the polish and refinement which Oxford and Cambridge stamp upon Her Majesty's state clergy, has still succeeded, even by Sir Francis Head's admission, in training up a peasantry such as no other country can boast, as patterns of chastity,*

* "From the morning on which I visited the great Model National School, in Marlborough Street, Dublin, to the hour of my arrival at Galway, I had remarked in the Irish female countenance

modesty, and virtuous conduct. We could have imagined him otherwise engaged than in endeavouring to destroy the authority of those spiritual guides, in whose place the Catholic people of Ireland will never acknowledge any

an innate or native modesty more clearly legible than it has ever been my fortune to read in journeying through any other country on the globe. Of the pure and estimable character of English-women, I believe no one is a more enthusiastic admirer than myself; nevertheless, I must adhere to the truth of what I have above stated; and I do so without apology, because I am convinced that no man of ordinary observation can have travelled, or can now travel, through Ireland without corroborating the fact" (pp. 226-7.) The reader will do well to compare the evidence collected by Sir F. Head from the Irish constabulary, (who, by the way, are his main source of information, just as the priests in Egypt were the informants of the more reverential mind of Herodotus,) as to the chastity and purity of Irish women in general, and of the "degraded" town of Galway, and especially in that most squalid and "degraded" portion of it, called the Claddagh, a "little city of cabins, entirely inhabited by fishermen and other families," who constitute almost a separate race, and will not marry out of their own people. It is needless to add that these people are very poor, and all Catholics. The chastity of these people seems "extraordinary" in the eyes of Sir Francis Head, as one "*Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes*," so that like a thorough-going Protestant believer in the total depravity of human nature, and in the incompatibility of poverty and squalid rags with virtue and morality, he confesses himself "unable to believe" the evidence to Irish chastity afforded to him even by his favourite officials, "from the Resident Commissioner of the Board of National Education in the metropolis, down to the governors of gaols, and masters of the remotest work-houses." "In truth," not forgetting his pet constabulary, adds the astonished Baronet, "I was infinitely more puzzled by what I heard than by the simple evidence of my own eyes." (p. 227.) As a good Protestant, Sir Francis probably disbelieves in supernatural grace, or in the existence of chastity, and still more, of celibacy. But though we could have pardoned him for withholding his belief on these points before he came to Ireland, yet what right has he as a true Protestant to disbelieve, we do not say the testimony of persons whose authority on other points he regards as almost infallible, but the evidence of his own eyes? Surely in justice to himself he ought not here to throw overboard the good old Protestant maxim, which tells him that "seeing is believing." We should add, that the constables all agree in asserting that "they never yet heard of an illegitimate child being born in the town of Galway, and that, poor as the place is, the crime of theft, until lately, had been

other authority in matters of religion and faith, and without whose spiritual instructions they would soon cease to have any regard for their most sacred duties towards God and towards man. Did not Sir Francis, of course, believe that a Protestant parson could equally supply all that is wanted in so secondary a department as that of doctrinal teaching and religious guidance, we should almost feel tempted to say that we could scarcely fancy to ourselves an object more truly diabolical than that which our author so openly and, as we hope, sincerely, avows.

Such, then, is the confessed end of our author's work, which consists of two parts. In order to secure the interest of the reader on his side, he devotes one part to a somewhat pompous narrative of his visit to Dublin and Maynooth, and to what he entitles, *par excellence*, "My Tour," extending, as we may here remark, from the Irish capital by railway to Athlone, and thence by car through the counties of Mayo and Galway. In fact, with the exception of what he saw in Dublin, and the one half day which he devoted to Maynooth, Sir Francis seems to consider that he who has seen Mayo and Galway has seen Ireland, and to desire to lead his readers, on the principle of *ab uno disce omnes*, to make an induction as to the state of the four provinces from a very partial survey of two counties of one of the four. The latter half of his volume, in other words, part II., is devoted to a far different subject. The headings of each page will give a pretty good idea of the drift and contents of the chapters which it contains; the "Degraded condition of the Irish People," and the "Tactics of the Irish Priesthood," are speedily followed by the "Published Speeches and Letters of the Priests," in reference to the recent general election, together with a most astounding array of "Printed extracts from the Priest's Press," and "Evidence collected by myself," all bearing upon the same period of political excitement; and the second part concludes with a short chapter on "What is to be done?"

Upon the first half of the book we have but few remarks to offer, with a single exception, the chapter in which he

utterly unknown among the fishermen, and was almost unknown now." We should like to know whether the constabulary will be able to bear a like witness fifty years hence, if the religion of Dr. Plunkett of Tuam should ever make an entrance into the Claddagh.

relates his visit to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, which shall follow in their proper place. We have read a very great number of tours in Ireland, which furnish us with far more interesting details, and supply a very much more valuable array of facts for Her Majesty's loyal subjects to generalize. On the other hand, there is every now and then to be detected a graphic touch of description, reminding us of a rapid careless sketch by one of our celebrated water-colour painters—a De Wint or a Turner, for instance—and conveying a very vivid impression, both of scenery and character, to the mind of the untravelled reader. In fact, if Sir Francis had not studied to be so mischievous, and had only been content to furnish the public with no more than a readable piece of railway literature, with a dash of anecdote and wit, we not only could have pardoned him, but probably we should have voted him a most agreeable companion. As it is, the constant recurrence of his malice, page after page, and the way in which he contrives to make every trivial incident tell in favour of his pet object, the degradation of the priesthood of degraded Ireland, are by themselves sufficient to create an unfavourable impression on our minds, of which we cannot divest ourselves. As it is, the very assumption of an open-hearted spirit of *bonhomie* and generosity, which is so prominent a feature in the former portion of his volume, is, in our opinion, by far the most dangerous feature in the entire work, and the one of all others against which we should wish to put our readers on their guard; as we feel that it is only by gaining the affections of his readers through this affectation of honesty and sincerity, that he will be able to enlist their sympathies on behalf of the monstrous doctrines and propositions with which the latter portion of his volume is so awfully stored. Against any credit which Sir Francis Head may gain for good intentions towards Ireland from his opening chapters, we feel ourselves bound to enter, once for all, our very strongest protest.

As a specimen of Sir Francis Head's assumed liberality of opinion, and also of his usual style, we give our readers the benefit of the following extracts.

“After talking with my companion about the state of the crops and the state of the country, I observed that it was a great pity that there should exist in Ireland so much unkindness of feeling on

account of religion. 'That's all,' he replied, 'it's jist difference in religion that's ruining us all. A marn should be allowed to remain in the religion of his farthur. I remain in the religion of my grandfarthur, and ought not to be interfered with. I live under the blessing of Almighty God. Praise be to His holy name!' Then looking upwards with apparently real devotion, he added, 'the Almighty God can relave men of a' religions.' 'A fine country, this!' I observed, pointing to the crops on each side of me. 'That's,' he said, 'because we have here the best landlord in a' Ireland—in a' the world, I may say,' giving the near-wheel horse rather a sharp cut with his whip. He then proceeded to detail to me various instances of the consideration and kindness of the individual he thus had praised."—p. 115.

The following description is most graphic and picturesque, and as the only remark (properly so called) which it embodies, is a just and becoming one, we select it as one which will be read with interest, and as a happy specimen of Sir Francis Head's manner, when he chooses to refrain from mischief.

"For some time I watched the ragged dresses of a group of men and boys also loitering before the inn. Their clothes formed a species of dissolving view. Occasionally I rubbed my eyes, and yet I found it really impossible to decide whether the garments before me had begun life by being blue cloth or thick flannel; for, as correctly as I could calculate, there appeared about as many shreds of the one colour as of the other. The trowsers, usually of dark cloth, literally and without exaggeration, looked as if they had been borrowed for half-an-hour by some one who had filled them with rats, that had been baited with Skye terriers, who, to get hold of the vermin, had not only bitten them to pieces, but in many instances had literally torn them to atoms, which, with the assistance of scraps of cloth, of a variety of other colours, had been hurriedly replaced by people who had never before used a needle: indeed, in many places the stitches were as rough as network. But in several cases a considerable portion of the garment had apparently been eaten up by the dogs; and, accordingly, before me I saw a lad of about eighteen in trowsers, which could not grammatically be called a 'pair,' inasmuch as the whole of one portion of the right leg was gone from the middle of the thigh down to the ankle, where, supported by a narrow irregular shred, say three inches broad, there hung a remnant of about the size and in the position of a gaiter. Several men, down whose honest looking faces the rain was slowly trickling, were in coats which, although in holes and tatters, appeared to have been originally three coats of three different colours. Nobody had buttons behind; and one man, although he seemed perfectly unconscious of it, had, moreover, lost

a whole skirt, and was therefore, in fact, in half a jacket and half a long-tailed coat. Yet how painful is it to reflect that the most astonishing part of the enigma I have just described is, that every one of these apparently degraded beggars has under his rags as much intelligence, ingenuity, ability, and infinitely more wit, than the smock-frocked peasant of England, or the decently clothed labourer of Scotland. As regards the women of Ireland, their native modesty cannot fail to attract the observation of any stranger. Their dress was invariably decent, generally pleasing, and often strikingly picturesque. Almost all wore woollen petticoats, dyed by themselves, of a rich madder colour, between crimson and scarlet. Upon their shoulders, and occasionally from their heads, hung in a variety of beautiful folds, sometimes a plaid of red and green, sometimes a cloak, usually dark blue, or dingy white. Their garments, however, like those of the men, were occasionally to be seen hanging in tatters."—p. 125-7.

Our readers will willingly forgive us for placing here on record the following passage, considering that it is written by so prejudiced an individual as Sir Francis Head, and that it bears testimony to the abiding sense of religion to be found even under the most squalid rags in the breast of the Irish poor.

"Besides women and children, I observed among the jagged sharp triangular stone gable of these unroofed cabins, two or three men listlessly standing stock still; and, as I was a Saxon stranger in their land—as I was of the same religion as the landlord that had evicted them—and lastly, as I happened to have in my pocket, besides silver, a quantity of loose gold, I might not have unreasonably expected to receive among their hovels what is commonly called a rough welcome.....As, however, I was resuming my seat on the car, I saw among the tottering walls, women and children worming their way to me; as soon as I started, with uplifted hands, and bare feet, they exclaimed almost simultaneously, 'May the Almighty God preserve your Arnh'r!' Indeed, long after I had left them, I heard the same sounds reverberating through the rain that was falling cruelly on us all. They were really good people, and from what I read in their countenances, I feel confident that if, instead of distributing among them a few shillings, I had asked them to feed me, with the kindest hospitality they would readily have done so, and that with my gold in my pocket, I might have slept among them in the most perfect security. The devotional expressions of the lower class of Irish, and the meekness and resignation with which they bear misfortune or affliction, struck me very forcibly. 'I haven't aiten a bit this blessed day, glory to God!' said one woman. 'Troth, I've been suffering a long time from

poverty and sickness, glory be to God !' said another. On entering a strange cabin, the common salutation is, 'God save all here !' On passing a gang of comrades at labour, a man often says, 'God bless the work, boys !' In meeting a person, if you want to get quickly into friendly conversation with him, it is usual to say to him, 'God save !' to which, (like the 'Aloom-salicoom,' and 'salicoom-aloom' of the Mahometans,) the answer always is, 'God save ye kindly !' the pronunciation of which is sure to secure a courteous and favourable reception. A Protestant clergyman of great experience told me, that in all his intercourse with Irish Catholics, he had *never met an infidel.*"—pp. 146-7.

With the above we conclude our extracts from "My Tour," sincerely recommending our Protestant readers, and none more sincerely than Sir Francis Head himself, if he ever condescends to glance at our page, to weigh well the admissions which he finds himself obliged to make as to the purity, the honesty, the patience, and the true religious feelings in the midst of suffering, which he witnessed during his stay in Ireland among the sons of St. Patrick; entreating them to consider whether a priesthood which has (according to Sir Francis Head,) such superhuman power as to rear the very poorest of the Irish people in the practice of such Christian virtues, can possibly be, as he elsewhere remarks, "the cause of the moral degradation of Ireland." "Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?" "The tree is known by its fruit." It is almost superfluous here to remark upon the happy contrast presented by the blessings invoked by the "degraded" population of Ireland even upon a stranger's head, with that awful habit of profane cursing and swearing, which has made the very name of an Englishman a bye word among our brethren on the continent, or to enquire whether the Protestant clergyman above alluded to, could bear a like testimony to the absence of infidelity among his own people with a safe conscience. Let the religion of Dr. Plunkett once gain full ascendancy in the west of Ireland, and we will venture confidently to assert that twenty years hence he will be able to count his "infidels" in Mayo and Galway by hundreds and by thousands.*

* It is not a *belief* in the Anglican Church, or its distinctive doctrines and principles—(if it have any)—which is said to be making some way in Ireland, but simply a *disbelief* in the faith of the Catholic Church,—a mere 'No Popery religion.' This is evident,

But, before we go on to consider the gist of the Baronet's book, as contained in Part II., we must accompany him in his flying visit to the College of St. Patrick, Maynooth.

We pass by without observation the flippant, off-hand way in which Sir Francis describes his first interview with the distinguished Vice-president of the college—an interview obtained without any kind of introduction, or claim of previous acquaintance, and for which, as well as for the other attentions shown him, we think he might have tendered a somewhat more graceful acknowledgment. The free and unreserved manner in which all Catholic colleges and monastic institutions are thrown open, both in England and Ireland, to all Protestant visitors, without suspicion—a kindness which is but too often repaid with ungrateful obloquies, and even newspaper attacks—is a feature on which we venture to think, that a gentleman of such liberal professions as Sir Francis Head might have dilated a little. It is but fair to state, however, that he gives a very succinct statement of the historical facts connected with the college from its foundation by the Irish parliament in 1795, on the recommendation of Mr. Pitt, and of the successive grants from the imperial parliament, by which it has been maintained. It is as follows:—

“It appears that the establishment of the Royal College of St. Patrick, at Maynooth, founded, on Mr. Pitt's recommendation, in 1795, by the Irish parliament, in the reign of George III., consists, at present, of a president, a vice-president, a dean, two junior deans, a prefect of the Dunboyne establishment, who also acts as

from the assertion, not of Catholics, but of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Perceval, in several letters addressed by him to the *English Churchman* during the course of last summer, in which he complains that while a wholesale demand for Bibles in the Irish tongue is made at the office of the ‘Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,’ in London, for the west of Ireland, there is no corresponding demand for the Anglican Prayer Book in the same language. This is a very significant fact; and it is opening the eyes of many Anglican High Churchmen to the wickedness of what is called the ‘Reformation movement.’ It is a consolation to reflect that the said movement is no worse than that which took place in England three hundred years ago. That English Protestantism is essentially infidelity, is proved (if such proof be needed) by the fact that in the East those persons who reject dogmatic teaching, are commonly called ‘Ingliz,’ (English) a term of opprobrium and censure equivalent to that of infidel.—See Patterson's Tour, Appendix, p. 453, &c.

librarian, a bursar, and a secretary to the Board of Trustees, composed of three Catholic archbishops, seven bishops, and four Irish noblemen. The professors are of dogmatical and moral theology, natural philosophy, rhetoric, and Belles Lettres, English rhetoric, and French, ecclesiastical history, logic, metaphysics, and ethics, humanity, Irish. There are also attached to the institution a counsel, a law-agent, a physician, a consulting physician, a surgeon, a consulting surgeon, two resident medical attendants, and, lastly, a printer and bookseller. For the maintenance of this establishment, the sum of about £8,000 was annually voted by the Irish, and afterwards by the imperial parliament, from 1795 to 1807, when an additional £5,000 was granted for the enlargement of the buildings. From 1808 to 1813 the annual vote was £8,283, and from 1813 to 1845 it was raised to £8,923. By the act of 8 and 9 Vict. c. 25, the college, on the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, was placed on a new foundation, and permanently endowed for the maintenance and education of 500 students and 20 senior scholars on the Dunboyne foundation; for the support of which the college receives, from the fee simple estates of the late Lord Dunboyne, £460 a year. Besides providing for the annual cost of commons, &c., for these 520 students, of allowances to the 20 Dunboyne students, and to 250 students of the three senior classes, and of salaries to the president, superiors, and professors; the Act above quoted moreover vested in the Commissioners of Public Works the sum of £30,000 for erecting the buildings necessary to accommodate the enlarged number of students, which at present amounts to 520.

The rules for their admission are as follows:—No applicant can be received as a student at Maynooth college unless he be designed for the priesthood in Ireland, be recommended by his bishop, and unless he be competent to pass a prescribed examination. The ordinary course of study requires for its completion five years, after which the student is deemed fit to be made a priest.....The studies principally consist of Greek and Latin classics, rhetoric, mathematics, French, English composition, the historical books of the Bible, logic, moral philosophy, natural history, ecclesiastical history, theology, and the Hebrew and Irish languages."

The following extract will be amusing to the Catholic reader, as showing that even so liberal and intelligent a writer as Sir Francis Head was much surprised to find an edition of the bible at Maynooth. It is quite clear that he has not read with much advantage our remarks which we made in our last number on the subject.*

"On reaching the fire-place at the end of the room, I observed on it a statue of King George III, the founder of the institution; and

* See "*The Bible in Maynooth*," Dublin Review, No. LXV.

the compartment A. on either side of it, to my surprise I found completely filled with Bibles of every description. 'Well,' said I to myself, as I looked on them and then at the royal statue, 'here's certainly church and state!' In this compartment there was standing a young student, of about twenty-one years of age, who apparently had charge of it. As he saw that the vice-president and I were conversing, and were evidently in the subject, he handed me down, with great alacrity, bibles of a variety of languages.—English, French, Spanish, Sinolin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic; then one huge polyglot volume of pages divided into three compartments, in which was the Bible in Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish, Polish languages. 'And yet,' said I to the president, 'you have no Bible in Irish?' I moreover observed in this compartment, A., 'Calvinus in Epistolas,'—Roberti Stephani, MDLVI.; 'Beza in Evangelium;' 'Biblia Sacra, Beza;' 'Biblia Sacra Hennicotti,'—(sic—the book meant is one by Kennicott)—from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, date 1780. There were numerous commentaries on the Septuagint, commentators of all classes, and creeds,—Grotius and Calmet included. Amongst the earliest editions I observed, 'Rider's Family Bible,' 'Haydock's Holy Bible,' the 'Douay Bible,' 'King Henry VIII.'s Bible,' and, lastly, a very old one in black letter, with Apocrypha and all complete, except the title-page, which was missing."—(p. 78—80.)..... "I observed... that I was glad I had visited compartment A. of the library, as people in England were usually of opinion that Roman Catholics did not read the Bible. He replied..... 'It is a rule in our establishment..... that every young man at entrance should be provided with a copy of the Bible for his own individual use. And so solicitous are we for the observance of this rule, that our procurator purchases a number of bibles, one of which is handed by him to each student immediately after his accession, if he has not already a Bible in his possession.'"

"'But..... don't you alter or suppress some portions of the Bible?'

"'On the contrary,' said he (the vice-president), 'we admit *more* books of scripture than most Protestants.'

"'And,' said I to myself, 'if the procurator of the college of Maynooth actually purchases a Bible, and *hands* it to every candidate for the Roman Catholic priesthood—and, moreover, if Catholics admit more books of Scripture than most Protestants, what possible excuse can the Commissioners of Public Instruction in Dublin offer to God or man for virtually excluding the said bible, throughout Christian Ireland from the education of the Catholic and Protestant youth of both sexes?'"—(p. 96.)

We ought not, in common justice, to omit mentioning that, at Maynooth, Sir Francis Head would seem to have

discovered a completely new edition of the Litany of Loretto. At all events, the copy of that formulary which he gives as an extract from "The Key to Heaven," a "black-covered book" which he found as he was "ruminating on a bench," omits throughout, the words, "Pray for us;" thus leaving every Protestant reader to imagine, that the ejaculations, "Have mercy upon us," and "Spare us, O Lord," are addressed, not to the Blessed Trinity alone, but to the mother of God. This is an instance either of singular carelessness, or of egregious dishonesty.

With Sir Francis Head's testimony to the general efficiency of the training and discipline of Maynooth, we must conclude our notice of this chapter. It comes from a dispassionate quarter, or at least from one by no means prejudiced in our favour; so that it will doubtless be most gratifying to those who are interested in the prosperity of the college:—

"Generally speaking, they (the students) appeared to be in the enjoyment of perfect health; many were exceedingly muscular, sturdy, and robust; almost all had clear, ruddy complexions; and yet, in the countenances of every one I happened to speak to, were to be seen very faintly impressed the unmistakable lines which, in every country that I have ever visited, more or less characterize the lineaments of the Catholic priest. In fact, it was quite evident to me that the system they were pursuing was successfully producing the mental effects for which it has been especially devised." (p. 90.)

It is also but common justice to Sir Francis Head's consistency to add, that although he considers that at Maynooth "ultramontane principles are irrevocably planted in the students' minds;" though "their discipline breaks down their minds, and abject submission to their superiors crushes their spirits;" though, in fact, "their system is altogether one of slavery, and ends in the slave becoming a tyrant;" the liberal baronet is of opinion that, "no such act of vengeance" as the withdrawal of the parliamentary grant to Maynooth "should be, he will not say indulged in, but committed."—p. 393-4-5. For our own parts, we confess, that could such be our own opinion, the sooner the college of St. Patrick's, Maynooth, were abolished, the better should we be pleased.*

* Sir Francis, speaking of the dining hall at St. Patrick's college, writes thus: "In the centre of the room, near the wall, stands an

The second part of our author's volume is devoted to a consideration of the causes and remedies of the "degraded condition of the Irish people."

Now, we are not inclined to be unnecessarily captious ; but here we feel bound to enter our strongest protest against the terms which he employs. For, as Christians, whatever we may think of the physical condition of Ireland, still, we dare not believe that although she is sunk in poverty, rags, and filth, she can possibly be accused of moral degradation. If ever it shall be proved, by statistics, that, in point of morality, honesty, and virtue, (in the common sense of the term), she ranks below either England, Wales, or Scotland,—then, and not till then, will we plead guilty to the charge of "moral degradation." But, on this score, we need not trouble ourselves, unless, indeed, through the agency of famine, pestilence, and emigration, the religion of Dr. Plunkett should happily become the prevailing religion of the land. As to her physical condition, we will, in all sadness, assume what Sir Francis Head states as true, though we shall certainly see reason to differ from him entirely as to the causes to which to refer it.

In addition to asserting that in Ireland alone of all Christian and civilized countries, "human beings and animals live together in an atmosphere of smoke and stench,"—a mode of life which Sir Francis Head styles a "pig-priest-and-potatoe existence,"—our author makes the entire country responsible for Whiteboyism and Ribbonism, which he styles an "agrarian combination," or rather, "a Cain and Abel state of society, a bloody and barbarous civil warfare, such as exists within the limits of no other country on the surface of the globe." And then he proceeds

elevated desk, or pulpit, from which *prayers are read very loudly to the students during the whole of their dinner-time.* The vice-president told me that the subject read 'consisted of a chapter from the bible, (the reader during the time standing up uncovered) ; *the historical works of the Church of England ; some saint's life ; and, lastly, the Roman martyrology of the day in Latin.*' Sir F. Head has here made an unintentional mistake. *Prayers* are not generally read in the halls of Catholic colleges, except the grace before and after dinner ; and instead of "the historical works of the Church of England," the vice president most probably mentioned Dr. Lingard's excellent History of England, which, no doubt, is frequently read in the refectory of St. Patrick's College.

to enquire, "who are the real causes of this state of things?"

To settle this question, he takes in their turn, and severally acquits of all share in "the moral degradation of Ireland," first, the imperial parliament, next the Irish government, then the Irish landlords, and last the Irish people; and having dismissed all these scot-free, he lays the whole sin, as we have before said, at the door of the Irish Priesthood.

In reply, we have to observe, first, that in every disjunctive syllogism such as that which Sir Francis Head here adopts, especial care must be taken that its major premiss is exhaustive, and that its different members virtually exclude each other. Now we would humbly suggest to the worthy Protestant baronet, that his major premiss does not thus exhaust the catalogue of possible causes of the degradation of Ireland. Need we remind him, of all men, as a zealous Protestant, that over and above the imperial parliament, the Lord Lieutenant, the landlords, and the people of Ireland, there is another important element in the country, representing, too, by the way, a tolerably round sum in its annual income of tithal pounds, shillings, and pence, to say nothing of glebes and capitular sinecures, of which he has taken no account whatever? We mean, of course, the Protestant reformed Church by law established. Of this element of social disorder, oppression, and tyranny, Sir Francis says not a word. It never seems even to enter his head, that the law Church and its parsons can in any way be at the bottom of the "degradation" of which he complains so loudly. Moreover, omitting, for the present, all mention of the Protestant establishment, we must remind him, on the other hand, that although it may not be true that either the landlords, or the parsons, or the parliament, or the Lord Lieutenants, are alone, and by themselves, the cause of this extraordinary phenomenon, which, as he says, "neither statesman nor philosopher has been able to explain for ages," yet still a very great share of the blame may rest at the doors of all, and of each of them. The imperial parliament, for instance, spent nine-and-twenty years in granting to Ireland that instalment of her civil rights, which at length was only wrung from a reluctant senate through fear of a civil war. Lord Lieutenants have come and gone, kept up a splendid court in Dublin castle, surrounded by

Orange placemen, whose interest it has been to stop all avenues by which the true condition of the Catholic Irish poor could reach vice-regal ears ; Orange landlords have run through princely incomes at their country-seats in scenes of revelry, strife, debauchery, and on horses and hounds, or squandered them in foreign lands, while their tenants have been left for generations the prey of some hard-hearted agent or bailiff, with whose bigotry that of the landlord is but a feather's weight, and been ground down to the dust by hard usage, by poverty, by debt, by famine, and wholesale evictions ; while the pampered incubus of an alien establishment has fattened and gorged its sinecure dignitaries (Her Majesty's sinecure rectors, deans, canons, and bishops, we mean) upon the accumulated wealth of endowments which in the good old Catholic times were laid out,—not on their wives and families, their carriages, horses, and dogs, much less on a gay season in the west end of London,—but in relieving the necessities of the Irish poor, each in his own parish, and in the maintenance of the fabrics of its churches, long before poor-rates and church-rates were known.

As to the Irish people, we fully agree with Sir Francis in his admission, that they are not the cause of their present condition, inasmuch as from the moment when they become settled in a foreign land, “they have proved themselves in every region of the globe to be equal to the natives of England and Scotland ; and, during the late rebellion in our North American colonies, the Irish particularly distinguished themselves by their energy, loyalty, and courage ;” and Sir F. Head admits that even “in *his own country, wherever he is properly treated*, the Irishman, Catholic or Protestant, casts off what is supposed to be indigenous to his nature, and exhibits qualifications of the highest order.” (p. 249.) But we say that this very array of facts, which he speaks of as a phenomenon, is at once accounted for by our supposition—the proof of which we shall afterwards consider—that in Ireland alone is the Celt improperly and unjustly treated, being outraged in every religious feeling of his heart by the imperial parliament and the Irish executive, crushed and ground down by the oppression of alien landlords, and legally pillaged by an alien and hated establishment for the maintenance of its pampered prelates and sinecure parsons. It is in the combined action of these three causes, united, as they have

been for three long centuries, in their unholy warfare against the Catholic population of Ireland, that we may discover the obvious sources of Ireland's misery. The imperial parliament, it is true, may have voted large sums to Ireland for the relief of her starving poor, for the formation of harbours, the maintenance of Sir Francis Head's beloved constabulary, and for the arterial and other drainage of Ireland, as well as for the erection of such buildings as lunatic asylums and gaols; but, to say nothing of other matters, so long as that parliament allows to stand upon the Statute Book a single law which openly insults the beloved Church of the Irish Celtic population, her hierarchy, and her priesthood, a standing injury is perpetuated against Ireland, for which no amount of pecuniary relief granted for the physical improvement of the country can ever be regarded as an equivalent. And England must learn, and we hope in time, that the devotional feelings of a warm-hearted and religious people, can never be outraged with impunity. Then, as to the Lord Lieutenants, Sir Francis thinks it quite enough to give a catalogue of the nineteen noblemen who have filled that high post during the present century, in order to prove that, "because the best talents which the United Kingdom can produce have been bestowed on the practical administration of Ireland," *therefore* her viceroys are guiltless. But we have yet to learn that high titles and talents are a guarantee for good government, for we are free to confess that, with some very few exceptions, we never yet heard of a Lord Lieutenant who endeavoured to make himself practically acquainted with the wrongs of Ireland, and the wants and requirements of her suffering poor.*

Then, as to the established Church, that monster grievance of the country, what words of ours can be strong enough to speak of the injuries of which it has been the cause? Dr. Blomfield, after some experience of the hospitalities of the palace at Armagh, declares that for her happiness and prosperity Ireland must rely upon that branch of the reformed Church which is established among her people. But the "reports of the Commissioners of Public Instruction" for Ireland in 1835, is, in our esteem, more worthy of credit than Dr. Blomfield's *ipse dixit*;

* On this head see "Ireland and its Rulers," chap. x—xi. (London: Newby, 1844.

and that report shows that, out of the 1387 benefices of Ireland, there were no less than 425, or nearly one-third of the whole, in which Anglicanism did not number 100 adherents; and that there were 157 benefices besides, in which the incumbents were non-residents, and performed no services of any kind, though they took great care to be regular in drawing their pay.

"These figures," as the writer of "*Facts and Figures of the Irish Church*" very forcibly remarks, "exhibit the disgraceful anomaly of hundreds of clergymen drawing large incomes from an impoverished people for doing nothing, or next to nothing. This would be bad enough if the people belonged, in the mass, to their own church, or could feel that they were paying for the maintenance of their own creed; but the real grievance is, that they are compelled to pay for a system which, in their eyes, wears the two-fold aspect of heresy and tyranny, and is hated accordingly."

Add to this the fact, that,—

"Under the old system,"—(in other words, until the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act, *)—"the tiller of the soil was obliged to give the tenth of his produce to the parson, and that the tithe proctor came annually into his fields to value his crops for that purpose. The burden of supporting the established church fell almost entirely on the poor occupiers of the soil, the great majority of whom were Roman Catholics. The iniquity thus came home to their doors in the most offensive form. At last, it became intolerable. O'Connell roused a fierce agitation against it, until the people were on the eve of a great victory, when their leader agreed to a compromise, which mitigated the evil, indeed, but, at the same time, made it permanent, and took the remedy out of the hands of those who were most interested in applying it."

From the same little pamphlet,†—which, by the way, is one of the most useful publications of the Anti-State Church Association, and should be widely diffused at the present crisis,—we obtain the following estimate of the true character and influence of the Anglican establishment in the sister isle, an estimate drawn up, not by Catholic, but by Protestant authority:—

* This Act was recommended by Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1832, but was not finally carried into effect until 1838.

† "*Facts and Figures of the Irish (established) Church.*" London: printed for the British Anti-State Church Association, 41, Ludgate Hill, 1851.

"So far from converting the natives, its conduct has ever rendered their conversion a moral impossibility, so violently antagonistic has it ever been to all their best interests, religious, moral, social, and political. The ever-vigilant sentinel of tyranny, whenever and wherever the conquered people attempted to rise in society, it has sounded the alarm, and roused the ruling powers to crush and bind afresh that poor doomed race. In this capacity alone do the Roman Catholics know it. To them it has never published 'peace.' On the contrary, its ministers are associated in their minds with war and spoliation. Harmony there never can be in that country, so long as this proud, secular, political, Church establishment exacts tribute of the whole people, and claims to be the Church of the state."*

And lastly, as to the landlords of Ireland, have they not had a large share in the "degradation" of Ireland? Sir Francis Head, in answering this question, acquits them wholly of all guilt. But he shall refute himself from another part of his work.

In discussing the effects of the changes which have recently taken place among the landowners of Ireland through the "Encumbered Estates Court," Sir Francis Head is apparently quite off his guard, and makes some admissions calculated to show, that the landlords, whom he elsewhere pronounces immaculate, are, and have been, to a very extraordinary extent, instrumental in bringing about the present miseries of Ireland. On pp. 182-3, he makes the following ingenuous confession:—

"The necessity for some means of facilitating the sale of encumbered estates, had been apparent in Ireland for many years. The extravagant habits of the last century, the establishment of 'middle men,' and of the cottier system, which converted the small tenant into a rent-producing animal, induced the formation of large family settlements, and thereby encouraged loans, for which estates, one after another, were mortgaged. In addition to this, competition rents, the system of creating forty shilling freeholders, of paying for land by labour, and the consequent result, namely, a state of barter, and of low subsistence, produced altogether, early in the present century, a climax, the evil consequences of which the

* Compare "Ireland and its Rulers," chap. x. "He (Lord Stanley) was the first Irish minister who grappled with the evil of an overgrown Church Establishment; and though he did not go so far as was desirable, he considerably reduced the number of the Protestant Bishops, and brought the Establishment within more reasonable dimensions.

high prices of the war temporarily averted. At last, however, the hour of retribution arrived. Rents were necessarily diminished; the cholera, the potatoe disease, and the famine consequent thereon, rendered the collection of those reduced rents impracticable; and first, the creation of the poor-law; and secondly, its extension to out-door relief, produced the inevitable effects of completely breaking down, not only the landlord, but the system on which he had thrived. Many who had long been striving to compound, or to effect a sale on fair terms, were suddenly compelled to go into the market on any terms; and no sooner were they forced into this miserable emergency, than they practically experienced, most keenly, those evils which in Ireland fettered the transfer of real property. For instance, there were lands occupied on the Parliamentary Titles, scarcely two hundred years old, so hampered in the intricate meshes of the law, that they could not pass through those of the Court of Chancery. The system of registry established in 1715, had become nearly useless, and it was therefore evident to all concerned—to buyers as well as to sellers—that nothing short of the creation by parliament of a new court, almost as arbitrary as that (the Court of Claims) which had originally given the titles, would suffice to remove the embarrassments in which all were involved."

After writing thus, and after confessing that this complication of evils has sprung from the "extravagant habits of the last century,"—that is, in other words, of the Orange landlords of that day,—how can Sir Francis Head, in common honesty, acquit these gentlemen, as a body, of their share in the wrongs suffered by the poor Catholic tenantry in Ireland?

We have not space or time here to enter into anything like an adequate discussion of the whole matter, but we think that enough has been said by Sir Francis Head, the Anti-State Church Association, and ourselves, to prove that the parliament, the vice-royalty, the "garrison" establishment, and the landlords, have each had a part in what our author terms "the moral degradation of Ireland." That Ireland, or her people, are in a state of *moral* degradation, is a point which is amply disproved by Sir F. Head's own admissions, as to the high standard of morality; that it *is* degraded in the *social* scale, as far as tyranny, oppression, and misrule can degrade it, when seconded by the grievous judgments of pestilence and famine, we admit as fully as Sir Francis Head can desire. We venture to add, that there is a well-known proverb which says, "Give a dog a bad name, and you may as well hang him;" and also,

that it is a common fact, taught us in the history of all nations, that as you treat your subjects, such they will generally prove. If you grind them to the earth by oppression, they will always be a slavish, abject race, except, perhaps, when roused to open rebellion by a sense of their wrongs. But if you treat them with kindness, forbearance, and confidence, they will rise at once in the scale of social (we do not say, of necessity, moral) excellence, and become good subjects and loyal citizens. And of this fact Sir Francis Head is as well aware as we can be, for elsewhere he makes the following just remark: "Wherever the British government parentally takes hold of an Irishman, as if by magic, he casts off the mortal coil of his degradation, and, instead of being a disgrace and a burden, he at once becomes, without the smallest exaggeration, an honour to his country, and to the name of man." We are therefore at liberty to infer that, consequently, wherever the Irish Celtic race does not rise so far in the social scale as to "become an honour to its country, and the name of man," it is because the imperial government has failed in its parental duties, and refuses to lend a helping hand to a noble race, which deserves a kindlier treatment, to say the least, in return for all the blood that it has shed in the cause of ungrateful England.*

And now that we have exhausted this portion of our subject, would that we could stop here, and pass over,

* We take the liberty of appending here some apposite remarks from a book which we have already quoted, "Ireland and its Rulers," chap. i. "In conversing with an accomplished friend of mine in Ireland, M. de Tocqueville observed to him, 'All your evils spring from this,—*you are two nations here.*' There is deep truth in that remark. Protestant Ireland represents a totally different idea from Catholic Ireland; even to this day the Anglo-Irish race preserves characteristics distinct from the great mass of the Celtic population. But the Protestants of Ireland also differ essentially from their English brethren in Britain. They form a new kind of Irish people. They are rich in Saxon reliance, and they are also endowed with Saxon sensibility and ardour. Their character was formed in the 18th century, when Ireland possessed an Aristocracy partly resident, and a Legislature.....The Anglo-Irish have imbibed far more of the national character of Ireland than they have imparted of their hereditary English qualities.....Exclusive institutions have alone preserved them from being completely merged in the national character of Ireland."

without remark, the ungenerous and libellous attacks upon the *great body of the Irish Priesthood* with which Sir Francis Head has filled four-fifths of his second part. On the other hand, would that we were able to assert that his accusations against *individual Priests* might be flung to the four winds of heaven, as utterly void of some foundation. But this, in honesty and sincerity, we cannot do. The truth must be told. Many of the extracts from the speeches and letters of Irish Priests, of which specimens are given, are, if authentic, utterly indefensible in themselves. Many of them we could not have uttered with our lips without a blush for the dishonour done to Christian charity. If any Priest did really declare that he "should be sorry from the bottom of his heart to attend the death-bed of such a being" as would register his vote for the English enemy, and that he should "fear that his mission would be fruitless," under "the reflection that God, in his just anger, might leave such a wretch to die in his sins"—this man undoubtedly has brought a scandal on our holy religion of love and tender-heartedness; and undoubtedly, if we could divest our minds of the circumstances under which the words are said to have been spoken, he would seem worthy of the most severe Ecclesiastical censure. But, we would suggest, the key to the whole gist of the sentence lies in these words, "*the English enemy*,"—"Hinc illæ lacrymæ." The Catholic religion we know teaches all men, including Priests, to return good for evil, and to love our enemies; but human nature is weak, and passions are strong; and in the excitement of an Election, where he frequently sees the right borne down by Orange tyranny, and his people made the victims and the slaves of an alien ascendancy, some allowance must be made, if impetuous and violent language should escape from one who feels that, in default of the natural protection afforded by the laws and the magistracy in England, he must himself stand forth as the sole protector of his people. The case of another clergyman, which is said to stand for trial at the Quarter Sessions for beating one young woman upon the shoulders with the butt end of his whip, and knocking another down, seems to us far less defensible. We cannot but believe, that in this case, if there be any pretence for making such a charge, some very serious provocation must have been given. Even if such were the case, the act of which the Rev. gentleman

is alleged to have been guilty, must, when proved, be pronounced as unmanly and indefensible. But in both of these cases (and they are far the worst of all adduced by Sir Francis Head) we must most emphatically protest against any attempt to charge upon the general body of the Irish Priesthood the intemperate words and actions which may be established against only one or two individuals. With equal justice might we draw an induction as to the private morality of the 15,000 Anglican Clergymen of Great Britain, from the conduct of the Rector of Barnack, Dr. Dillon, the Rev. Mr. Rookes, and those other flagrant instances of clerical misconduct which every now and then appear, and shock our feelings of decency, in the *Daily Journals*. Added to which our readers should remember two simple, but important facts. The one is, that during three centuries of oppression, the Catholics of Ireland were robbed of their means and opportunities for ecclesiastical education; and in their energetic struggle to secure the substance of the soundest theology and morality, they may have failed to acquire some portion of that refinement which they might have acquired if they had not been robbed of the endowments left by our pious ancestors for the education of our Catholic priesthood. If, however, some few of our Priests may not be able to boast of these questionable advantages, it is but fair that we should congratulate them on having escaped from the fashionable vices and corrupting associations by which that refinement is too often purchased in the Anglican Universities. A priesthood more pure, and more free from the stain or suspicion of immorality than that of Ireland, we affirm it is impossible to discover upon the face of the globe; and we challenge Sir Francis Head to deny our words. But surely some little allowance ought in charity to be made for our hasty and passionate temperament as a nation, and the peculiar and antagonistic position of our priesthood, in the midst of a hostile aristocracy of Orange magistrates, parsons, and landlords.

As to the interference of Priests in the matter of Irish Elections, grievous as it appears in the eyes of such pharisaical gentlemen as Sir Francis Head, we feel that, however undesirable it may be in the abstract to confound together in any degree the clerical and sacerdotal character with that of the political agitator, a Protestant member of the Anglican Establishment, at all events, is not

the fit person to stand forward as our accuser. Has Sir Francis forgotten the part which the Rev. Messrs. Stowell and Mc Neile thought fit to take in the recent Elections at Manchester and Liverpool? Does he not know that twice Mr. Gladstone and his opponent were proposed and seconded at Oxford by dignitaries of the Established Church? and that no longer ago than last January Mr. Perceval was nominated by a venerable archdeacon, who has gained some notoriety as an Anglican agitator in ecclesiastical and political affairs? If our memory does not fail us, the very same thing happened at Cambridge; and certainly one of the representatives for the county of Dorset was proposed or seconded, (we forget which,) by a Reverend Canon of Gloucester and Bristol. And, to take a more flagrant example, who does not know that the Most Reverend Dr. Thomas Musgrave, the present Protestant occupant of the Archiepiscopal See of York, owes his successive promotions to the Deanery of Bristol, the See of Hereford, and his present high position, to Whig gratitude for the part which he took in Elections of Cambridge? Until, then, it shall be unlawful for clergymen, even in England, to take an active part in elections, it is hard, to say the least, that the conduct of the Irish priesthood in this respect should be held up to reproach; and until it shall be proved to our satisfaction that Priests are not citizens of the land in which they live, we must beg respectfully to differ from the sweeping censure passed upon them by Sir Francis Head. But, as matters stand in Ireland, it not unfrequently happens, especially in boroughs, that the aristocracy are generally Protestants, and in the Orange interest, while the lower classes are Catholics and Liberals to the back-bone; so that there would literally be no one at all competent to undertake the task of proposing or seconding a Liberal candidate, if the Priest refused his services. On this subject (as Sir Francis Head likes 'extracts' from the printed speeches of the Priests) we will furnish him with the open manly language of an excellent Parish Priest.

"But it will be asked, why did not he leave the troubled field of politics to the men of the world? His answer to that important question would, he trusted, be found satisfactory to every reasonable mind. He was ready to admit, at the onset, that the Christian pastor, as a common rule of action, ought to confine himself to the discharge of his spiritual functions. Religion sends not her ministers ordinarily

into the political arena, or to lift their mitred heads in Parliament, where they sympathize, it is said, too much with the great, too little with the people. The attention of the man set apart for the government of the kingdom not of this world, should not be divided nor distracted with the business of politics. *In any well ordered state of society there is no proper place for a political priest; not so in mis-governed and insulted Ireland.* Mark the circumstances of this country as contrasted with those of England. In the latter kingdom the aristocracy, though sometimes in part found in opposition to the nation, yet in feeling and affection, by education and interest, is English, thoroughly and sincerely English. The ancient nobility and gentry of that country strongly feel, that the only permanent and secure basis of their order is the happiness and well-being of the community at large. Honours, titles, historic recollections, and old associations bind them up and identify them with the people; hence, in every district in England the aristocracy furnishes able leaders to direct and give effect to the popular will. Again, in England there is a middle-class, intelligent, wealthy, educated, capable of self-government, ardent lovers of freedom, and resolved to stand up for their rights. How admirably and efficiently would the enlightened patriots of this class direct and animate the people, if the higher orders failed to do their duty! *The scene is completely changed in Ireland. Here we have but two classes; on one hand, an oligarchy in feeling, in religion, by prejudice and education opposed to their own country; on the other, the masses sunk in poverty, the victims of every species of oppression. The Irish gentry, as a body, have no sympathy with the nation.* The laws under which we have lived, impiously seeking to proscribe the national faith, taught man to regard his fellow-subjects as enemies in the land, a degraded caste, fit objects of pains and penalties. Again, *there is no middle class in Ireland, of sufficient importance and character to assert the rights of the people.* We live too near the unhappy days when a cruel and detestable policy, to extinguish the ancient religion, robbed its professors of all their property, and proscribed education, that, in their ignorance, they might not know their rights. This Draconian code has too lately ceased to be the law of the land, to afford time for the growth and formation of that intelligent opulent educated class, of which England is so justly proud. *Under these circumstances, (and they are not overstated nor misrepresented,) are not the Catholic clergy compelled and justified in descending into the arena of politics? They stand there, between an alien aristocracy, alien in religion and feeling, and a country ground down by their avarice and heartlessness.* They stand in default of a native gentry in which the country might confide; in default of a middle class which might govern and sustain its suffering multitudes; they stand the advisers and guardians of the people in seasons of public peril, when the landlord would overbear his tenants by tyrannous violence, and make them perjurers before their God, and traitors to their most

sacred social trust. Does the priest, forced occasionally from the sanctuary, and only for a short time by circumstances such as are here described, to protest before heaven and earth, in the assembly of men, against the oppression of his country, and the wrongs inflicted on his race—does he betray, by doing so, the cause of religion—violate the propriety of his office, profane his ministry, and play, as he is accused of doing, the part of a spiritual tyrant? The just, the honourable, the enlightened, the lovers of liberty and of mankind, the good and brave all over the world, acquit him of the charge, whilst religion and conscience confirm the verdict.”—(*Telegraph*).

This extract, although its principles may easily be pushed to extremes, and have, we must in all sadness own, been abused in particular instances, nevertheless seems to us to solve the entire mystery, and to give a complete answer to those who object to the political interference of the Irish priesthood; and we venture to express our most sincere hope that Sir Francis Head will carefully insert it in the next edition of his work, so as to allow it to have the due weight which such a document ought to exercise upon the minds of intelligent Protestant readers. He has given “Extracts from the Priests’ Speeches” by the wholesale; and it will be strange if among them he cannot find room for one which (to say the least,) comprises so very much meaning in so small a compass, and throws so clear a light upon the social condition of the people of Ireland, and the existing relation between themselves and their priesthood.

We have one other ground of serious complaint against Sir Francis Head. It is the opinion which he passes upon what is called “the great Reformation movement” in the west of Ireland. Will our readers believe that a gentleman of literary ability and versatile talents, and one who has gained his experience of the world, not in the bigoted arena of Exeter Hall, nor from the “Evangelical” bragings of Dr. Cumming and Mr. Hobart Seymour, but from the post which he held as Lieutenant Governor of Canada, will it be believed, we ask, that a liberal gentleman, like Sir Francis Head, has gone so far as not only not to reprobate, but positively to hold up to the admiration of his readers, the worst and most odious features of the “Jumper System”? He does not indeed go quite so far as the “Reverend” individual who at Exeter Hall exulted in the famine and pestilence which were raging in Ireland

a few years since ; but he does not scruple to regard those awful visitations of God's providence as things for which, in a worldly sense, Ireland has reason to feel grateful, as having been the proximate inducements which have led so many hundreds of her starving children to abandon the Catholic religion. By the change of one word in the original, we may with truth make our own the well known remark of Persius—

“ Magister artis ingenique largitor
Venter, dolosas artifex sequi voces.”

It is the empty stomach, and the famishing frame, that have won over our poor brethren by hundreds to the pretended adoption of Dr. Plunkett's creed, if creed it can be called. On this score, happily, we need not go for evidence to the columns of the “*Tablet*” or the “*Telegraph*,” (though by the way, the letters of the commissioner sent down into Connemara by the latter paper, to examine the facts upon the spot, are most worthy of perusal,) for Sir Francis Head's book supplies us with all that we require, in order to prove the diabolical nature of the present Reformation movement—a movement which for iniquity of motives has no parallel, except in the Anglican Reformation of the sixteenth century, to which it bears a strong family likeness.

Our author asserts, with reference to this movement, that the famine of 1846 first brought the Catholics into close connection with the Protestant clergy ; that the poor obtained bodily relief from their hands, and that the barrier of prejudice being thus broken down, they listened to the reformed doctrines, and became willing converts to the Protestant religion. The Catholics, he adds, declare that all those conversions have been brought about by the “meal system,” sneer at those who have left them as “Jumpers” and “Soupers,” and call their new faith the “stirabout” religion, on account of the bribes of meal, soup, and porridge, by which this great change has been effected. The following is his comment on the subject,—a fit specimen of Protestant casuistry.

“ I must say, however, that I highly approve of this present movement.....It appears to me that instead of there being any harm, there is much good in the benevolent(!) Christian(!) practice that has been lately adopted by the Protestant missionaries in Ireland,

of offering a wholesome breakfast of meal to all indigent children who may be desirous to attend their schools. For what can more clearly demonstrate to young people the inestimable advantages of the Christian faith, than that its ministers and supporters should openly practise the charity they preach?.....But it is said, 'Meal is a *bribe*, and people ought not to be *bribed* to change their religion.' But a slated house is a bribe, desks are bribes, benches are bribes, books are a bribe, pens are a bribe, ink is a bribe, yellow soap is a bribe, a towel is a bribe; and accordingly, if little children are to find all these articles for themselves, how barren and uncharitable is the invitation that is made to them! But the poor of Ireland have not the money to pay for these elements of education; and if, therefore, it be absolutely necessary for the rich to provide their children with a comfortable school-room, wash their faces and hands, and give them books, ink, pens, and paper, surely there can be no great sin in filling their poor little hungry stomachs as well as their empty heads. I therefore most earnestly and fervently hope that all who are friendly to the Irish will promote the good cause of supplying these distant schools with meal. In this friendly effort the rich Protestant has the power of contributing infinitely more, and consequently of producing infinitely more effect than the poorer Catholic; but, while religious antagonism ought, generally speaking, to be condemned, *in this struggle the poor children are sure to be gainers by the contention, whichever way the scale may preponderate.*"—(pp. 154, 5, 6.)

And here we might fairly leave this piece of special pleading to the unbiassed judgment of every honest Protestant, but fortunately we can appeal to the following document, which we extract from the "Tuam Herald," as calculated to throw some little light upon the motives which actuate the "Jumpers," as a body. *Ab uno disce omnes.* It is but a sample taken at random out of a thousand of the kind, which we could produce; and thankful indeed we are to be able to boast that no similar document can be produced against ourselves, and that no one has ever yet been found to assert that interested or pecuniary motives have led any one of our converts to abandon Protestantism.

"PROSELYTISM IN THE WEST—APOSTACY ABJURED."

The subjoined document of recantation, signed in the presence of the respected and pious pastor of Boriscarra and Ballintubber, by two men who had, until a very recent period, figured prominently as "Bible-readers" in Connemara, shall be left to speak for itself. In truth it needs no commentary from us. The story of Dunne and

Connolly is notoriously the story of every unfortunate creature marshalled by well-paid persons with such pomp, parade, and trumpeting, in the ranks of "Converts from Catholicity :"—

"We Michael Dunne and John Connolly, penetrated with the deepest remorse for having, under the most trying privations, deserted the holy Roman Catholic Church, do now solemnly renounce every connection with the *vile and mercenary system of proselytism* now carried on in Connemara, and *we solemnly declare, that in joining the 'jumpers' we had no other motive but that of obtaining employment and money.* We were suffering the greatest want, and as we had no other resource for relief *we yielded to the temptation, in order to escape a premature grave,* and during four years we continued, against our consciences, to scandalize the flock of Christ. *We were both employed as Bible-readers, though almost ignorant of the first rudiments, and in that capacity we were instructed to propagate the most uncharitable feelings against Roman Catholicity.* Such a system, founded on the most unchristian principle of social enmity and exclusion, could not, we were well aware, be sincere ; therefore, the moment we got an opportunity we fled from the frightful scene of bribery and imposture, to breathe once more our native air in the bosom of the holy Roman Church—and we implore our friends and late associates in apostacy (whom this document may reach) to renounce at once the base system of lies and seduction now carried on in Connemara by the most unprincipled agency—a system, whose unholy fruit is already visible in the demoralised conduct of its victims, while a few individuals are reaping a plentiful harvest from a wholesale traffic in the souls of the unsuspecting children of the starving poor of the west of Ireland.

"MICHAEL DUNNE, } Late Bible-readers in the parish of

"JOHN CONNOLLY, } Clifden.

"Witness—James Browne, P.P. of Bariscarra and Ballintubber.
"Ballyglass, Nov. 18, 1852."

Tuam Herald.

It would be scarcely fair to Sir Francis Head not to mention, in conclusion, the apparent liberality of the tone which he assumes with regard to the continuance of the Maynooth grant, and to the proposed step of entertaining diplomatic relations on the part of England with the Holy See. He evidently feels that the stories which he has raked up in Ireland, against the Catholic religion, will be widely believed by English readers, and may possibly contribute in no slight degree to increase the prevailing prejudices against both of these measures. Against any such obvious inferences being drawn from his principles, Sir Francis Head strongly protests. He even states that he wishes to see the grant of Maynooth continued ; but why?

It is because, "by continuing to them our grant, we still administer to the degraded priesthood of Ireland an infinitely heavier blow than we should inflict upon them by withholding it.....I submit," he adds, by way of explanation, that "it is the duty as well as the interest of Protestant England to evince, on the detection and self-degradation of an inveterate and ungrateful opponent, that generosity and magnanimity which have ever characterized her conduct to Ireland in general, and to the Irish priesthood in particular (!); and, therefore, although I have acted, to the utmost of my power, as the public prosecutor of their offences, with equal energy I urge as their advocate, that the annual grant for Maynooth should be continued to them." (p. 396.) He also holds that, as English Protestants much desire to live on friendly terms with the Catholics of Ireland, "it follows that with the spiritual head of their Church" the English government "ought to maintain the same friendly intercourse which dignifies its communications with the government of every nation on the globe." And why does he hold this opinion? He shall speak for himself, he shall give us the result of his own deep calculations, and we shall be able to judge what his disinterested liberality is worth.

"We can not only hold official communication with the Pope at Rome, but, if he assumes to be the head of the Catholic Church in Ireland, if he arrogates to himself a divine right and authority to govern that Church, we are morally, and (what is still better) physically entitled to hold him responsible for any misconduct in his subordinates, of which we can reasonably complain."—(p. 397.)

Sir Francis closes his book with a chapter entitled, "What is to be done?" and he answers his question very readily, much to the following purport;—"Persecute and degrade the priesthood of Ireland as much as you can, and you will have no trouble with the people." We have too high an opinion of English fairness to believe that the great mass of our fellow-countrymen could really and sincerely wish to carry out this atrocious line of policy; but if any political party of the present day desire at heart to do so, it is that extinct combination which is headed by Lord Derby and his friends.

We will conclude by urging upon the notice of Sir Francis Head the advice of Gamaliel on a somewhat similar occasion: "Take heed to yourselves what you intend

to do as touching those men.....And now, therefore, I say to you, refrain from those men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or work be of man, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it; lest, perhaps, you be found to fight against God.”*

* We cannot refrain from appending to this paper a few extracts from a book which we have already quoted more than once, relative to the many excellencies of the Catholic Priesthood of Ireland. It is written by a Protestant gentleman; and although it contains much objectionable matter, yet *upon the whole* we can refer to it with pleasure, as at least an attempt to enter fairly into the wrongs of Ireland, and as therefore presenting a very happy contrast with Sir F. Head's ephemeral publication.

“When the circumstances of Ireland are considered, and when one forgets the priests as politicians, it is impossible for any candid mind not to admit that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy are zealous and untiring in the discharge of their religious duties, unwearied in their pastoral offices, steadfast in their combat against moral evils, and heroic in their contempt for all the dangers to which they are exposed. They are never cowed for an instant by pestilence or famine. They go on undismayed, warning, exhorting, and consoling their miserable flocks. They never dally with the vicious, but unswervingly point to the world beyond the grave. Never did any clergy more faithfully perform its *ecclesiastical* duties. When, however, we contemplate them as politicians and members of general society, their aspect is changed. They are violent bigots, and most intolerant of all authority.....There is no use in attacking the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. Their faults are the results, not of their creed, but of their social position, and of their country's unhappy state. Their Church was degraded and rendered despicable. Persons of superior station declined entering the Priesthood. Even the young men of the middle classes looked down upon it. The Catholic Church was left to recruit its Pastors from the families of humble farmers and the peasantry, and these latter classes rejoiced to have their sons made *gentlemen*..... The public have been kept a good deal in the dark about this establishment (St. Patrick's College, Maynooth), in consequence of the disgusting charges made against it by a certain set of Protestant incendiaries. Those charges of teaching indecency are untenable. If the Priests are taught indelicacy at Maynooth, they must certainly be a most extraordinary body of men; for their bitterest enemies cannot fasten upon them the charge of licentious habits or lewd propensities. They are themselves remarkable for the purity of their lives, and their flocks cannot be condemned as prone to immoral indulgences. So far from being lax in their morals, the Priests are more liable to the charge of fanatical austerity. For example, it

ART. II.—1. *Legends of the Madonna, as represented in the Fine Arts.* Forming the Third Series of Sacred and Legendary Art. By MRS. JAMESON. London : Longman, 1852.

2. *Primitive Christian Worship.* By J. ENDELL TYLER. Printed for the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847.

IN Theology, as in Philosophy, in order to understand any specific doctrine, it is necessary, first to have mastered, at least in the way of clear apprehension, the great main idea which constitutes its intellectual basis. To apprehend this idea distinctly, is wholly different from admitting its justice, and still more so from conceding that any particular practice has been drawn from it by a legitimate deduction. Merely, however, to *apprehend* the idea in connection with the doctrine derived from it, is a moral as well as intellectual effort, requiring something of philosophic docility, conditional, or tentative, Faith, and abstinence for the moment from captious objections, from preconceptions, and from a disposition to evade impressions, distasteful perhaps, as much because novel as because uncongenial, by turning from them abruptly, and

is a practice in country parishes to denounce from the altar a young man who has a mistress. The peasant and the gentleman are in this matter treated with a like rigour.....The testimony offered here will be supported by all who know Ireland ; and a profound sense of the gross injustice of the Exeter Hall charges against the Priests has blinded the liberal portion of the public to the real state of Maynooth, which is quite unworthy of its professed purpose,—the education of Catholics in an age of civilization and general enlightenment.”—*Ireland and her Rulers*, pp. 252—56, 277.

This Protestant author's testimony as to the morality of the Catholic Priesthood of Ireland, ought surely to have some little weight with Protestants ; and for our own part we cannot but commend to our readers' dispassionate consideration his suggestion of a more generous endowment of Maynooth and a rectifying of the existing relations between landlord and tenant, as steps calculated to aid in the improvement of Ireland, without, however, pledging ourselves to agreement with him upon particular questions.

falling back into the wheel-ruts of old impressions. To take in a new idea may not require either profundity of mind, logical dexterity, or intensity of will: and yet, if the will be not very single, nay, even in secret congruity with the truth, the effort may be so difficult as to constitute, without our knowing it, the critical point of our probation. An idea is a great and a subtle thing; and though it is also a most simple one, and therefore often the most congenial to the simplest intelligences, yet where early prejudices interfere, it may be difficult to catch or to retain it. It will not cast its image into the enquiring mind, unless the mirror be turned to the light at precisely the right angle. When it is so turned, conversion is sometimes almost instantaneous. The power which the mind possesses of balancing itself on its own axis, and bending itself in attention to whatever thought it pleases, is equally remarkable for good and for evil. This is an act in which the will indirectly concurs: and the slightest obliquity produced by a will averse, scatters the rays of truth, distorts, if it does not obliterate the image, and utterly vitiates a process which a wise man would have valued, if only as a philosophic experiment. The impression cannot be judged till it has been fairly received; and in order to receive it, something is commonly necessary not only of mental rectitude, and spiritual clearness, but of patience, and a certain pliant activity of mind. Without docility, we cannot even learn to swim, or to breathe into a flute. One who visits for the first time a celebrated picture, thinks it no condescension if he allows himself to be directed to the proper point of view. The Church also has at least the right of bringing the stranger to her point of view.

These reflections are frequently recalled to our recollection by Protestant books, in which, without any intentional unfairness, strictures are advanced against some leading Catholic doctrine, such as can only arise from that complete misconception, which results from traditional prejudice, and the disadvantages of a false position.

To those who may remember our observations on the earlier volumes of Mrs. Jameson's charming work on Sacred Art, we need scarcely say that we do not speak of minds such as hers. Her new series, "*The Legends of the Madonna*," no less than those which preceded it, forms a striking and most honourable exception to the general

character of Protestant theological, or semi-theological literature. It is not alone that, in all that she has written upon a subject so full of difficulty for a Protestant, she has carefully and successfully avoided every cause of offence to the convictions of a Catholic reader. She has gone much further. There is in the uniform tone of her observations not merely a profound sense of the soundness and solemnity of the doctrines which she treats, but even a respectful and often openly sympathetic reverence, if not for the doctrines themselves, at least for the principles upon which they are founded. It is plain that Mrs. Jameson has fully comprehended the true ground of the Catholic practice of Saint worship; and even while she withholds her own absolute assent thereto, we should almost be content, with one or two modifications, to accept the explanation of it which she has given in the *Introduction* of her new volume, as fairly embodying and representing the views which we ourselves have been taught to reverence and to love.

But it is not so with the work which stands second on our list. It is not deficient either in learning or in ability; and its temper and spirit are in happy contrast with not a few books on the same subject: yet its amiable author seems never once to have caught the true idea of the doctrine which he criticises, or even to have asked himself what place that doctrine holds in Catholic Theology, how it came to have a place there, and what other doctrines must stand or fall with it. He never varies his point of view; the consequence of which is, that from first to last, he but contemplates the wrong side of the tapestry, and plucks at the ends of loose threads. There is perhaps no doctrine which those who judge from without, have so much difficulty in regarding, even for a moment, with aught of philosophic insight, as that of the veneration of the Saints. This results from the circumstance that it is the point towards which so many Catholic doctrines, by them but partially understood, converge. A few remarks on this subject, pretermittting, for the present, the patristic and the scriptural argument, and confining our attention to the general analogy of Catholic teaching, may be of use to some in helping them to escape from that false perspective in the theological world, which is the cause of so many illusions. We shall endeavour, in the first place, to indicate some of the relations in which the *cultus*, or worship of the Saints, stands to the chief Catholic

doctrines, such as the Incarnation, the doctrine of Mediation, the Communion of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass. We shall then point out some of the misconceptions into which Mr. Tyler seems to us to have been led by an imperfect apprehension of these doctrines, and a false association of ideas.

What then is the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation? "The Word was made Flesh." Of those who read the text, how many receive the doctrine in its fulness? How many know that, in this mystery of mysteries, our fallen nature has been, not only raised and cleansed, but re-integrated in the mould of our second Adam, in Him reconstituted, and made with Him to sit in heavenly places? The Calvinist, who affirms that Redemption belongs, like Salvation, to the elect only, and not to the race, is ignorant of this great truth; for which yet he may think himself willing to undergo martyrdom. The Lutheran, who denies that there is any righteousness, except what is external and imputed, in Christ's brethren, living members of the second Adam, understands it not. Those who brand as a superstition the belief that baptism grafts us into the new Adam, and that the holy Eucharist is the food which sustains the life supernatural then accorded, grasp it not. Those who do not believe the organic unity of Christ's mystical body, but content themselves (except when condemning Dissenters), with the subterfuge of a merely moral unity, fathom not the mystery. Yet all alike, and multitudes beside, still further from the truth, think that they hold the doctrine of the Incarnation.

"The Word was made flesh"—God became Man. He did not cease to be God. He did not become less than complete Man. He did not merely seem as God, but **was** God: He did not merely seem to be Man, but **was** Man. God, the second Person of the Holy Trinity, became the support of that human body and soul which He assumed; and their principle of Personality was thus Divine. Man's complete *nature* was thus assumed without any human *personality*; and by the transcendent mystery of the Hypostatic Union, God became man. The complete *nature* of man was assumed. God the Son **was** the *person* who assumed it. In Him it is "deified." This is the renewed, reconstituted, re-integrated, human nature of which we are made partakers in holy baptism, when that Spirit which moved over chaos, and made it a

world, which overshadowed the Blessed Virgin, and made her the Mother of God, hovers over the font, detaching us from the portion of that Adam in whom all died, and grafting us into that second Adam, our Federal Head, in whom the Father is well pleased, and to whose humility and obedience has been committed the sceptre of the universe. This is the doctrine of the Incarnation, wide as worlds, though capable of being condensed into a single article of the faith; yet which many think they have fathomed, who know not that it is *in His humanity*, and *as man*, that Christ rules His mediatorial kingdom, even as it was in His humanity, not in His divinity, that the divine victim suffered: who forget, that to that divine person, in His humanity, she whom the Council of Ephesus affirms to be "Mother of God," must still stand in the same maternal relation as she stood when He was on earth—nay, by some to whom it would be almost new to be told that our Lord retains His human body in heaven. This is the humanity to which belong all who are living members of Christ; though, while here below, we carry about with us this "body of death," the infirmity of the old Adam, and the separating sin of the individual, hold the might of the renewed nature in eclipse. This is the humanity in which triumph with Christ all the members of His triumphant Church; though they hold but by participation, and, of course, by a mystic, not hypostatic union, that which the God-Man holds absolutely in Himself, uniting it to His Eternal Father and evermore breathing into it His Spirit. The slightest tendency to Nestorianism (and how many are unconsciously infected with this heresy,) vitiates the very idea on which, in no small degree, the glory of the saints rests, because it destroys the true idea of the Incarnation. The Incarnation does not consist in Christ's having become a human person, or in His including a human as well as a divine personality; but in the circumstance that God the Son, the second Person of the Eternal Trinity, retaining ever the singleness of His divine personality, was pleased to assume also our human nature, uniting it for ever to His divine nature. Thus only could the second Adam have consecrated that nature which He took, and into which all His members are grafted.

The Nestorian heresy which *dissolved* the doctrine of the Incarnation, by attributing to Christ a double personality,

as well as two natures, and thus inferentially denying that God had *become* Man, was branded by that great Council, which, to leave no further room for dispute, affirmed that the true title of Mary was "Mother of God," in opposition to the Nestorians, who maintained that she was Mother of the humanity of Christ, not of the *Eternal Word*. It is obvious that what is predicated of the Blessed Virgin in relation to her Divine Son, applies also, in due degree, to His brethren who by His grace are created anew in Him. Of such moment is the title, "Mother of God," that the "Hail Mary" which contains it, and is so constantly reiterated in Catholic devotion, is accounted the seal of the doctrine of the Incarnation, as the "Gloria Patri" is that of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The Eutychian heresy, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, and Pope Leo, destroyed the doctrine of the Incarnation, by affirming that in Christ, the human and divine natures were not only united in one person, but also so mixed and blended, as to constitute no longer two natures, but one. This error, the converse of the Nestorian, affirming indeed the single *personality*, but denying the two *natures*, would have annulled human nature instead of cleansing and elevating it. Now it is certain that Christians possess a human nature, though a renewed human nature, not a third nature, neither human nor divine. It is certain not less that they cannot share the personality of Christ. The Eutychian heresy would, therefore, like the Nestorian, though by a converse process, destroy the true ground of union between Christ and those who, as His brethren in the flesh, are co-heirs with Him. They could not share His nature without sharing His divinity: nor would it be easy to ascribe *religious* honours to them without at the same time ascribing *divine*. "Give us religion, not theology," is the cry of a secular age which hardly believes in the existence of religious science; and the faculties of which have become as unapt for the treatment of such matters, as the fingers of the ploughman are for the more delicate species of manufacture. And yet, as we have seen, to understand the very ground, and germinant idea of the cultus of the saints, the "subtleties of the Athanasian Creed" are as necessary (for the purpose of vindication, not of devotion,) as the dogmatism of the creed of Pope Pius. Who can wonder, then, if it be found more easy to denounce the practice than to apprehend it?

* The connexion of the Athanasian doctrine with the cultus of the saints, is traced by Dr. Newman, in his book on *Development*, p. 403. "As Christ," says St. Athanasius, "died, and was exalted as man, so as man, is He said to take what, as God, He ever had, that even this, so high a grant of grace might reach us. For the Word was not impaired in receiving a body, that He should seek to receive a grace, but rather He deified that which He put on, nay, gave it graciously to the race of man. For it is *the Father's glory* that man, made, and then lost, should be found again; and when the prey of death, that he should be made alive, and should become God's temple. For, whereas the powers in heaven, both angels and archangels, were ever worshipping the Lord, as they are now worshipping Him in the name of Jesus; this is our grace and high exaltation, that, even when He became man, the Son of God is worshipped, and the heavenly powers are not startled at seeing all of us, who are of one body with Him, introduced into their realms." * * * "Not the Word, considered as the Word, received this, so great grace, *but we*. For, because of our relationship to His body, we too, have become God's temple, and in consequence are made God's sons, so that even in us the Lord is now worshipped, and beholders report, as the apostle says, that 'God is there of a truth.'"

The same profound thinker has remarked on the light which the Arian heresy threw on the position of the Blessed Virgin, and his observation applies in their degree to the other saints.

"Arianism had admitted that our Lord was both the God of the Evangelical Covenant, and the actual Creator of the universe; but even this was not enough, because it did not confess Him to be the One, Everlasting, Infinite Being, but to be made by Him. It was not enough, with that heresy, to proclaim Him to be begotten ineffably before all worlds, not enough to place Him high above all creatures as the type of all the works of God's hands; not enough to make Him the Lord of His Saints, the Mediator between God and man, the object of worship, the image of the Father; not enough because *it was not all*, and between all, and *anything short of all*, there was an infinite interval. The highest of creatures is levelled with the lowest in comparison of the one Creator Himself. That is, the Nicene Council recognised the eventful principle, that while we believe and profess any being to be a creature, such a being is no God to us, though honoured by us with whatever high titles, and

with whatever homage. Arius, or Asterius, did all but confess that Christ was the Almighty; they said much more than St. Bernard or St. Alphonso have since said of St. Mary, yet they left Him a creature and were found wanting." . . . "The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith unless the blasphemers of her Son come up to it. *The Church of Rome is not idolatrous unless Arianism is orthodoxy.*" (p. 206) . . . "It was then shown, it was then determined, that to exalt a creature was no recognition of its divinity." . . . "It is not wonderful, considering how Socinians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and the like, abound in these days, without their even knowing it themselves, if those who never rise higher in their notions of our Lord's divinity than to consider Him a man singularly inhabited by a Divine Presence, *that is a Catholic saint*, if such men should recognise, in the honour paid by the Church to St. Mary, the very honour which, and which alone, they offer to her eternal Son." (p. 406)

So far from there being an inconsistency between the inferior honour given to creatures, and the superior which belongs to God alone, the true idea of God cannot be grasped except by a mind able also to grasp the idea of the utmost imaginable honour attributable to a creature who remains a creature still. Thus only can we apprehend that majesty which renders the interval between God and the noblest of His works absolutely infinite. History attests this truth. The doctrine of the Trinity, in proportion as assailant after assailant endeavoured to trample upon it, was more distinctly defined, and thus ascended into a heaven of higher reverence, clearer light, and more untroubled peace: with it ascended above the mists of contradiction, and the prevarications of heresy, the kindred mystery of the Incarnation,—in defining which the maternal relation of Mary was defined;—and as Christ "in the mid-hour of night" passed into the bridal chamber of Divinity, they that "follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth" accompanied His royal progress, and shared visibly His feast. The relation, however, of the Saints to the King of Saints, was no more a new idea to the Church than was the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Incarnation.

The supreme adoration, called *Latria* [λατρεία], is offered to Christ, because He is God; the inferior worship (of *Dulia* [δουλεία]), immeasurably beneath the other, belongs to His Saints, because they partake His nature, are perfected by trial, and with Him in His regal humanity "wear the

world's imperial crown." Such is the distinction made by St. Augustin.

"But the martyrs (do we worship) the more devotedly, as it is the safer after their conflicts overcome; as also with more confident praise do we exalt those who are already triumphant in a happier life, than those who are still engaged in battle in this life. But with that worship which in Greek is called *λατρεία*,—in Latin it cannot be expressed by one word—as it is a kind of service properly due to the Divinity, we neither worship, nor teach to worship, other than the one God."

If any man really doubts whether there be a difference between two species of service, let him remember that not even to Christ Himself, in His humanity, would the supreme worship be due, could that humanity be separated from His divinity, or the Sacred Person to whom both belong. Let him also ask himself whether he has ever seriously considered that to love and honour His mother was not only among the instincts of our Lord in His humanity, but was also as much among His human duties as to pray, to observe the law, &c., &c. He is still in that humanity which never can become either separated from, or merged in His divinity. We may, therefore, infer what are His relations with her whom those who claim to be His brethren in the flesh too often refuse to honour. Those relations can, of course, in no way limit His divine attributes; but as it was in His humanity that He was born and suffered, so it is in His humanity that He is king, priest, and prophet, of His mediatorial kingdom.

A frequent statement of the Fathers concerning the Blessed Virgin is, that she is the second Eve, and that as the disobedience and unbelief of the first cooperated to the fall, so the faith and obedience of the second fitted her to be an instrumental means of the restoration. The race fell through two, they affirm, and it was fit that twain should cooperate, (though with the stupendous difference that one only was divine, and that the human one was uplifted by Divine Grace) in the process that raised it. Her consent was necessary; and she was "full of grace," that she might in no degree fall short of her wonderful lot. This is asserted by the very earliest Fathers, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Tertullian. The significance of this doctrine cannot but be appreciated wherever there exists any theological insight. It rests upon the idea of a raised and

restored humanity, a race redeemed, as distinguished from that individual redemption which is the theory of modern theology, and of a merely subjective teaching. The title of "Mother of God," given to her at Ephesus, was "familiar to Christians from primitive times, and is used among other writers, by Origen, Eusebius, St. Alexander, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. Nilus. She had been called 'Ever Virgin' by St. Epiphanius, Didymus, and others. By others the 'Mother of all living,' as being the anti-type of Eve, for as Epiphanius observes, 'in truth,' not in shadow, from Mary was life itself brought into the world, that Mary might bear things living, and might become mother of living things." St. Augustine says, that all have sinned, "except the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, *for the honour of the Lord*, I wish no question to be raised at all, when we are treating of sins." "She was alone, and wrought the world's salvation," says St. Ambrose, alluding to her conception of the Redeemer.—"The rod out of the stem of Jesse," says St. Jerome, "the eastern gate through which the High Priest alone goes in and out, and yet which is ever shut."—"The wise woman," says St. Nilus, "who hath clad all believers from the fleece of the Lamb born from her, with the clothing of incorruption, and delivered them from their invisible nakedness."—"The mother of life, of beauty, of majesty, the morning star," according to Antiochus.—"The mystical new heavens," "the heavens carrying the Divinity," "the fruitful vine, by whom we are translated from death unto life," according to St. Ephraim."—"The sacred shrine of sinlessness," "the golden altar of holocaust," "the ark gilt within and without," "the fair bride of the Canticles," "the stay of believers," "the Church's diadem," "the expression of orthodoxy," "God's only bridge to man," according to St. Proclus.—(Newman on *Development*, p. 407.)

Are such expressions consistent with the notion that the devotion to the Blessed Virgin is a modern innovation? Are not many of them, if removed from the context, and disingenuously interpreted, quite as easily perverted into false doctrine as any expressions in St. Alphonso Liguori? Yet such was the doctrine of the Nicene and Anti-Nicene Church.

According to the belief of early times the Blessed Vir-

gin was expressly referred to in that first-fruit of all prophecy, "the seed of the woman," in which a Messiah was promised to fallen man. The second Adam and Eve were foretold to the first at the moment that the primal sin was judged. In Adam and Eve the whole human race stood before the eyes of God; and for Him, to whom there is no future and no past, Mary was already as present, with her Divine Child and Lord in her arms, as were the guilty pair. Man stood visibly before Him; and in the cedar cone one seed was set apart and consecrated by prophecy. Fallen humanity was redeemed in promise as soon as fallen, and permitted to put forth a pure hand to meet the divine gift. The Fathers, also, interpreted the words of our Lord when He commits the blessed Virgin to the beloved disciple, to be henceforth his mother, as implying that His mother is henceforth to be the mother of all His brethren in the flesh. Their view is obviously founded on their estimate of the regenerate nature and mediatorial kingdom, constituted in Christ's humanity, with reference to which the second Eve must necessarily have such important relations. Such interpretations would not even occur to a Protestant mind, for to such it possesses not the key; just as a Dissenter would not apply to the visible church the magnificent prophecies of Isaiah. Yet it is plain that if the Fathers understood the right interpretation of Holy Scripture in these points, as in countless others, and especially in the Canticles, the Protestant opinions are as unscriptural as they are opposed to both the spirit and the letter of antiquity. Let an Anglican but preach such doctrine in our days, and the public opinion of his Church will be a plain spoken commentator on his teaching. "If you are not a Papist," it will tell him, "it is either because you do not know your own mind, or because you have not courage to act on your own convictions."

Let us now proceed to another great Christian doctrine, that of Mediation. The doctrine of Mediation proceeds from that of the Incarnation, and the miserably inadequate notion entertained of the former by many who think themselves zealous for it, indicates their superficial apprehension of the latter. What is the usual notion among Protestants concerning our Lord's present Mediation in heaven? Is it not that, being in heaven, He pleads for us? If this were all, indeed, well might Christians fear lest

His office should be interfered with by the prayers of His Saints. But His prayer is but a special act or instance of His mediation, which essentially consists in His very Being, as God at once and man. His incarnation is itself the perpetual and ever-energizing mediation between earth and heaven. As Christ is the God-Man, so the very idea of Christianity involves that of a divine humanity, the head of which, being the second Person of the Holy Trinity, is the living bond of mediation between God and the redeemed race; even as the same Christ, as the creating Word, is the bond between God and the creation. The Saints, then, when they intercede for us, do, according to their humbler measure, in act what His very Being does for us. Far from superseding His eternal and unbroken action, their intercession is based upon His. For is it not as members of His body that they have any place in heaven, of that mystical body which His sacramental body ever feeds while on earth? What they do He does in them. Their prayers are the breath of His spirit "returning to its birth." As living members of the God-Man, ineffably united to Him, without prejudice to their distinct personality, yet in a union the only adequate type of which, even while they tarried below, was the unity of the Blessed Trinity, they intercede for His members on earth. In the Mediation of Intercession, as in that of Ministration, it is not only the privilege, but the duty of all Christians, in their several degrees, to take a part with the great Head of their race on behalf of all its members, otherwise the intercessory prayers of the living, as well as the functions of priests, kings, &c., would be an invasion of Christ's prerogative. The mediation which is, not only His, (as properly speaking all mediation is,) but also *incommunicably* His, is the atoning and expiatory sacrifice. The distinction is overlooked because prejudice is blind.

✱ Mediation, let be remembered, is not a principle special to the dispensation of grace: it is the law of laws in the kingdom of nature also. In nature and in Providence, God does all things; but He acts through means and instrumentalities, and what they do, He does through them. What are the so-called "Laws of Nature," but His law, or mode of action? What are their order, but the harmony of His being? What is done in the sphere

of nature God does through the medium of Nature's laws: what is done in the sphere of history, God's Providence over-rules, using, as a medium, the actions and passions of men, not, therefore, divested of responsibility: what is done in the sphere of grace God does, using as His medium now the Sacraments, now the prayers and energies of the militant Church, now those of the Church triumphant. Far from the belief being far-fetched, the mere analogy of God's procedure might have made an enquiring mind suspect that the agencies of the Saints are among the living laws, through which God conducts the world of spirit. It is the stranger that this thought should seem remote to us, since few are hardy enough to doubt that such instrumentality is among the offices of the angels. Does any one fancy that there is an opposition between the scriptural statement that the angels are ministering spirits, ministering to the heirs of salvation, and the statement that the help which is done upon earth He doeth it Himself? Why then should an imaginary antithesis make one distrust the ministrations of those beings, who share both the nature of Christ their Head (for He took not on Him the nature of angels), and also that of their brethren not yet consummated? Are we not expressly told, that in the kingdom of the regeneration, they that overcome are to have thrones, and to judge the tribes of the Christian Israel? What then? Can they not share Christ's intercessory office who share His regal? Is not His Church the kingdom of the regeneration? Even if that kingdom were to be regarded as still future, is it not obvious that since high offices on the part of the Saints, held but by derivation from Christ, and in subordination to Him, will not then interfere with, but on the contrary exemplify, carry out, and extend, those sacred offices, which to Him only belong, absolutely, and of right, neither could they now do any prejudice to His prerogative and incommunicable majesty?

In truth, our poor conceptions rise neither to the dignity of the Saints who intercede, nor of the humblest of those for whom they make intercession. Let us take the first test that occurs. What is charity? A supernatural love for God, and for men, as representing Christ. The love must be of grace; it must be the gift of God the Holy Ghost:—and on no other condition will God permit us to direct this love to Him, its proper source and end,

than that of our directing it also to the humblest of those whom His wisdom foresaw from all eternity, whom His love created in time, whom His Son redeemed on Calvary, and whom His Spirit regenerates in baptism. Not only does He not grudge this love to His creature still "in via," but He commands us to give it. And can He regard as detracted from Himself, the reverence which, for His sake, is paid to His servants already "in patria," and crowned by Him? Our dignity on earth may teach us theirs in heaven, and raise us above churlishness and ingratitude towards our benefactors in sacred places.

We have seen the light which the article of the Incarnation throws on the cultus of the Saints. The "Communion of Saints" has an application still more practically cogent, and not less ideally illustrative. How comes it that Protestantism generally has lost, and that Anglicanism professes but to recover, this principle so deeply seated in the heart, as well as mind of the early Church? Because they separated from the Church; and the coal removed from the fire, in losing its heat, loses ere long its light also. Isolation bred isolation: those who divided the fold on earth cared not to preserve living relations with the fold in heaven: those who loved not the brethren whom they had seen, were not suffered to love the brethren whom they had not seen, or to trust in turn to their love. As they remained in a theoretical union with the "primitive Church," a union which did not claim to be cemented by sacramental bonds, or the continuous tradition of the faith, but was founded on a presumed concurrence in opinions; so their communion with the triumphant Church, instead of being a practical thing, subsisting in reciprocal good offices, and sanctioned by mutual duties, began by being a matter of barren meditation, and ceased ere long to exist. Neither nature nor grace permits the continuance of affections which have sophisticated themselves by the substitution of abstract relations for daily offices. Yet the truth is as it was; and the Church abides as God made it; and the Communion of Saints is the very first law in its organization. Without that law, it must lose every one of those indelible attributes which constitute its notes. It could not be one: for without love the bond of obedience would first become a mere carnal bond, and then be cast off as such. It could not be Catholic, because without the union of humility with zeal,

and the ever-present direction of a presiding mind, Christ's kingdom could not be extended: it could not be Apostolic, for an Apostolic succession not grounded on the living power of the Apostolic college, still from their supernal seats governing the Church upon earth, would constitute but an Heraldic boast, precious only to the genealogist and the antiquarian. It could not be holy, because the Spirit of Holiness is given to the Church in the communion of the One Human-Divine fold, and in the bond of peace.

What then is the Communion of Saints? It is that sacred principle of Community, by which what each has in the Body of Christ, he has *for all* and *from all*. His sins alone are proper to him. They separate him, as from Christ, so from the living members of Christ. Every other relation binds him to his brethren: there is one Faith, and one Baptism for him and for them, as one God and one heaven: every grace is given to him for them, as well as for himself: to scandalize the least of them is a species of suicide: to advance, either in holiness or in station, and most of all to be promoted into the Church triumphant, is to be multiplied yet more deeply into the sum of all the members of Christ; for in proportion as we rise nearer to the Head, we share more in the sacred solitude. The Communion of Saints is that gravitation which binds in one all the atoms of the spiritual sphere. We escape not that sphere, because we have outsoared its night, and ascended into its illuminated portion. The reward of those who have most effectually served their brethren on earth, is not that they should cease to serve them in heaven. The crown of those who have most extended their master's kingdom, is not that they should extend it no more. Their power on earth was prayer; for as all power belongs to God, the sole participation in such power which is more than illusory, must consist in that energy which invokes, and by Divine permission, applies, the power of God. That power must be theirs in a tenfold degree, when, remote from all that hinders, they are wholly united with God, their strength; and such energy cannot interfere with their rest, when the weight of the flesh is removed, and not the act, but the habit of aid, has become the instinct and law of all their being.

We know that the Saints prayed for us on earth: we believe that their prayers were the means through which

it pleased God to give us many of those blessings which appeared to come to us independently of such aid, and might, had God so pleased, have come to us without any mediate instrumentality, our own, or that of others. If we doubt whether they pray for us still, that is, whether they continue, as with spiritual hands, to clothe, feed, and protect us, what barrier, established between the two worlds, restrains their influence, or deprives us of its fruit? Is it one on our part or on theirs? We see them not pray; but did we *see* them when they were in their cloisters or solitudes? We *see* not the effect of their prayers; but when they prayed on earth, was it the eye, or was it faith, that recognized the effect of their intercessions? What, if haply we had never faith in them; but as hypocrites, asked for their prayers only in courtesy, or on the chance of benefit? Do we *see* the effect of our own prayers, or of the sacraments? What if, in the one case and the other, we have practically disbelieved in the "*opus operatum*," and practically believed in such benefits only as result from devotion as a spiritual exercise, and the salutary reaction of the mind upon itself? In all such matters we have reason to suspect ourselves. As *opinion* may, without our perceiving it, sustain the fabric of intellectual belief which *faith* supports not for us; so, (for we are expert in discovering false sources of comfort,) may an insincere, or merely natural hope, charity, or devotion, substitute itself for a divine. Is religion a matter of sight or of faith; and if we cannot believe what we do not see, are we Christians in God's sight or in our own?

Or is the obstacle to the prayers of the Saints one that exists on their part? If so, is it an internal obstacle? How can it be such? We have seen that their power must increase as their proximity to Christ increases, and that the highest crown He can give them is that of sharing His ministration for the services of His own, according to that saying, "Let him that is chief be as he that doth serve." What change has then disqualified them for serving? On earth they had faith: on high faith has become consummated in vision. On earth they had charity: on high what was here but a detached ray, lives again in the central orb of light; and their very being is in Him who is perfect love. On earth their knowledge was imperfect: on high they see, as the angels see, in the mirror of the divine nature, and with the eyes of Christ. On earth temptations

disquieted them : on high their eyes are ever fixed on God, and on His image, reflected in the Church beneath, as the sun in the sea. On earth infirmity still clung to them : on high their being is made perfect, and they carry freely out that great part which here below they but rehearsed. "The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us." The Spirit is the life of the Church : does not, then, that Triumphant Church, which the Spirit perfectly wields, make intercession for its own members beneath ?

The Saints are not, then, unworthy of the reverence they receive ; nor is it an internal obstacle on their part that prevents them from ministering to us. Does an external barrier restrain their kind offices ? "They are not here," it is answered, "they are far away in heaven : they see us no more." On what a miserable materialism is not all this unbelief founded ! How know we that any spot of earth would not be heaven to heavenly spirits ? The blessed angels are present when the Eucharist is celebrated. Why should not the Saints, who are members of the mystical Body, be present too ? The angel that guards a Christian child beholds at the same moment the face of God. Why, then, must a Saint be separated from God, because he is nigh to his brethren on earth ? What Scriptural warrant have we for a philosophy of space and time, abandoned even by the profounder schools of metaphysics, which regard them as but subjective forms of the human intelligence ? We know that the relations of souls to space cannot be as those of bodies. But, above all, we know that the inner bond, cementing the union of all Christians, is, not space, or time, but the body of Christ. To that body the Church militant and triumphant alike belong. As well might one fancy that when a man wades across a river, there can be no communication between those portions of His body above and beneath the water...no common sympathy of nerve or circulation of blood. The very senses that beguile and seduce us might instruct us on this point. Spots separated from each other by half the circumference of the earth are yet nearer to each other, for purposes of intellectual communication, if connected by the electric wire, than places not so connected, though within but a few miles of each other. In other words, *distance* is but *accidentally* an interruption. But if this be the case with respect to physical and intellectual communication, is it not obviously absurd to imagine that dis-

tance or matter can constitute any obstacle to spiritual communication? The objectors are the slaves of their senses. The blind man cannot see his friend; and he infers that his friend has lost the power of seeing him!

“Anglicans” at least have little reason to be incredulous on this matter, as to the connection between the Communion of Saints and the Cultus of Saints. It is, they often admit, but a short time since they began to understand the former doctrine. Already the light which they have derived from it has in part revealed to them the unity of the Church on earth. How know they that it will not explain also the union between the portions of the Church on earth and in heaven? Already that doctrine has instructed them on the subject of the sacraments, and taught them that what their neighbours too often esteem but as the incantations of priestcraft, or the charms of vulgar credulity, are in reality the very gates between heaven and earth. What, if the city which has seven gates, possess also other avenues that conduct to heaven, and if a glorious ministration of prayers ascending to the invisible throne, and of angels and Saints descending in love and power, connect together all the portions of that one temple, whereof the Lamb is the light.

Defective, however, as Protestant theology is with respect to these fundamental doctrines, the more obvious deficiency in its worship is that which perhaps opposes the chief obstacle to the veneration of the Saints. In religion doctrines and practices are complementary to each other, and to understand the one you must understand that which corresponds with it. The complement to the cultus of the Saints is the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is not to be wondered at, if, where the highest notion of worship commonly consists in the recitation of prayers, prayers to the Saints should easily confound themselves with prayer to God. But, for Catholics, divine worship continues to be something wholly distinct from mere prayer, and immeasurably raised above it. It consists in the great Christian Offering, “the dread and tremendous Sacrifice,” of which antiquity is so full. It was reserved for Protestantism to invent a worship without a sacrifice: the Catholic Church, as it has its priesthood and its altar, has its sacrifice also; that sacrifice fore-shadowed by Abraham’s, and Melchisedech’s, and Abel’s;—of which the offerings of the Jewish and the Patriarchal Churches were but shadows. Christ

offers Himself ever in heaven ; and what her Head does on high, His Church does ever on earth. That is the worship at which the angels wonder, the worship compared with which all other rites are but friendly familiarities. The blood that ransomed the world flows no more ; but the same dread sacrifice proceeds for ever at the Catholic altars ; and all the earth becomes a Calvary. For the children of the Church, the great facts of religion are not historic incidents, past and gone ; but are mysteries ever-living. Christ's priest murmurs the words of Christ ; and the same body which in its natural relations, sits at the right hand of the Majesty on High, becomes sacramentally present among men. Christ's words, mighty as those that called the universe into being, are spoken at His command, and the Incarnation becomes a present fact, energizing at the Catholic altar. Again the illimitable submits to bounds ; again the All-Holy is offered. Who is offered ? A Divine Victim :—and by whom ? By a Divine Priest, for he who consecrates on earth is but the representative of Christ. And to whom does the one High Priest of the Church offer this Divine Victim ? Again, and for ever, as of old, to the most Holy Trinity. The Catholic Church knows nothing of time ; for already, and from the first, she inhabits eternity. On her children the aurora of the Incarnation is ever breaking in virgin whiteness : on them the sunset of the Passion pours ever its crimson flood. They kneel between the two ; while she whose throne is upon all the mountains of the world, lifts up her hands, and, in conjunction with her Divine Lord, offers up the universal and perpetual Sacrifice. There is silence ; and then there is heard the never-dying echoes of those words, " Be it done unto me according unto thy Word," and, " It is finished." This is the supreme service of the Catholic Church...an act ratified in heaven, not a prayer-meeting. Compared with this what are devotions to Saints ? Were it possible for a Catholic, ever so neglectful of his duties, to confound together things separated by an infinite gulf, what more would he require to correct his error than to enter a Catholic Church, and kneel as the mass proceeds ? Where a Divine Victim is offered, there the doctrine of the Trinity ceases to be a mere dogma : it is transfused into the ardour of devotion : and as it passes into the heart, which it enlarges, faith and adoration uplift each other and become one.

We greatly regret that our limits oblige us to omit the consideration of many other Catholic doctrines, between which, and that of the invocation of Saints, it would be easy to show that the closest connection subsists. Such, for instance, is the doctrine of the Sacraments. It is in the next world, not in this, that the influences, received from them here, become fully manifested. To baptism we have alluded. We should have been glad to refer also to Confirmation, in which Christians receive a new power, analogous to the effusion of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, which confirms them with the "princely spirit" of strength and stability. In the Holy Eucharist the gift is greater still. In it the faithful communicant receives Christ Himself, in union ineffable. It might almost be said that all that is within him then "puts on Christ," his personal being alone remaining, while its attributes are ennobled, as by some Sacramental change. Yet of all this so little appears, while we are still compassed with our mortal infirmities, that the gifts to which faith so firmly clings, as the germ of that which is to be fully developed only in the reign of glory, are regarded by the sceptic as but high-flown phrases, the disguise of very poor realities. In these matters, as in all, we have to choose whether we will take faith or sight as our guide: but if we take the former, the Christian, we must believe, is, even while here below, very different from what he seems, and worthy of very different honours. We should have wished to have referred also to the doctrine of Election, and shewn how those blessed beings, whose lot on earth seemed to be made different from that of others by diversity only in circumstance, were predestined to the exact spot which each occupies by the eternal counsel of God, Who, in them, and subordinately to them, foresaw also their brethren; even as the architect contemplates the details of his projected house relatively to its main walls, and as the ship-builder adjusts the whole fabric of his ship to the main beams originally laid down to receive them. We should have wished to enlarge on the special offices for which we are indebted to the Saints—the economy by which God defends us through the instrumentality of these spirits of good, against the assaults of the spirits of darkness, with whom, as well as with flesh and blood, is our warfare...the degree in which they are to us types, and, as it were, living monuments, of the several Christian virtues...the peculiar and sympathetic claim we have on those whose

state, even in heaven, is incomplete without us...the mode in which they make even our human affections gravitate upwards, and prevent our imaginations from becoming dazzled by merely terrestrial images of greatness and glory...the mode in which they enable us to realize, and render habitual, that idea of a supernatural life to which the natural mind is averse...the mode in which they bridge over the gulf between this world and the next. We should have wished also to have examined the Catholic doctrine of Sanctity, and shewn how closely the Protestant estimate of the Saints is connected with the sceptical or secular character of a period which had lost sight of the true idea of Christian holiness, and lost all belief in that degree of virtue which is possible to grace. We should have wished also to have pointed out the difference between a true Theism and that which so commonly goes by the name; showing that where a low conception of God exists, such, for instance, as the Calvinistic, or the Paleyan, a false ideal of human virtue must exist also, excluding the idea of that complete and willing dependance in which the finite and relative being must ever stand to the infinite and absolute, substituting therefore a pagan for a Christian idea of human greatness, and rendering it difficult to think of a Saint except as a sort of demigod, the rival, not the servant of the Most High. Each of these subjects would require a treatise in itself. We can merely suggest them to the reader, who, if he follows them out, will find them as closely connected with the *Cultus Sanctorum* as any of the topics on which we have enlarged.

That Protestantism has the merit of consistency in rejecting the cultus of the Saints, we do not deny. Introduced into the Protestant scheme of thought it could find no place, and it might produce the exact consequences which its opponents attribute to it. *Protestantism has not room for it.* A few years ago a foreign philosopher perplexed his readers by an amusing paradox. "You have no logical proof," he said, "that the objects you see retain the same size from year to year. Suppose the whole universe to be undergoing a gradual process of shrinking;—we should not observe the change, because all our measures, including our own bodies, would have been shrinking in the same proportion as the objects with which you compare them." The paradox is at least good enough for an illustration. That such changes do

not take place in the physical world we have a certainty that may console us for any logical flaws in the proof; but the moral and spiritual worlds, alas, are full of such sad and unperceived transformations. They take place daily in art, intellect, and life. The descendants of those who raised our Gothic cathedrals, could see in them nothing but barbarism; and it sometimes happens that those who in youth could appreciate Plato and Shakspeare, have, when the world had reduced them, found more to interest them in a provincial newspaper six months old. Thus also when the spiritual being shrivels up under the blight of unrepented sin, the same names remain for religious affections, which still preserve their juxtaposition, though in scale they have become microscopic, and though, until some accident recalls the old standard, the change may be scarcely perceived. Such was the change which Protestant theology underwent. It shrunk beneath the freezing influence of isolation. It was starved on the niggardly soil of private judgment. Holy Scripture, when that profounder and mystic interpretation had been abandoned, which, when exercised by individual caprice, becomes simply ridiculous, and is therefore soon discarded, could sustain no more the stature of the soul. The fervour of the early Christians, the scholastic lore of the middle ages, the devotion of monks, and virgins, and crusaders, the genial influences of all times and regions of the Church, could fling themselves into the failing soul no more, when once the bar of separation lay between the sect and the "*Orbis Terrarum*." Protestantism had shrunk up into a system, small, cold, and dark, in which if most of the mighty verities named above retained a nominal place, it was only on condition of their submitting to that universal and disastrous change by which the whole theory of religion had become dwarfed and unrealized. The cultus of the Saints is the measure of a mightier world. What wonder if it cannot find room in the contracted sphere of Protestantism? An exclusion which originally was part of a revolt, continues itself from necessity.

It is infinitely sad to observe the incapacity of most Protestant writers (we are not speaking of Puseyite) to comprehend the Catholic cultus of God's Saints, in the absence of that one great idea, present alike in all Catholic dogmas, which alone renders the practice intelli-

gible. It is often affecting to observe the desire of such writers to avoid making that charge against the Church to which, however, *if to any just one*, her practice must be obnoxious, limiting their assertion, as some of them do, to a statement, possibly true in their present state of theological knowledge, i. e., that they themselves would be guilty of idolatry if they gave religious veneration to any but God. Even where the dreadful charge is flung in the face of her with whom her Lord is ever present, a truly Catholic heart feels less of indignation than of compassion for that strange state of incoherency, from which neither learning, nor ability, nor kindliness, nor religious gravity and seriousness in other matters, can exempt a controversialist, the victim of an unhappy but inherited position, who, regarding this question from a false point of view, sees the whole field of theology in a false perspective, and is, without knowing it, irretrievably at variance with himself, as well as with four-fifths of the Christian world. Let us take, for example, that learned and very amiable writer, Mr. Tyler.

Mr. Tyler begins by acknowledging that it is not our own private judgment merely which is to guide our enquiries on this matter, but Holy Scripture as interpreted by antiquity. He then, by the most capricious of all exercises of private judgment, decides that antiquity must mean, not the apostolic age only, nor the whole period of the undivided Church, nor even the period of the four general councils admitted by Anglicanism, but that period, the remains of which are so scanty, which preceded the first general council. He begins the battle by choosing both his own position and that of his opponents, by an act based on no conceivable principle, Catholic or Protestant.

Referring to the Old Testament, he says, "The Israelites of old had no clear knowledge, as we have, of one great Mediator, who is ever making intercession for us; *and yet* they sought not the mediation and good offices of those superhuman beings, of whose existence and power, and employment in works of blessing to man, they had no doubt." Instead of the words "*and yet*," he should have said "*and therefore*." It was because they had not yet received that doctrine of mediation, founded, as we have seen, on that of the incarnation, that they could not clearly see how those who are raised by our Lord's incarnation, partake, in an inferior and derivative way, of His mediatorial office, relatively to intercession. The Saints of the Old

Law had not by regeneration partaken of that redeemed human nature now triumphant in heaven. It would have been *unnatural* to have addressed them with Christian veneration. Again, neither the Jews nor the Pagans knew anything of that worship which Christians use as their highest act of adoration. Their highest worship of the supreme being was perhaps more near to the inferior Catholic worship than to Latria. By way of proving that the distinction between these two species of worship is imaginary, Mr. Tyler adduces passages from the Hebrew, from the Septuagint, and from the New Testament, in which the same *expressions* relatively to worship, including even the lowest word τιμη, (honour,) are used in a double application. This is a strangely wrong-headed proceeding. The poverty of human language, when not used expressly for the purpose of scientific definition and distinction, is the very point that Catholics insist on. "Worship," they remark, is a word which, like "love," "honour," "faith," &c., &c., must not only be applied, though in different senses, to God and to glorified beings, but also to men yet upon earth. *All* the degrees of the affections denoted by such terms belong to God, though the lower alone belong to the creature. The same misconception fills Protestants with a nervous anxiety to explain away the instances in which the patriarchs and Saints of the Old Testament knelt in worship before angels, as acts of worship to some special manifestation of God. They forget that acts and gestures, as well as words, bear necessarily, as well as innocently, very various significations according to circumstances: and the Oriental forms of salutation to emperors and kings would, upon their principles, equally require to be explained away. A jealousy on these points is as little connected with exalted views of divine worship, as prudery is with virtue. The Christian church has, in the Trinity and the Incarnation, a revelation of God which transcends that vouchsafed to the Jews, as much as the sacraments of the New Law transcend the ceremonial observances of the Old. She has, therefore, also an altar, a sacrifice, and a worship which, in a proportionate degree, transcend that of the Jewish Law. She is the body of Christ and the temple of His Spirit. And yet writers of a certain class can never raise themselves above the fear that she must be ever on the point of yielding to temptations, such as the lowest of those with which the Synagogue was threatened while sur-

rounded by Paganism! They see not that the whole scale of being has been raised, and that, as among us, "Love is the keeping of the Commandments," so worldliness is to Christians the temptation analogous to that which idolatry was to the Jew;—"Covetousness is idolatry." The fear of imaginary dangers is one of those delusions by which we are tempted to a forgetfulness of those that we are really exposed to.

The same want of a great initiative idea, shewing how the veneration of God's Saints is essentially honour paid to God, is that which causes Protestant controversialists, in treating the cultus of the Saints, as well as the Papal Supremacy, to reverse the bearing of history on the subject, spelling its lessons backward. If, for instance, the Intercession of the Saints as a doctrine, preceded (as Mr. Tyler maintains) the invocation of them, as a usual and public practice; and if that practice began by invoking God's mercy through the merits of His Saints, and celebrating festivals at their tombs, is it not evident that such a gradual process would be equally susceptible of two opposite interpretations, and that nothing can be more arbitrary and less reasonable, or religious, than to assume as its legitimate interpretation, that the Church began to fall into idolatry, just at that period when martyrdom had triumphed over the idolatry of Paganism, and when she had entered on her sacred office of defining the faith? So long as growth implies no change, but augmentation only of a stature which still maintains its proportions, (as Vincentius Lirinensis describes the permanence which he enforces,) is it wonderful that the reverence for the Saints should become daily more clearly defined? Is it not the attribute of the highest, and most divinely-guided intelligence, that it unites permanence with progression, ever more clearly defining or more strenuously acting on what it has ever implicitly held, yet never having anything to unlearn? Assuming then the truth of the Protestant statement with respect to the order in which the various parts of the cultus of the Saints unfolded themselves during the first three centuries, it would be but one more illustration of the mode in which love kindles into aspiration, aspiration brings forth its salutary fruit, principles sink deeper and deeper into the soul, and conviction ripens into action. Christian sympathy, on this view, was the root of the whole. Holy Church went to the

graves of those, in whose blood she had dyed her garments as she trod the wine-press, not alone ;—that she might sing and pray with them there, as they with the angels of God. There a diviner fire kindled within her heart ; faith passed into vision, and she saw those that she loved, at once far off and yet close by. Their brethren in the flesh sang first with them, and then to them. They felt their own inferiority more and more as persecution ceased. Their infirmities at once, and that spirit which, in the Church, triumphs over infirmity, concurred in gradually elevating the devotion, and causing a sacred sympathy to rise into a more sacred veneration.

The Protestant does not see that as the kingdom of the Church was established on the ruins of Paganism, and of that World of which, not Christ, but the Evil One, is the prince (the Babylon of the Apocalypse) so the thrones of the Saints were established in righteousness and conspicuous glory upon the ruins of idolatrous worship. He is therefore thrown upon an interpretation, which, if true, amounts to this, that the Church, just when called on to sit in Council, to lift the sceptre of God, and to rule the world He had redeemed, began to open its gates to those idols and evil powers whom her voice and her eye, and her blood, had driven back to hell. Had such a violation of the Divine promise been possible, the Church must either have perished then, or then have had her Reformation. Luther must have completed the work of Athanasius ; Calvin must have sat down beside Ambrose ; and Cranmer must have protested with Leo against corruption in high places of the State, and the madness of barbarous races. What is the fact ? The deliverers came not : yet the Church, in place of melting away in the softness of old idolatries revived, proceeded upon her work ; consolidating her dogmatic system, extending the ascetic orders, evangelizing the nations, founding the dynasties and sowing the institutions of that civilization for which her opponents are wholly indebted to her, teaching kings to rule in righteousness, mitigating the cruelty of feudal Chiefs, educating the people and then freeing them, protecting Christendom from the Moslem, reducing each new heresy as it rose, preserving, transcribing, and diffusing that sacred book, which, but for her, would never have reached the hands of those who are so ready to fling it in her face.

The Protestant controversialist is perpetually reduced in

defence of his position to the use of the sophism, known by the name of false antithesis. "You should pray," he says, "to Christ, not to His Saints." Would he not at once perceive the unfairness of such argument if an infidel were to retort upon him, "You should pray to the Eternal Father, not to Christ?" Would he not answer that the more you pray to Christ the more you will pray to the Father also:—nay, that every prayer to the Son is, implicitly an act of homage to the Father? How then can he fail to see that, in praying to the Saints, we do not substitute the creature for the Creator as the object of prayer; but we add the prayers of glorified creatures to those of their brethren yet upon earth, offering all alike to the throne of grace?* Another affirms, "If the Saints are our intercessors, then Christ is not the one sufficient Mediator between God and man." Here again the antithesis is wholly false. How different the reasoning of the early Church! It is thus that Origen sets forth the great idea of celestial sympathy, and the derivative and instrumental power of the heavenly host:—"Just as a body in motion is accompanied by the motion of its shadow, so also, by rendering the supreme God favourable, it follows that the person has His (God's) friends, angels, souls, spirits, favourable also; for they sympathize with those who are worthy of God's favour; and not only do they become kindly affected towards the worthy, but they also join in their work with those who desire to worship the supreme God; and they propitiate Him; and they pray with us, and supplicate with us; so that we boldly say that together with men, who on principle prefer the better part, and pray to God, ten thousands of holy powers join in prayer unasked." Strange, that to Mr. Tyler's eyes the force of this sublime passage should seem to lie in the last word only, from which he infers that if the Saints and Angels pray for us without being asked to do so, such petitions must be unnecessary, and therefore wrong. This is to found prayer on what may be called the most economical principle. What, if an infidel remarked that it is needless to invoke the aid of the Holy Spirit, since He is sure to aid all who love God, or to pray

* "Let us indeed fly unto the intercession of the Saints, and let us call upon them to pray for us, but let us not put our trust solely in their prayers, but dispose what is our part in a befitting manner."—St. J. Chrysostome, quoted in Waterworth's "Faith of Catholics."

"Thy Will be done," since God's Will must needs be accomplished, or to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, since the elect must needs be saved? It may or may not have been expedient to address prayers publicly to the Saints, while Paganism continued to flourish, and while the Church was subject to such misrepresentation, that she was obliged to conceal even her Eucharistic rites. The Church at this moment does not consider the practice as universally *necessary*, since she does not require, though she recommends it. In the meantime higher instincts than the law of a servile necessity govern the regenerate heart. We neither abstain from addressing the Saints, because love and sympathy is the very law of their being; nor do we believe that their pleadings for us, consentaneous with the mediation of their Lord, is a disparagement to that mediation.

The same ancient writer sets forth the view of the early church respecting Sanctification, the Ministry of Angels, and the Mediation of Christ, referring them all alike to the doctrine of the Incarnation as their root. He says, "The heavens are opened. The heavens were closed, and, at the coming of Christ they were opened, in order that they being laid open, the Holy Ghost might come upon Him in the appearance of a dove. For He could not come to us unless He had first descended on one who partook of His own nature. Jesus ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, He received gifts for men."—And again, "Now the angels descended because Christ first descended, fearing to descend before the Lord of all powers and things commanded. But when they saw the chieftain of the army of heaven dwelling in earthly places, then they entered through the opened road, following their Lord, and obeying His will, who distributes them as guardians of those that believe on His name. Thou wast yesterday under a devil: to-day thou art under an angel."—"Come, angel, take up one who by the word is converted from former error, from the doctrine of demons, from iniquity speaking on high; and taking him up, like a good physician, cherish him and instruct him." His doctrine is, that previous to the incarnation our Humanity could not have been sanctified, though there were special effluences of the Holy Spirit; and also that, notwithstanding their occasional missions, there could have existed no general ministration of Angels. Compare with this doc-

trine the sad necessity under which Protestants find themselves to make the Jewish standard of devotion the measure of the Christian, interpreting the substance by the shadow, and restraining our Christian liberty within such limits as might be suitable for a Jew, or safe for a recent convert from Paganism. As little do they understand the force of the statement that the Jews were unlikely to direct their prayers to departed spirits, who, however venerable, were not reigning on High, but awaiting the coming of Him who released them from prison, and ascended with them to paradise. Losing sight of the idea, and catching at a merely logical cavil, they reply, "Why then did not the Jews pray to Enoch and Elias who were translated?" They do not perceive that even if the Jews could have known that those translated beings stood in the actual presence of God, they could hardly have determined their conduct by the exception not the rule, or forgotten that general estimate of man's relations with God, which prevailed until the Incarnation had bridged over the gulf of separation.

In the absence of the one guiding light, Protestant controversialists throw themselves with a blind confidence on merely negative arguments, as Dissenters do when arguing against Episcopacy, the Priesthood, &c. They cite whole pages from Holy Scripture, or from the Fathers, asserting that this or that is the exact spot where the principle of the cultus, if sound, ought to be inculcated, and remarking that they can find no trace of it there; an argument analogous to the Irish mode of proving an alibi. They assume that this or that passage from the Fathers is likely to be a forgery, because it contradicts their preconceptions. They adopt a *minimizing* rule of interpretation, as Socinians do with respect to texts on the Trinity. Making the vaguer and feebler passage their measure for the interpretation of the stronger and more clear, they forget altogether the cumulative force of citations, discarding each in its turn as nugatory, if it does not prove the whole of the argument. They labour under a perpetual "Ignoratio Elenchi," loading their pages with citations to prove that the early Church believed our Lord to be the "one mediator between God and man," and that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, but always assuming, instead of proving the real point at issue, viz., that there exists an inconsistency between such statements,

quite as common in the writings of modern as of ancient Saints, and the practice which they so confidently condemn. They assume that the usages of the Church are "traditions of men," and that the traditions of certain separated communities, which do not even pretend to inspiration, during the last three centuries, must be the teaching of the Spirit and the voice of Holy Scripture. They alternately throw themselves on antiquity, and admit that antiquity itself sanctioned the beginning of the corruption...the principles which necessarily generated the practice, and which, if again received, must generate it again. They quote rhetorical expressions in unauthorized devotions, as the explanation of prayers which the Church has sanctioned; and refuse to allow the scientific definitions of the Church to explain the meaning of either. They vary their own principles, now conceding the intercession of the Saints, though not the invocation of them, and now denying both; now admitting that they might lawfully be invoked if we were sure that they could hear us, and now denying it; now affirming that they are sinners like ourselves, now that they are in the glory of God, and now that they sleep, till the resurrection,—their fever-smitten argument finding no spot on which it can rest. They assume that what they cannot do *in faith* another cannot, though it is certain that a Quaker could not submit to baptism in faith; and that what they cannot see another cannot, although a Mahometan cannot see how a belief in the unity of God is consistent with the separate worship of the three Persons.

They can see no distinction between the mode in which the merits of the Saints, like the good deeds and prayers of living Christians, invoke the mercy of God on the world, and that transcendent satisfaction which the merits of Christ made to the Divine Justice. They test particular expressions in prayers to the Saints, by asking whether they might not be worthily applied to Christ Himself, never perceiving that all the various degrees of devotion must needs be equally applicable to God, though it is the lower only that are applicable also to His creatures in heaven or on earth. They speak of an exalted though duly-guarded reverence for the Saints, as if such were in reality the principle and practice of Protestantism, not perceiving that, except on the part of some special school, or of some suspected individuals, it is in the Latin and Greek commu-

nions only that the Saints receive any love or honour at all. They draw, with a deplorable confidence, inferences from some particular treatise, perhaps even of a Saint, which would prove him not even to have been a Christian, although a dozen other treatises from the same hand demonstrate that he held with his whole soul convictions the opposite of those imputed to him; and then they proceed to characterise him as a holy man, though in grievous error. They affirm that a particular practice would, in them at least, be unmitigated idolatry, and then admit that, "If the doctrine were confessedly scriptural, come what would come, our duty would be to maintain it at all hazards." (Primitive Christianity, p. 367.) They think it consistent with sound reason to infer that if, in the mediatorial kingdom, the Blessed Virgin exercises, by relative participation, an office in connection with her divine Son's attribute of mercy, while in that of His justice she takes no part, her Son must therefore have abdicated His attribute of mercy. From a metaphor, (intended of course for those who have the key,) the meaning of which is, that Catholics imperil their salvation if they despise the aid of Christ's Mother, or any other means of grace, under the specious pretext that they rely on God alone, they conclude that Mary can save us, according to Catholic teaching, when God Himself cannot. They assume that whatever Mary is to her Lord and Son, in His humanity, that she must be to Him also in His divinity. They imagine that all philosophy, except their own, on the subject must be "oppositions of science falsely so-called," that refined distinctions must be sophistry, that interpretations of Scripture new to them must be glosses, and that ideas the intellectual analysis of which is perplexing to them, encompassed as they are with preconceptions, and entangled in a peculiar association of notions, cannot possibly be simple, nay, self-evident, to Catholics. When they quote the very words of approved Catholic writers, they too often pervert their meaning, as the false witnesses perverted the words of our Lord, or take no real pains to ascertain it. They vary their indictment at will from idolatry to priestcraft, and from priestcraft to enthusiasm, bringing against the spotless Bride charges which, without a Daniel to investigate them, turn out as contradictory as those which the elders brought against the Hebrew matron. Yet these things they do, often with a good intention, often with re-

luctance, if not misgiving:—they do them because to fathom the counsels and measure the wisdom of the Church is, to those who stand without, the most difficult of tasks; and because from the beginning they have mistaken their position, and forgotten the humility that belongs to sober enquiry.

Such are the methods of argument resorted to even by writers of good will and intelligence—the only writers to whom it is worth while to refer—though a far more general mischief will ever be done by a very different class, that of those who trade on prejudice, and address themselves directly to the passions or nervous apprehensions of men. In the former class there are doubtless many who do indeed believe in heroic sanctity, who have a real love of the Saints, who cannot approach the mother of Saints, even when they say hard things of her, without a beating heart, dim presentiments, and the strange memories of a child who approaches again the parent from whom he was stolen in infancy. They recognise the eyes that have rested on them ever from their birth, and followed them in all their wanderings; they are troubled by the voice of her whose litanies, however transposed or reduced by the stranger, breathed over their infant slumber the music that charmed it long and dispels it at last. The hands she extends to them call them back to that font which another would appropriate; and that breast ever open to the innocent and the meek, is the home of love itself, and the treasure-house of every grace. Then the traditionary illusion ensnares them again. That voice, the harmony of every sphere, reminds them of the fabulous syren *because* it is so sweet: they fear that embrace *because* it is perpetual. But instincts nobler than fear, and a guidance surer than man's, draw them on; and she who welcomes all recognises at once as her own each one that truly aspires after sanctity, and says of the estranged one, so near yet so far, "Lo! this also is bone of my bone." Let all such, if doubts perplex them still, contemplate again, more deeply, and in its very fountain, that great idea which irradiates the Catholic cultus of the Saints. If they but master it, half their difficulties will vanish before they have had time to ask a question. They are then fit to peruse the evidence and the argument on the subject, so only that they remember with whom they are reasoning, and before whom at least it may be that they stand. It is

not only the past that can teach them. Let them look around upon the world in which they live, let them judge the tree by its fruits, and compare the honour which is paid to a crucified Lord by the Mother of souls, and by the children of the revolt. Where is it that the crucifix consecrates mountain-peak and vale, and that the wanderer raises her infant high to kiss those bleeding feet? Is it not in those regions where the streets are guarded by the image of the Mother and her Child, and where the shrines of the Saints are more honoured than the tombs of kings? The downward tendency of Protestantism is admitted to be towards Unitarianism. What Church is that of which even the more learned Protestants have declared that Divine Providence continues ever to maintain it, because, with all its ambition or error, it is the inexpugnable citadel of the doctrine of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ? It is that Church in which, as the objectors say, the Mother has dethroned the Son. In his Roman See Peter continues ever to "strengthen his brethren" on the very foundations of Christian faith, when Satan would sift them as wheat.

We live confessedly in an effeminate age, in which softness and selfishness are among our chief sources. What Church is that which has preserved the austerity of the old ascetic rule, and plants new monasteries daily in the seats of luxury and pride? Is it not that one which is accused of having, ages ago, forsaken the severity of the Gospel for the blandishments of idolatrous fancy? Again, these are days in which men of the world cannot conceal their scorn or hatred of theology; in which pietists amuse themselves with the dream that because doctrine, and the practical part of religion are distinguishable things, they are capable of existing in separation; and in which even the learned, and those who insist on orthodoxy, speak with suspicion of "Scientific Divinity." What Church is that, the dogmatic system of which is stable as the rock on which she stands, and by the majesty of its authority maintains, even among the separated bodies, the greater part of whatever definite and sound teaching there remains to them? Is it not that one which, while the streets proud become populous with the statues and columns of secular worship, thinks it not beneath her to receive the votive offering of the poor before the remote shrine? What Church is that the very charge is laid upon her? she can less be said to have missions, to

missionary body, aggressive in every clime, whose missionaries are martyrs, and whose sacred blood flows ever on, upon barbaric shores, in continuous stream with that of Linus and Cletus? Is it not that one of whom the prevaricators, and the beguiled, affirm that she loiters in the smooth way, and dallies with the garlands of those that fought the good fight? What Church is that in whose hands the complete unmutated canon of Holy Scripture is inviolably preserved, without so much as a doubt as to its plenary inspiration and divine authority, at a time when, in Germany at least, those who professed to build on it alone, after having cut it to pieces by their criticism, seem almost on the point of discarding it as an inspired standard of revelation? Is it not that one which is accused of having substituted the fables of a profane genealogy for the teaching of the written Word?

Once more. In the north, as in the east, the powers of this world have trampled the inheritance of God under their feet. How far they are to be blamed by Protestants for maintaining a course in which they were more than sanctioned by the chief of the early reformers, need not here be discussed. The fact, at least, speaks for itself. Bishops are appointed, practically without appeal, by ministers who need not even profess allegiance to their church. The highest tribunal which decides upon the orthodoxy of clergymen, is a lay one appointed by the State, and the law on the subject has been substantially the same for years. Convocation has been in abeyance for successive generations. Discipline is impossible, and the neglect of it results not from the laxity of individuals, but from the actual constitution of Church and State. The clergy give the marriage benediction, without the pretence of a dispensation, to those divorced persons whose union the lips of Christ Himself have directly condemned as adultery. Sinners, though scandalous and unabsolved, but seldom meet let or hindrance when they approach the sacraments. Public opinion applauds as liberality this destruction of souls; and statesmen compliment their church on her charity. These are no charges of ours, but the reiterated assertions of Anglicans themselves, and to us subjects of regret, not of triumph. A small but high-spirited minority object to these things, persons for the most part belonging to the inferior clergy, and whose remonstrances, though confined to words, are commonly regarded as insubordina-

tion. In the meantime the captains of the host acquiesce in their church's degradation, confident that a few years of patience must undo the work of three hundred ; talking about persecution and of chains, when, before their very eyes, the Free Kirk of a poor but hardy land tells them how easily golden chains are flung off by men who are of one mind, and who know their own mind. But what Church is that which for ages and everywhere has braved the powers of this world, withstanding alike the violence of princes, and the madness of the people? Under whose auspices is it that an Archbishop of Cologne in the nineteenth century emulates the constancy of an Archbishop of Canterbury in the twelfth ; and that the prelate of Posen, or Cagliari, in our day fears a royal frown as little as, at Milan, St. Ambrose feared a Theodosius? What fold is that, free only because it is universal and one, in which prelates may be imprisoned, exiled, or beheaded, and in which lawlessness may pull down the fanes which ancient or modern piety reared, but in which the Faith is ever safe, and in which the Ark that sustains it is lifted to the summit of the mountains by the deluge that overwhelms all beside? It is that fold in which a single appeal to Rome causes the whole might of the universal Church, collected ever at its centre, to pass at once, with electric swiftness, into the decayed branch or diseased member. It is that Church also in which the separate light of every grace and gift cheers the way-faring man benignly from road-side oratory or village shrine ; and in whose firmament the collective glory of the Saints shines from heaven to heaven, an endless " Milky Way." Surely those who shrink from an ideal philosophy will recognise in such *facts* something more solid than either their own theories or prepossessions, and cease to stigmatise as a fancy that which is authenticated by the consent of centuries of a united Christendom, and four-fifths of the present Christian world.

ART III.—*The Works and Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.* 8 vols. 8vo. London, Rivington: 1851-2.

IT was during the height of the Papal Aggression fever that this edition of the works of our illustrious countryman, by far the most complete that has yet been attempted, was commenced. As each successive volume appeared, we could not repress the feeling, that it was like a solemn voice from the tomb, rebuking the bigotry and laying bare the injustice of that unhappy time. Amid its empty declamation, or angry clamour, we could not help turning to the calm and enlightened philosophy of this truly great man. From the arrogant denunciations of Catholicity, or the contemptuous sneers levelled against it by the ephemeral leaders of the great party to which Burke once belonged, we gladly reverted to the reverential and almost submissive homage to its spirit which he did not disdain to offer; and we consoled ourselves for the indifference, and even hostility, of those who should have inherited his principles, by the recollection of his warm and generous sympathy with our principles, our feelings, and, alas, our wrongs. We could well afford to listen to the eternal protestations of the “essentially Protestant institutions of England,” and of the incompatibility of “the narrow system of Popery” with the genius of her free constitution, while in him we could point to one who was a thorough British Statesman in the largest sense of the word, and who yet could and did recognize the principle of Catholicity acting in the fullest harmony with the genius of the British people, and receiving its most complete development in the spirit of the British constitution.

We have already, on a former occasion, dwelt at some length on this (to us most interesting) view of the character of Edmund Burke, as exhibited in his *Correspondence*. We purpose, in the following pages, to pursue the same view through the whole range of his works, and the entire history of his intellectual development.

For it is not simply the harmonious completeness of his political philosophy, or the scattered treasures of his maxims, or the orderly variety of his almost limitless knowledge, that constitute for us the value of his writings and oratory. It is not alone the lofty play of his fancy,

or the inspiration of his eloquence, we admire; but, over and above the natural truth and beauty of his mind as there reflected, we can perceive a Catholic spirit pervading and informing everything, a respect for Catholic doctrine, a knowledge and appreciation of Catholic practice, a tenderness for Catholic dignity, and a sympathy for Catholic suffering, that distinguish him not more from the unfriendly, than from those of our friends whose regard for us is less nobly derived. To account for this Catholic tone of mind and feeling, no more is necessary than to state those qualities of intellect which he shared in kind with the very fewest, in degree with scarce any of his own or subsequent times, and to connect those with the moral excellencies which serve to discriminate him from the generality of Protestant statesmen; but which are divided with him by many of our own.

It is not easy, perhaps hardly possible, to determine what process of reasoning he followed with most success, or to say whether he was more remarkable in the development of his own argument, or the exposure of an opponent's—whether it was more his talent to reduce a system to principles, or to elaborate principles into a system. At one time he brings his reasoning level with our understanding, as you might suppose a lecturer of the present day to evolve the principle of some mechanical contrivance, by taking it to pieces, exhibiting its joints, and springs, and fittings, the harmony of its parts, and their mutual sustainment, and proceeding from more to less complex, till the beautiful simplicity of the fundamental idea becomes evident to all.

At another we find him building up into an induction, principle after principle, proof after proof, precedent after precedent, neglecting no detail of strength or ornament, and pouring round the shapely structure the many-coloured light of his illustrations. And here lay the secret of his success in the consideration of points in dispute between Protestant and Catholic. True reasoning powers, as distinguished from the mere dexterity of chicane, involve a candour of disposition, a love of truth, and a philosophic dread of prejudice, such as he uniformly exhibited. It is not surprising, therefore, if all, or indeed any, of our arguments were not completely lost upon him; and it is still less surprising, that an imagination like his, so delicately perceptive of the sublime and beautiful in litera-

ture and art, should be open to their impressions, when coming from religion. With a judgment so serene, and so exquisite a sense of the fitness of things in life and manners, with so much to guide and enlighten him in the investigation of truth, his was the mould of intellect best fitted for its reception, if to receive or to refuse were in our own choice.

To qualities of mind such as we have attempted to describe, he united those feelings and those principles which are supposed to belong more exclusively to the Catholic. Fox, in what may be called a posthumous attack upon his old friend, and in a passage meant to be sneering, has touched them with singular felicity, when he points out Burke as the statesman "who taught the pride of submission and the dignity of obedience." It would be difficult to furnish a more complete embodiment of Catholic sentiment, a more ready key to Catholic practice, or a more pithy and eloquent epitome of the character of Burke, than this remark contains. We are at no loss for an appropriate commentary upon a text that might suggest so many, but we are enabled to supply one infinitely more authoritative than our own. The Père Lacordaire, in speaking of a religious vow, certainly the most solemn and irrevocable act of submission known to the human will, enquires, whether "to make the law and obey it voluntarily be not *the most sovereign exercise of liberty*?"* This is unquestionably to teach the "pride of submission;" and on further reference to Father Lacordaire, we shall learn in what way obedience comes to acquire dignity. "Obedience, he says, "is active, liberal and *glorious* then only when it results from an acquiescence of the understanding and the will."† It does appear impossible to adopt more unreservedly, or affirm more energetically the inculcated principle, the teaching of which is ascribed to Burke's doctrine, and whose application, it might have been added, is conspicuous in his example.

It would be an easy thing to apply these tests to the submission which Burke yielded to conscience and honour in himself, to high station and great worth in others.

* Mémoire pour le Rétablissement en France de l' Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs, p. 16.

† Ib. p. 23.

His adhesion to principle and to party was in the highest degree intelligent and voluntary. Devoted in the first instance to the general order of things under which he was born, his works exhibit throughout, the most enlightened admiration, and even enthusiastic affection for that order; and when he took up a set of fixed principles, (fixed for him, however they might fluctuate for others) he constantly referred them to the more general principles by which that order was regulated, and valued than in so far only as they were subordinate and auxiliary to these. As a natural consequence, he attached himself to the men who were the depositaries and exponents of these principles, and they became his party. But though thrown amongst them by chance, he remained from choice,* and though he did not require from other members as rigorous an account of the faith that was in them as he exacted from his own conscience, and though he did not expect to find hereditary politicians as familiar with the theory of their doctrines as a new man like himself, yet he took care at a later period to remind them, when they had wandered from principles never perhaps rightly understood, that he had not like them been "rocked and dandled into a legislator," but had adopted their doctrines on full deliberation and assured premisses; in fact that his was "an acquiescence of the understanding and the will." True to a mature choice, though he never would consent to push a political principle to its extreme and hazardous consequences, he maintained its substantial integrity at every risk and every sacrifice; subordinating his own interests to the interest of his party, but withdrawing his obedience when it jarred with his convictions.

His deference, to authority, tradition, and prescription, will abide the same test. Surely if anything can exalt the pride of submission, or enhance the dignity of obedience, it is they. Alexander bequeathed his empire "to the most worthy," Elizabeth would have "a king and no rascal," to succeed her. And for our part, we hold it more honourable with Burke, to surrender an opinion or a prejudice to the consent of time, and the reverend authority of tradition, than to the petulant assumption of a vain glorious age that continually stuns us with the empty boast of Sthenelus:—

* Vol. i. p. 54.

‘*Ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ’ ὑμείνονες εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι.*

This habitually reverent tone of his mind appears to us the very philosophy of intellectual humility. It moderated self-esteem without diminishing self-respect, and never misguided him as to the direction and application of his powers,* though it may have lowered his idea of their value. No man appeared more convinced than he, that he held his talents, whatever they were, in trust; and, that he could pretend to embezzle neither the glory nor the profit of them, that one belonged to God and the other to society, and that a modest draw-back upon both, was all he could advance a claim to.

To this, in part, we may attribute his respect and forbearance on points of Catholic doctrine, unable to command his full assent. A reverence for the great names arrayed in their defence, and what is more, a familiarity with the works of Catholic as well as Protestant theologians, though it produced no modification of his own religious opinions, encouraged and strengthened his regard for ours.† He certainly saw nothing in them calculated to “confine the intellect or enslave the soul,” and we believe he would have seen, without repining, his intellect dwarfed to the standard of Bossuet’s, and his own soul in no more strict or dishonourable confinement than his.

Another Catholic virtue of Burke’s mind was, an instinctive love and appreciation of truth. In search of this would he push his explorations into the most lone and unfrequented regions of philosophy and history. Without it we have no security for the abidance of a single virtue; we cannot disjoin the “way” and the “life” from the “truth.” The present age beyond all others, is the age of loose logic, of round numbers, and round facts. But how different was the character of Burke. He loved truth for herself, no matter where found, or by whom alleged, or in favour of whom. He believed a Catholic upon his word, and he consulted history more to fortify himself in that belief, than to seek grounds of cavil; with what complete success his entire life can testify.

A similar temper of mind in Johnson may be attributed to the presence of the same leading quality. For nothing is he more conspicuous than for love of truth; and this

* Vol. i. p. 25.

† Life by Prior, Vol. i. p. 19.

concurrence of sentiment, between these great men derives additional significance from the fact, that to arrive at the same conclusions in the matter of religion, they started from opposite political opinions, at a time when politics were supposed to have even a larger bearing upon religion than at present. Perhaps we are wrong in saying that they reached the *same* conclusions, for they seem to have taken the Church in different aspects, suitable to the impressions they were open to, from their respective character of mind. Johnson, peremptory, dogmatic, and accustomed to unconditional submission from every one but Burke, ventured opinions upon matters of *doctrine*. Burke, on the other hand, reverential and timid in dealing with dogma, and after the failure of his early enquiries, unwilling to pursue any investigation he looked upon as speculative, had a keen eye to the *practice* and institutions of the Church, their suitability to times gone by, and their adaptation to the present age. Thus, Johnson pronounced the doctrine of purgatory harmless and comfortable; the invocation of saints, as practised and understood by Catholics, consistent, and agreeable to reason; penance and absolution equally intelligible and rational. He always dealt tenderly with the "old faith, as Melancthon called it," defended the worship of the Blessed Eucharist from the imputation of idolatry, delighted to dwell upon the supposed slight difference between Catholic and Protestant, in essentials, spoke wishfully of "the helps that Catholics have to get to heaven," and yearned after the consolations that surrounded their death-beds.* Burke, on his side, was content to estimate the effect of monastic institutions, of religious corporations in general, of the celibacy of the clergy, of their discipline in other respects, and its influence upon their character, the nature of their professional studies, and the share they had in the general learning of the time, matters precisely which are determined by statesmen and others of the present day, with a degree of flippancy proportionate to their bad and scanty information. We might cite the well known and magnificent passage upon the advantages or disadvantages of monastic institutions, and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property

* Boswell's Johnson, last edition, pp. 76, 209, 210, 229, 637, 286, 499, 760.

which had just taken place in France under the vote of the National Assembly. But we must content ourselves with another less familiar passage in the same spirit, in which he states the opinion he has been enabled to form of the French clergy;—an opinion which he proclaimed more forcibly than even in the eloquent passage we are about to quote, by committing his well-beloved son to the charge of one of their heads, the Bishop of Auxerre.

“When my occasions took me into France towards the close of the late reign, the Clergy, under all their forms, engaged a considerable part of my curiosity. So far from finding (except from one set of men, not then very numerous, though very active,) the complaints and discontents against that body, which some publications had given me reason to expect, I perceived little or no public or private uneasiness on their account. On further examination I found the Clergy in general persons of moderate minds and decorous manners; I include seculars and regulars of both sexes. I had not the good fortune to know a great many of the Parochial Clergy; but in general I received a perfectly good account of their morals, and of their attention to their duties. With some of the higher Clergy I had a personal acquaintance; and of the rest in that class, a very good means of information. They were almost all of them persons of noble birth. They resembled others of their own rank; and where there was any difference, it was in their favour. They were more fully educated than the military nobles; so as by no means to disgrace their profession by ignorance, or by want of fitness for the exercise of their authority. They seemed to me, beyond the clerical character, liberal and open, with the hearts of gentlemen and men of honour; neither insolent nor servile in their manners and conduct. They seemed to me rather a superior class; a set of men amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a *Fénelon*. I saw among the Clergy in Paris (many of the description are not to be met with anywhere,) men of great learning and candour; and I had reason to believe that this description was not confined to Paris. What I found in other places I know was accidental, and therefore to be presumed a fair sample. I spent a few days in a provincial town, where, in the absence of the Bishop, I spent my evenings with three Clergymen, his Vicars-General, persons who could have done honour to any Church. They were all well informed; two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western, particularly in their own profession. They had a more extensive knowledge of our English Divines than I expected; and they entered into the genius of those writers with a critical accuracy. One of these gentlemen is since dead, the Abbé *Morandis*. I pay this tribute, without reluctance, to the memory of that noble,

reverend, learned, and excellent person ; and I should do the same with equal cheerfulness to the merits of the others, who I believe are still living, if I did not fear to hurt those whom I am unable to serve.

“ Some of these ecclesiastics of rank are, by all titles, deserving of general respect ; they are deserving of gratitude from me, and from many English. If this letter should ever come into their hands, I hope they will believe there are those of our nation who feel for their unmerited fall, and for the cruel confiscation of their fortunes with no common sensibility. What I say of them is a testimony, as far as one feeble voice can go, which I owe to truth. Wherever the question of this unnatural persecution is concerned I will pay it. No one shall prevent me from being just and grateful. The time is fitted for the duty ; and it is particularly becoming to show our justice and gratitude when those who have deserved well of us, and of mankind, are labouring under popular obloquy, and the persecutions of oppressive power.”—Vol. iv. p. 270.

Such was Burke's opinion of the French Clergy, and it is one of which we and they may well be proud ; but if any are epicures in the matter of praise, and prefer it flavoured with the “ ripe rankness ” of Protestant opinion, it so happens we are in a position to gratify their taste by an extract from a man very different in every respect from Burke, but who has put on record his opinions of the same clergy at a somewhat earlier period of their history. We quote from Burnet.*

“ We ought not to deny the Church of Rome the just praises that belong to some of the Bishops she has produced in this and the last age, who were burning and shining lights. And we ought not to wonder if a Church so blemished all over with the corruptions of her Clergy, and particularly of the heads of them, covers herself from those deserved reproaches by the brightness of such great names, and by the virtues of the present Pope, (Innocent XII.) France has likewise produced in this age a great many Bishops, of whom it must be said, that as the world was not worthy of them, so that Church which used them so ill was still less worthy of them.”

The precise difference between these two opinions is well worth noticing. Burnet looks upon the presence of the great bishops who illustrated and adorned the French Church of his time, as something of an anomaly, a curious phenomenon he was called upon to register, not to explain.

* Life of Bishop Bedel.

Whereas Burke, from what he saw of the *body* of the French clergy, and particularly of their *chiefs*, declares them to be "a set of men amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a *Fénelon*," one of those very bishops of whom Burnet said their own Church was not worthy. And we can trace this tendency throughout all his works whenever he has occasion to allude to any of our clergy. Of course we cannot expect to find him altogether free from Protestant peculiarities of feeling and opinion. Of Protestantism, as such, he expressed himself anything but an ardent admirer. "All Protestantism, even the coldest and most passive," he looked upon as "a species of dissent;" and its varieties he regarded as "a refinement upon the principle of resistance," and "the dissidence of dissent." The French Revolution itself, consecrated as it was to all his horror and all his enmity, he considered as an aggravated form of the disease of Protestantism.* Even where he spoke most like a Protestant, where, in fact, he was Protestant, almost *ex officio*, and words so harsh and so unusual with him, as "vice" and "superstition," passed his lips in connection with our Church, he qualified the charge by throwing the blame on time, and treating the imputed superstitions as something excrescent upon the institution, or rather as something foreign, though adherent, like the shell-fish and sea-weed that cling to a noble hull, though she still keep the waters, and which are not to be mistaken for the fungi of putrescence, or other vegetation of decay.

We shall borrow a few more samples of Catholic feeling and opinion from a work of our author, which we would not be understood to adopt as faultless, but which we think deserving of a higher reputation than it seems to enjoy—his "Essay towards an Abridgment of English History," found in the sixth volume of this edition.

Though his field of observation was, of course, so much smaller, we cannot hesitate to compare in some degree this abridgment with the immortal work of Bossuet; for Burke appears to have shared with him the faculty so indispensable in a task like theirs, of setting his subject at a sufficient distance to take in the whole, and secure the advantages without yielding to the illusions of this position.

* Vol. ii. p. 363.—vi. p. 75.

. The first extract we shall offer is chiefly valuable for its connexion (not direct of course) with an imputation sought at one time to be fixed upon the Jesuit missionaries in China, and brought forward again by one of Dr. Brewster's writers in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*,* without any mention however that the great Leibnitz had interposed to repel the charge, that namely of their having adopted the whole ritual of heathenish practices into their own ceremonial.

"In the change of religion," he says, "care was taken to render the transition from falsehood to truth as little violent as possible. Though the first proselytes were kings, it does not appear that there was any persecution. It was a precept of Pope Gregory, under whose auspices this mission was conducted, that the heathen temples should not be destroyed, especially where they were well built, but that, first removing the idols, they should be consecrated by holier rites, and to better purposes, in order that the prejudices of the people might not be too rudely shocked by a declared profanation of what they had so long held sacred; and that everywhere beholding the same places to which they had formerly resorted for religious comfort, they might be gradually reconciled to the new doctrines and ceremonies which were there introduced; and as the sacrifices used in Pagan worship were always attended with feasting, and consequently were highly grateful to the multitude, the Pope ordered that oxen should as usual be slaughtered near the Church. Whatever popular customs of heathenism were found to be not absolutely incompatible with Christianity were retained, and some of them were continued to a very late period. Deer were at a certain season brought into St. Paul's Church in London, and laid on the altar, and this custom subsisted until the Reformation. The names of some of the Church festivals were, with a similar design, taken from those of the heathen, which had been celebrated at the same time of the year. Nothing could have been more prudent than these regulations; they were indeed formed upon a perfect understanding of human nature."—Vol. vi. p. 222.

The following passage from the same work is remarkable for a discernment sharpened by gratitude, of the benefit conferred on infant society in England by the monastic institutes, and it possesses an interest at least equally great for being in direct opposition to Mr. Macaulay's views upon the well known hostility of the Church to the system of slavery. We hardly know whether a writer of Mr. Macaulay's pretensions condescended to take Burke's

*Article "Jesuit."

opinion upon the subject, before ascribing the interposition of religion in favour of the slave to pride and pride alone, to the wish not so much to elevate the bondsman as to degrade the master, but it seems greatly to be feared that Father Mathew, or not to travel out of the particular matter under notice, his brother monk Las Casas, should scarce have fared better in Mr. Macaulay's hands than their predecessors of Croyland and Glastonbury.

"The same regard to the welfare of the people appeared in all their actions. The Christian kings sometimes made donations to the Church, of lands conquered from their heathen enemies. The clergy immediately baptized and manumitted their new vassals. Thus they endeared to all sorts of men doctrines and teachers which could mitigate the rigorous law of conquest; and they rejoiced to see religion and liberty advancing with an equal progress. Nor were the monks in this time in anything more worthy of praise than in their zeal for personal freedom. In the canon wherein they provided for the alienation of their lands, among other charitable exceptions to this restraint, they particularise the purchase of liberty. In their transactions with the great, the same point was always strenuously laboured. When they imposed penance they were remarkably indulgent to persons of that rank. But they always made them purchase the remission of corporal austerity by acts of beneficence. They urged their powerful penitents to the enfranchisement of their own slaves, and to the redemption of those which belonged to others; they directed them to the repair of the highways, and to the construction of churches, bridges, and other works of general utility. They extracted the fruits of virtue even from crimes, and whenever a great man expiated his private offences, he provided in the same act for the public happiness. The monasteries were then the only bodies corporate in the kingdom, and if any persons were desirous to perpetuate a fund for the relief of the sick or indigent, there was no other way than to confide this trust to some monastery. The monks were the sole channel through which the bounty of the rich could pass in any continued stream to the poor, and the people turned their eyes towards them in all their distresses.

... ..

"But there was no part of their policy of whatever nature that procured to them a greater or a juster credit than their cultivation of learning and useful arts; for if the monks contributed to the fall of science in the Roman empire, it is certain that the introduction of learning and civility into this northern world is entirely owing to their labours. It is true that they cultivated letters only in a secondary way, and as subsidiary to religion. But the scheme of Christianity is such, that it almost necessitates an attention to

many kinds of learning ; for the Scripture is by no means an irrelative system of moral and divine truths, but it stands connected with the laws, opinions, and manners of so many various sorts of people, and in such different times, that it is altogether impossible to arrive at any tolerable knowledge of it without having recourse to much exterior inquiry, for which reason the progress of this religion has always been marked by that of letters. There were two other circumstances at this time that contributed no less to the revival of learning. The sacred writings had not been translated into any vernacular language, and even the ordinary service of the Church was still continued in the Latin tongue, all, therefore, who formed themselves for the ministry, and hoped to make any figure in it, were in a manner driven to the study of the writers of polite antiquity, in order to qualify themselves for their most ordinary functions. By this means a practice liable in itself to great objections, had a considerable share in preserving the wrecks of literature, and was one means of conveying down to our times those inestimable monuments, which otherwise in the tumult of barbarous confusion on one hand, and untaught piety on the other, must inevitably have perished. The second circumstance, the pilgrimages of that age, if considered in itself, was as liable to objections as the former, but it proved of equal advantage to literature. A principal object of these pious journeys was Rome, which contained all the little that was left in the western world of ancient learning and taste. The other great object of these pilgrimages was Jerusalem ; this led into the Grecian empire, which still subsisted in the east with great majesty and power. Here the Greeks had not only not discontinued the ancient studies, but they added to the stock of arts many inventions of curiosity and convenience that were unknown to antiquity."—Vol. vi. p. 223.

It is not easy to see the applicability of the famous couplet in "Retaliation," where Burke is described (in perfect good humour of course) as one

"Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

If ever benevolence was comprehensive, it was unquestionably that of Burke. France, India, America, and Ireland were almost equally indebted to his labours and his sacrifices. Some, to be sure, will hardly feel satisfied with him for his choice of country, but however that may be, when a man adopts a country as Burke did England, though obliged to transfer his duty to the land of his adoption, he is not bound to put off all affection to the place of his birth. So did not Burke. And though he accepted for Ireland, without any patriotic scruples, the

position of a subordinate and municipal kingdom, it is not to be supposed he saw anything contemptible or degrading in such a situation. A sneer at his birth would probably have pained him as little as the same thing affected Cicero when he was called a "Civis Inquilinus," nor do we believe he was more ashamed of his country and her children than Cicero of his Arpinum and its Marius. However, it is useless now to speculate on what might have been the result of his labours had they been confined to Ireland; but perhaps we have reason to congratulate ourselves that they were not wasted in the achievement of our short and evil independence, instead of being removed to that imperial theatre that brought the world within the range of his heart and mind, for there was still a cell in that heart for Ireland. She was Catholic, and above all, she was oppressed.

Well and truly did Burke speak of those "miserable performances that go about under the name of Histories of Ireland."* History she has none; her annals are a disgusting record of massacre according to rule, or of informal throat-cutting, of hollow truce, of broken oaths, of wickedness cruelly wrought, and cruelly retaliated. In every other country of Europe, the invader, under the influence of love, interest, or religion blended with the conquered. After the sack of resisting towns, after ravages of not more than modern atrocity, Lombard, Goth, Frank, Norman, ceased to be distinguishable from the subdued; their friendships, their animosities, their interests were confused, and for ever. But though Ireland in her mortal struggle, said to England, "lift you me, or let me lift you," give me the protection of your laws, or let the invaders adopt mine, and though the invaders themselves were ready for the alternative, England, or more properly the English interest here, forbade, and with one hand repulsed the Irish who begged her citizenship, while with the other she smote her English who were learning to be Irish. While Venice, Genoa, Portugal, and the Low Countries were striving in the race of nations, we were chained down, whipped into madness and whipped for being mad, till, unless heaven befriend, we seem to have reached the term of our national existence, without name, without history, with scarce a memory to bequeath the

* Vol. vi. p. 37.

world at our extinction, or a parting glory to embellish our decay, without friends, without allies, without hearths, with nothing but our faith, and unless we forfeit it, the merit of our martyrdom.

But in no period of our miserable chronicles (we persist with Burke in refusing them the name of history) is there anything to match the horror of the penal laws, not penal upon parricide, or perjury, or any caprice of impiety or crime, (these they rewarded almost by name, certainly by implication,) but upon the profession of faith we cherish now, and to uphold which we are prepared with God's help to undergo the same laws again. It is not for us to attempt the description of those portentous laws where we can employ the pen of Burke, and were the accusing angel at a loss, as assuredly he is not, for words, or the recording angel for matter to sustain the charge against our crucifiers, (no man shall call them governors,) those words and that record might be had from the correspondence of Edmund Burke. But the words of angels do not loiter, and the bodiless finger that traced the three words upon the Assyrian's wall, wrote things more eloquent by far than even the great hand of Burke. The record was made up and judgment entered long before he wrote or spoke.

We had marked for extract the noble passage in Burke's letter to his son descriptive of the nature and effect of these laws, (vi. p. 56.) But we shall give in preference the closing paragraph of the letter to Sir Hercules Langrish. It considers the penal laws in their entirety, and as a system—what a system!

“You hated the old system as early as I did—your first juvenile lance was broken against that giant: I think you were even the first who attacked the grim phantom..... You have an exceedingly good understanding, very good humour, and the best heart in the world. The dictates of that temper and that heart, as well as the policy of that understanding, led you to abhor the old code. You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection—for I must do it justice. It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man. It is a thing humiliating enough that we are doubtful of the effect of the medicines we com-

pound. We are sure of our poisons. My opinion ever was (in which I heartily agree with those who admire the old code), that it was so constructed, that if there was once a breach in any essential part of it, the ruin of the whole, or nearly of the whole, was at some time certain. For that reason, I honour, and shall for ever honour and love you and those who first caused it to stagger, crack, and gape. Others may finish—the beginners have the glory ; and take what part you please at this hour (I think you will take the best), your first services will never be forgotten by a grateful country.”—Vol. iv. p. 547.

And yet, that code is far from completely repealed. Nay, has it not lately been invigorated ? In 1829 it was looked upon to have received a final and fatal blow, but it reserved a weapon in the shape of a penal clause against ecclesiastical titles, (an idle and Brummagem thing to all appearance), and clutched it with the convulsive energy of death. We fondly believed it dead, but, within the last three years, the sinews we thought for ever rigid, have relaxed, and the hand that afflicted us so often, is raised again to threaten and to strike.

“*Semanimes que micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.*”

From the laws, whose scope and spirit he has thus described, it was the labour, and, in a great measure, successful labour, of Edmund Burke to free us. And in that labour of love he associated with him his darling son, in whom he might study his own virtues without vanity, and love himself without selfishness. It was in our service the blossoms of the young Richard’s promise expanded, and for us the fruit of his maturity was mellowing, a fruit, that like so many others, with the expectation of which Providence has beguiled our misery, was never destined to reach our lips ; yet, this pure and bright spirit, heir to the virtues, the nurture, and the hopes, as well to the early grave of Marcellus and Bourgoigne, has had no kindlier mention from Lord Holland, than the untrue as well as ungenerous assertion, that his sole merit was to have been his father’s son. But, far beyond the gift which the proud and happy father had so freely made us, of the laborious services of such a son, we should value the moments which the bereaved, in his desolation and his wreck, now no longer father, devoted to our counsel and consolation. This was a subject which, as connected with the latest and dearest labours and thoughts of the departed, must have

kept his wounds continually open.* Had we not already indulged too freely in the luxury of extracts, we should gladly transcribe from one of Richard Burke's papers, (Vol. ii. p. 172) a passage of such uncommon beauty and strength, an emanation of his father's spirit, passing so pure and uncoloured, and unrefracted through a medium of equal purity with his, that we could almost believe it the work of the same mighty hands.

And in another place he gives a lesson which might seem to have been dictated by his father's wisdom, and which, we may add, has lost none of its value in the lapse of years.

"I do not believe there exists a body of men whom it would be more expedient in any government at this time to cultivate, as a bulwark and security against the prevailing errors and vices of the time, and as a safeguard to the throne and constitution, than the Catholics of Ireland. I do sometimes persuade myself that the deliverance of this people was, as it were, providentially reserved for this season, that in so critical a moment so many millions of men might be bound to the throne by the sense of a recent and immense obligation, and that the British constitution might be planted in their breasts as in a virgin soil, while the blessings of it are, in a manner, exhausted in the minds of others, and men have become satiated with its long enjoyment."—Vol. ii. p. 102.

We had intended to avail ourselves very largely of the correspondence with Dr. Hussey. It deals with some of the most interesting and affecting topics of the period, and is written, moreover, in the interval between the author's bereavement and his death. Nor have they, by any means, lost all their significance at the present time. It is there we find recorded his opinion upon Catholic education, and the relations which ought to subsist, or, rather, those which ought *not* to subsist between a Catholic Church and Protestant government; opinions in which we know not whether more to admire the spirit of counsel or the spirit of prophecy. However, the great length to which our citations have already run, compels us to confine ourselves to one short extract connected with that infamous episode, or, perhaps, we ought rather to say *phase* of Protestant government; the whipping of Catholic soldiers for refusing to attend the Protestant worship, and for the grave offence of noticing which in his pastoral, Dr. Hussey had incurred the high displeasure of the Irish Government.

* Vol. vi. p. 69.

“So, then, the little wise men of the West, with every hazard of this evil, are resolved to persevere in the manly and well-timed resolution of a war against Popery. In the principles, and in all the proceedings, it is perfectly suited to their character. They begin the last series of their offensive operations, by laying traps for the consciences of poor foot soldiers. They call these poor wretches to their church (empty of a volunteer congregation), not by the bell, but by the whip. This ecclesiastical military discipline is happily taken up, in order to form an army of well-scourged Papists into a firm phalanx for the support of the Protestant religion. I wish them joy of this their valuable discovery in theology, politics, and the art military.....What contemptible stuff it is to say, that a man who is lashed to church against his conscience would not discover that the whip is painful, or that he had a conscience to be violated, unless I told him so! Would not a penitent offender, confessing his offence, expiating it by his blood, when denied the consolation of religion at his last moments, feel it as an injury to himself; or would the rest of the world feel so horrible and impious an oppression with no indignation, unless I happened to say it ought to be reckoned amongst the most barbarous acts of our barbarous time? Would the people consider the being taken out of their beds, and transported from their family and friends, to be an equitable, legal, and charitable, proceeding, unless I should say that it was a violation of justice, and a dissolution, *pro tanto*, of the very compact of human society? If a House of Parliament, whose essence it is to be the guardian of the laws, and a sympathetic protector of the rights of the people, and eminently so of the most defenceless, should not only countenance, but applaud this very violation of all law, and refuse even to examine into the grounds of the necessity upon the allegation of which the law was so violated, would this be taken for a tender solicitude for the welfare of the poor, and a true proof of the representative capacity of the House of Commons, unless I should happen to say (what I do say) that the House had not done its duty, either in preserving the sacred rules of law, or in justifying the woful and humiliating privilege of necessity? They may indemnify and reward others; they might contrive, if I was within their grasp, to punish me, or, if they thought it worth their while, to stigmatise me by their censures: but who will indemnify them for the disgrace of such an act? What act of oblivion will cover them from the wakeful memory, from the notices and issues of the grand remembrancer—the God within?”—Vol. ii. p. 32.

Taking Burke's correspondence in reference to Catholic interests as a whole, there is nothing more remarkable in them than the evidence they afford of a friendship, grounded not upon interest or convenience, but upon the only solid basis on which it can repose—knowledge and

esteem. So reverently did Burke deem of friendship, that he was scarcely tolerant of the indiscriminate use of the word, as a term of courtesy. On one occasion, when a member of the house presumed, without sufficient warrant, to style Burke "his honourable friend," Burke sternly inquired, if the "honourable gentleman" understood what friendship meant? Do *any* of us understand what friendship means? The question, at least as regards the political relation, so often mis-named friendship, involves more considerations than we are at liberty to enter into here. But there is little doubt that Burke's ideas on the subject of party connexion, and party friendship, constitute the most perfect system of political ethics to be found anywhere, and one, of which his entire conduct is the uniform exemplification. Amongst other things he advises a politician to have equally strong enmities and friendships, as otherwise the one will not be formidable or the other desirable. The Catholics of the empire are hardly in a position to profit much by this advice of Burke's, for their enmity, if very active, would seem most likely to hurt themselves, and in the present temper of the English mind, too cordial or demonstrative a friendship on their part, might injure those it was intended to serve. But, having friends, as late events have proved they have, it would be in the last degree criminal, as well as foolish, to neglect or undervalue them. It is a course that could not fail to draw after it, a heavy and merited penalty in the general contempt of mankind, and abandonment by those whose services had been so ill-required; nor need those who wish least well to the Catholic interest, wish anything worse than that Catholics may disgust their friends and fare accordingly.

Οἱ Βάρβαροι δὲ μήτε τοὺς φίλους φίλους
 Ἠγείσθῃ, μήτε τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας
 Θαυμάζεσθ', ὡς αὖ ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάς εὐτυχῇ
 Ὑμεῖς δ' εἰχθηθ' ὅμοια τοῖς βουλευμασιν.*

And we think we can derive from the life and works of Burke a test of friendship, infallible in its application, whether we wish to ascertain who are not, or who are our friends. Those assuredly are not our friends who regard our presence in the country, not as a positive advantage,

* Eurip. Hecuba.

but rather as a necessary evil, a fact to be stared in the face, a vice of the system to be counteracted as far as possible ; and who only differ with our declared enemies about the means of doing it. They are almost less our friends whose concern for us is the only sound part of an unsound system, who would relieve to revolutionize, and revolutionize only to corrupt. They are cold friends likewise who would split us up into lay and clerical interests, and pretend to the discovery of separate and conflicting liberties in our body. Nor are they to be reputed friends who regard us as an awkward wheel in the machine of state, continually hitching, and always requiring clumsy and temporary expedients ; men, who in the graphic words of Burke, "mistake the oil that facilitates the motion, for the machine itself," instead of noticing, as Burke did, and turning to account, as he would have done, our peculiar aptitude for certain functions in the constitution, requiring, as it does, so accurate a balance of contraries, worked by a composition of forces so much more curious than any in mechanics, and where the strong love of duty, and submission to lawful power that belong to Catholics, might act as the gravitating principle, modified by, and modifying in its turn, the spirit of progress that would otherwise hurry us along the track of those "theories that lead to nothing."

But they, finally, are, least of all, our friends, who use us simply as a political convenience, and can acknowledge or understand no value in us but the market value. Burke understood our character, our doctrine, our discipline, our feelings, our instincts, our antipathies ; he read our history, our books, and our men ; and having done so, he became our friend. It seems to us, that knowledge such as his, or something approaching to it, is one great requisite in a friendship likely to have wearing qualities, and to be relied on in emergencies ; and there is another evidence, the most vulgar, the most proverbial, and the most unanswerable—the evidence elicited by adversity—and stronger perhaps even than this, is the evidence produced by sacrifice—the most exalted form of worship we can pay to God or man. The question was once ironically put to M. de Lafayette, what had he done for his "liberal institutions" under the empire, and he replied, or was believed to have replied, "Je me suis tenu debout." If we ask professing friendship what it has done to maintain its character under the

tyranny of perverse times, evil report, diseased opinion, outrage, or even violence, and if it cannot reply, "I have kept myself erect," it has broken down in the most essential element of title, and may as well be called faith, hope, or charity, or for that matter, any one of the seven deadly sins, as try to pass for friendship.

Before quitting the subject of political friendship, it may be right to notice the accusation of inconsistency, and abandonment of party along with principle, preferred against Burke. This was a subject on which he was particularly sore. He thought himself obliged in honour to "traverse" the charge, whereas the modern practice is principally "to admit and justify." Not that he should himself have hesitated to adopt this defence had his opinions undergone a real change; but any such admission upon his part must have been untrue in fact. One thing is certain; how superfluous soever the trouble he has been at to establish his consistency and fidelity to party engagements; we are not the less gainers by the body of constitutional doctrine with which he has enriched our political literature in the "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."* His line of defence is the simplest imaginable; there is no strategy or engineering in it. He meets the charge of inconsistency by showing the uniform agreement of his words and votes at all times, with the imputed novelties of his opposition to the French Revolution; and proves he has been faithful to party, by showing that the principles of that party, rightly understood, were abhorrent from those of the French Revolution, and identical with his own. He quotes expressions of his early and enduring horror of all speculative and experimental legislation; he appeals to the conservative character of his votes on sundry occasions; he insists upon his invariable preference of practical remedies for real grievances; and he omits an instance of this spirit as strong at least as any upon which he relies—the fact, namely, that while he was willing to give the fullest practical effect to the American claims before the war, he expressly reserved the abstract right of imperial taxation, the actual exercise of which he so decidedly condemned and energetically resisted. On the other hand, he takes up the respective principles of the French and English Revolutions, one by one,

* Vol. iv. p. 395.

and shows, not only that they do not correspond, but that they are perfectly different and irreconcilable.

We find Burke's opinions on the subject of real and theoretical grievances reproduced by Alison with sufficient exactness in the third volume of the "*History of Europe*."

"It is always to be recollected that the formidable thing in periods of agitation, and against which governments are in an especial manner called to oppose a barrier, is, not the discontent arising from *real* grievance, but the passion springing from *popular ambition*. The first being founded in reason and justice is easily dealt with; it subsides with the removal of the causes from which it arose, and strong measures are never required or justifiable for its suppression. The second being a vehement passion arising from no real evil, but awakened by the anticipation of power, is insatiable. It increases with every gratification, it receives and conducts the nation through blood and suffering by a sure and rapid progress to military despotism."—p. 133.

We have six or seven passages of Burke's under our eye, and all pointing the same way; but we fixed upon this one from Alison, as being rather a clever amplification of the identical idea in one of the papers of Richard Burke, on the Catholic claims;* and further perhaps, as giving us an occasion (lying a little out of our road it is true) to notice that the author cannot have entered deeply, if at all, into the spirit of the passages that appear to have suggested his own. Had he done so, it would hardly have occurred to him to put the Catholic claims, as they existed, too, before Emancipation, on the same line with the demands of the States-general upon Louis XVI., and ascribe the imperfect result of Emancipation, and the tragic end of Louis to the same cause—the speculative and unreal nature of the grievances that called for redress in both instances.†

However, to resume the subject of consistency, it is now an established maxim, (and it does not appear why it should not be,) that within certain broad and well defined limits of Right and Wrong, great and signal changes of opinion may take place without impeachment of the hon-

* Tract on the State of Ireland, addressed probably to Mr. Dundas. Vol. ii. p. 177.

† Hist. of Europe, vol. iii. p. 213.

our or morality of those who undergo them ; and further still, that change of conduct, though *without* change of opinion, may be defended on the ground of state necessity or enlightened policy. For the present, however, we have to deal with changes of opinion merely ; and it certainly is not sound morality to say a man should take an opinion, like a wife, for better for worse. On the contrary, when he adopts an opinion, he does so on the distinct understanding, or rather under an imperative obligation, and heavy sureties to his conscience, to discharge and repudiate that opinion the moment he has reason to think it unsound. Burke felt this as sensibly as any one. "The fault," he says, "of M. Mounier and M. Lally was very great ; but it was very general. If those gentlemen stopped when they came to the brink of the gulf of guilt and public misery that yawned before them in the abyss of these dark and bottomless speculations, I forgive their first error, in that they were involved with many—their repentance was their own."* It is plain that, even had Burke's opinions undergone a change as complete as their uniformity is now unquestioned, he would, even so, stand in a better position, in regard to the French Revolution, than those who began by adoring, and ended by "burning what they adored." For, admitting that terrible event to have operated so wonderful a transformation of his sentiments, it can only be said, that the fineness of his sensibility, and the maturity of his judgment, hurried him at once to conclusions which they could only reach after years of error, and under the discipline of woful experience. Görres, in early life a delegate of the Cis-Rhenane Republic to negotiate its union with France, subsequently a vehement opponent of the Revolution, and finally an advocate for moderate liberty, defends the morality and necessity of change in obedience to experience and conviction. We are indebted to him for a quotation from Livy, which goes to the marrow of the question : "Nam ab errore quidem omni, homines eum sinus immunes haberi velle, nimium, et superbum ; sed ad eundem lapidem, crebro impingere, neque saltem eventu temeritatem castigante, ad amotionem erudiri, id vero, jam vix bene humanum est." To lock oneself up in first impressions, to exclude every ray of light, and barricade all the avenues to reason, to subject

* Vol. iv. p. 383.

one's intellect to the code of Japan, to stop one's ears, and fling dust in the air, when warned that we are fallible, and have been wrong, to do all this, is, we believe, with Livy or his orator, "vix bene humanum."

Could we indeed find any idea of Burke's, no matter how unfledged or immature, or in what idle mood of youth it was advanced, at all corresponding with the early notions of Southey, we might say there had been a change, however laudable; but there is not even a hint of such opinions. The fact is, the very earliest of Burke's productions turns out to be a mock manifestation of the spirit from which Southey fetched his first inspiration.* The principles seriously adopted by Southey are there used to illustrate the absurdity of other principles as silly, and have to that end been worked into a piece of irony, the most exquisite, perhaps, that has been seen since the "*Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*." And even were it otherwise, we are far from quoting Southey as the most perfect instance of a salutary change. Any opinions were preferable to his first, and whatever praise it implies to say so, we have no desire to withhold; but his new set are the work of reaction, not of reformation, and maintain the uniform ratio of all such opinions to the extravagance of the original ones, out of which they grew. His early doctrines seem to have risen with the fumes of irregular reading, assisted by fumes of a more material description from "negus before breakfast," if we are to trust his own account; and his later opinions are all sicklied by the peevishness of the sick-headache that ensued. "Like many other ardent spirits, he had been dreaming of a *Respublica Platonis*, and waking, he had found himself *in fæce Romuli*."† It is not wonderful, therefore, that the author of "Wat Tyler," and the leader of the Pantisocratists—the precursor of Cabet and Considérant, should have withdrawn into the closest and narrowest exclusiveness, the most starched and impracticable conservatism; or that a gentleman whose religious opinions once "took the turn of Unitarianism," should have become the vehement opponent of the Catholic claims.

* A vindication of Natural Society, &c., by a late noble writer. Vol. ii. p. 513.

† Life of Southey, vol. iv. p. 199.

There are many men, however, of a different stamp, whose relinquishment of the pernicious principles then called liberal, might have been relied upon, if needful, not to justify Burke's alleged change, but to set off his superior foresight. Had he at any time sinned in the adoption of any revolutionary sentiments, he should have done so in good company. "The friends of the French Revolution," says Botta, "comprised at that period the most enlightened and generous of the community."* And such is the constitution of our minds, a constitution which discipline, though it may modify, can never radically alter, that when a principle, however excellent, gets corrupted, we cannot so extricate it from its corruption, as to apportion quite fairly our condemnation or approval; and none but minds the most superior can approach the task at all. So surely as despotism works hatred of authority, will revolution bring liberty into contempt. This is beautifully put by M. de Montalembert in his memorable speech upon the Army estimates for the Roman Expedition. Few men are better known for an enlightened love of liberty, and firm faith in liberal institutions, than M. de Montalembert; and yet he was forced to confess that the excesses of the last revolution had almost staggered his own political faith, as they had effectually discredited liberty all over the world. We give his words.

"Consider, I beseech you, what was going on in Europe three years ago. Liberty was gradually extending her empire in every direction, king followed king, (not without wincing, I admit,) but come he did, to lay his crown at the feet of liberty, and ask of her a new coronation, a new investiture. The Pope himself, Pius IX., the living symbol of authority, the incarnation of the most august and ancient power, thought to borrow from liberty, democracy, progress, modern ideas, a new gem for the tiara. Well, what has been the result? You have put a stop to all. You have upset everything. You have destroyed everything. You have arrested and rolled back the tide of freedom which was setting towards us, and filling us quondam liberals, as you are pleased to call us, with admiration. You have dethroned some kings it is true, but much more assuredly have you dethroned *Liberty*. The kings are on their thrones again, but Liberty has not reascended hers. She has not reconquered the throne she once had in men's hearts. I know perfectly well you write her name everywhere; in all the laws, on all the walls, on all the cornices, but from the hearts of men that

* i. 70.

name has been blotted out. Yes, that beautiful, that proud, that holy, that pure, that noble Liberty, the Liberty we have so much cherished, served so well—yes, served *before* you, *more* than you, *better* than you—that Liberty is not dead I hope, but she is motionless, crushed, stifled between, on the one hand, what an individual has had the hardihood to call the sovereignty of the end, that is to say, the sovereignty of evil; and on the other, the forced return to the exaggeration of authority, which through you has become a necessity for human nature, for society, and for the human heart terror-stricken with your excesses.”*

Take it at the worst, and Burke only foresaw all this.

But in noticing some of the revolutions of opinion, whether supposed or actual, in public men, it would hardly be forgiven in us Catholics, if we were to neglect a passing allusion to those connected with the honoured name of Peel. There is little in common between Burke and him, nor do there exist, that we know of, any of those salient points of difference that furnish matter for an historical parallel. Burke had to repel the charge of inconsistency, while Peel as frankly confessed to change; and whatever name that change may take, we owe his memory a worship for it, which it never could be ours to deny or stint. His motives are not to be curiously or irreverently scanned, for though he may not have had for our faith the same tender, respectful, and almost filial reverence as Burke, he looked upon ourselves as countrymen, and brethren in right, as children of the same great empire and gracious sovereign. We have so lately suffered from far different changes of conduct and opinion, that we are in a proper tone of mind to study his, and we might propose the *manner*, even if not the substance, of them to all who contemplate a change or foresee its probability. It was no part of *his* changes to discharge splenetic insults on those he had left, or what he had uttered without dignity, to retract without grace. He flung no smoky firebrands to burn himself in the attempt to stamp them out, or surrounded abortive projects of annoyance, with misty threats, exaggerating to the dimensions of persecution the petty deformities of annoyance. If he had to work a change, he spurned any tricky expedients for doing it, and along with the pedantry of his school, rejected all ministerial sleight of hand. His course may have been eccentric, it

* *Moniteur*, 9 Octobre, 1849.

was not erratic ; let him steer where he might, he always anchored where he ought ; let public clamour and public fanaticism bear down upon him as they would, he neither defied their power with proud words, nor conjured their rage with muttered spells ; he flung no chains into the surge, he laid no stripes upon it, but neither did he propitiate it with libations, or appease it with despairing vows. He relied upon himself, met it full upon his prow, steered right on, broke it, and rode through. His were changes we could scarce barter for a consistency less glorious than that of Burke.

It has often been said, that in estimating the effects and dangers of the French Revolution, Burke's imagination outran his judgment. This we believe is said no longer. Not that some of his predictions were not falsified by the event, and some inaccuracy may not be detected in his calculations. But if we weigh these against the predictions that have been realized, and the calculations that have come true, the balance is immensely in favour of his foresight and sagacity. France, he said at one time, was in rapid dissolution, and would soon come to be effaced from the map of Europe ; and because of the happy failure of this prophecy, some had been brought to think lightly of his general sagacity. But it is a question now, could any rational man at the time have foreborne a similar conclusion. We omit the consideration, how narrowly France escaped justifying his prediction by partition in 1815 ; but who in Burke's time and place could have calculated on the marvellous resources of the nation whose destruction he foretold, and amongst them upon the most stupendous resource of all, Napoleon Bonaparte ? Truly it may be said of that great country, with all her errors and crimes, the pride of Europe, of civilization and religion, "*Omnis gloria filiæ regis ab intus.*" Without colonies to speak of, without political institutions of any solidity, without corn from Sicily, or gold from India, but by the bounty of her teeming soil and travelling intellect, whether prostrated by a coalition or a revolution, she rises renewed like Antæus from contact with the soil, and requires only a year's peace, and a good harvest, to put her in readiness again for Europe or revolution, as the case may be. We see her devouring her constitutions like Saturn devouring his sons, (we hope she may have despatched the last, or better still, the last but one,) and

wonderful to say, thriving upon a regimen, one mouthful of which would inevitably kill England in a week.

His judgment, therefore, can hardly be considered to have erred, or his sagacity to have been at fault, when he reasoned upon the only premisses within his reach, or any man's. Moreover, his having miscalculated any one result of an event so fruitful in contingencies as the French revolution, is no argument against his general sagacity, when it is considered that he not only foresaw very many others, but supplied the advice now acknowledged to have been most applicable to each emergency. He was equally conversant with the internal working of the French government, as he was with that of his own, and with the affairs of the allies as with both. Witness his anticipation of all that followed from the fatuitous proceedings of Joseph II. in the Netherlands,* his appreciation of the policy of the Directory in making separate treaties with the allies,† and his strictures on the government at home, because, instead of giving the French to understand that England made war not upon the nation but upon the regicides, they allowed hostilities to want no character of international warfare, by stripping of its colonies‡ the crown they affected to support.

To the full as remarkable are his speculations on the causes of the French revolution, and the infirmity of the institutions it pretended to found. They may be referred in a great measure to what we considered we might claim as a Catholic principle of action, that reverence for, and reliance upon, antiquity and prescription remarked in Burke. It was his opinion that there were institutions, or the germs of them, and certain well-understood liberties actually existing in France, by the development and consolidation of which, a durable system of rational liberty might be constructed.§ His sagacity in wishing to consult the character of mind, irradicable habits, and

* Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the Chev. de Rivarol. vol. i. 609.

† First Letter on a Regicide Peace, vol. v. 272.

‡ Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Wm. Burke, Esq., vol. ii. 215—to Rt. Hon. H. Dundas, 215.

§ Reflections on the Revolution in France, 177—289. Letter to a member of the National Assembly, 389.

peculiar aptitudes of each people, along with the institutions, which (in independent countries at least), have grown out of the manners of the nation, and react upon them, has been confirmed by a good many experiments; while doctrines adopted from, or at any rate, identical with, his own, are affirmed by every constitutional politician of repute. Two such occur to us at the present moment.

The first in the order of time is Görres. After the fall of Bonaparte, liberal ideas and representative institutions, were in almost as great disfavour with the German princes as at present. Görres, however, had all along looked not only to the restoration, but to the reorganization of the German empire, on a broad and popular basis, and concurrently with this he advocated a final settlement and limitation of constitutional rights in each of the confederate states, so as to put an end at once and for ever to the boundary suits so long pending between prerogative and right. This work he wished to see carried out, not in conformity with any prim pattern of an improvised theory, but according to the old and honoured franchises of each State. Some of the Sovereigns were willing to *grant* a more ample measure of liberty than their subjects had originally enjoyed, but the subjects were unwilling to accept their liberties with this infirmity of title, preferring the charter of immemorial custom, to a charter coming fresh from the crown. It is in reference to this disposition of the people that Görres writes :—*

“ The States were distrustful of a work the foundation of which was laid in the favour and good will, necessarily changeable, of the ruler, and demanded that it should repose on the ground of their ancient rights, records, and traditions, that being rooted in this manner, *it might have the sanction of the whole of the period which was past*, and thus possess a greater degree of legitimacy than the reigning family itself.”

The next to whom we shall refer is M. De Montalembert. His experience of constitutional Government was large, and precisely from the want of a foundation such as Burke would have seated it upon, young as he is, M. de Montalembert has seen the rise and fall of at least five constitutions. The greater part of his political life was spent under the Monarchy of July, whose tem-

* Deutschland und die Staatsumwälzung.

perate liberties seemed to give the greatest promise of duration, but which fell likewise because neither had *it* a root, or fibre of a root, in the past. The Catholic orator saw its fall with regret, because he had married his hopes of Catholic liberty to civil rights, and had learned to love the government which, to use his own words, "maintains itself in the combat and by the combat." The Republic of '48 had still fewer elements of stability, but it lived long enough to enable M. de Montalembert to acquire new titles to the admiration of his country and the gratitude of religion. He had now his trophies upon every field of parliamentary warfare. He had already succeeded in warming the stony materialism of the last Chamber of Peers, and he continued to lighten over the surges of the last assembly until the tempest of the Republic was overblown, and liberty, and with her, oratory, were at an end. The latter not absolutely, otherwise we should have wanted the eloquent passage so strongly confirmatory of Burke's ideas which we take from the address of M. de Montalembert on the occasion of his reception into the French Academy.

"The individual amongst the disciples of M. Droz, who has reflected most honour upon him, namely M. Nodier, has said with truth, 'the mission of genius is to pre-serve when it comes too late to create.' There was then a great deal worth preserving in France, were it only the honour of her history and her fair fame before the world. Every late advance of the science of history has tended to confirm the truth of the principle discovered by Madame de Staël, 'Despotism, not liberty, is a new-comer in Europe.' That was true in reference to France as to other Christian nations. We might then have challenged liberty as the imprescriptible apanage of the people, '*Franc*' by excellence. We ought to have forgotten the reign of Madame de Pompadour and her adulator Voltaire, in order to travel back the course of ages, and lay claim to the rights not extinct, though in abeyance, which a nation, unceasingly distracted by war, had suffered to be gradually confiscated by her kings. The adaptation of these rights to the new habits, and to the requirements of national unity, must have increased their value a hundredfold. Liberty should thus have acquired ancestors; she should have been identified with all the glory and strength of times past. This was precisely what the Constituent Assembly would not hear of. We were to have no liberty coming by way of inheritance, and yet such a title is the safest guarantee; because man, let him do what he will, has need of this transmission, to believe himself an owner; because the secret ambition of every innovator is to find out ances-

tors in the past; because every one has an inheritance he cannot get rid of, in the thoughts as well as in the name, and language, and life, transmitted to him by his own; because in everything, inheritance results from the agreement of reason and nature.

"The Constituent Assembly preferred to declare that the French people had been for twelve centuries nothing better than a horde of slaves; in order to create for itself a new people of yesterday's making—a kind of machine for working experiments in the theories and abstractions, of which the Assembly was enamoured. It treated France like a conquered country—gave up to pillage every national affection, recollection, and prestige—immolated all to that cruel pride that is the distinguishing mark of innovators."—Disc. de Réception de M. Le Comte de Montalembert, prononcé devant l'Académie Française le 5 Février, 1852.

In reckoning up the circumstances that tended to deprave and unsettle French opinion, Burke suggests one in particular, directly in opposition to the theory of the Abbé Gaume's work, noticed in the last number of this journal. In fact, he regards the extravagancies of the French mind, as in no small degree owing to the slight acquaintance of politicians, with the sound writers of antiquity.* We profess ourselves unable to account for this opinion in presence of the oratory of the time, with which Burke must have been familiar. M. Gaume has given us a good many samples of its style, sufficient, at least, to show that the classics have gone astray upon it. We select one ourselves from M. Thiers' History of the Revolution,† that will hardly be considered less striking than the others. He describes the last moments of Mirabeau: "'My friend,' said he, (Mirabeau) to Cabanis, 'I shall die to-day. Envelop me in perfumes, crown me with flowers, and surround me with music, so that I may deliver myself up peaceably to sleep.' Poignant pains interrupted from time to time these *noble* discourses." M. Thiers is at liberty to consider these things, "*noble discourses*," as we claim the liberty of considering them a piece of frothy and disgusting profanity; but they seem to afford a sufficiently curious illustration of a position attempted to be maintained in the notice of M. Gaume's book, with reference to the general effect of classic studies, and which goes to say that the operation of these studies is entirely according to

* Letter to a Member of the National Assembly, vol. iv. 377.

† Ç. vi.

the constitution of the different minds engaged upon them. Burke, the most conservative statesman of the period, believed, and had felt them to strengthen his principles and ripen his judgment. Mirabeau, the very genius of revolution, can derive nothing from them but empty theories, and theatrical impiety.

In tracing the proximate and efficient causes of the revolution, Burke has been more successful, or, rather, he has succeeded. It is impossible to show more convincingly than he does, that the French revolution did not originate in the embarrassment of the finances, or in the popular discontent; and that it did not take its peculiar character of irreligion and profligacy from the prevalence of those feelings among the people whose name it usurped. He tracks it, with the instinct of an Indian, through the tangled jungle of sophistries, to the sophists themselves, to the journalists, provincial attorneys, presidents of clubs, and the entire tribe of what M. de Montalembert has called "affreux petits Rhéteurs;" and he shows that they have abused their commission, played false with their constituents, and, finally, debauched the people.* Of this we have abundant proof in every stage of the revolution. The riot of the 18th of April, 1791, was stimulated by Camille Desmoulins, under pretext that Louis XVI. and Monsieur wished, by leaving Paris, to avoid the ministrations of a "prêtre assermenté," in the performance of their Easter duty. This shows the importance which the people attached to religion and its observances, and proves, at the same time, how gradually and warily the revolutionists proceeded to attack the religious principle in the popular mind, abusing its very action to wear it out, rendering one portion of its ministers odious, by their opposition to the constitutional oath, and the other contemptible by their acceptance of it, until religion herself grew to be as odious and as contemptible as her ministers. Notwithstanding all this, the principle was still so vigorous, that, "in 1793," says Prudhomme, "the churches were full, and the primary assemblies empty." On Christmas-day, in the same year, a prodigious multitude flocked to midnight mass at Saint-Etienne du Mont, and thousands were unable to approach the shrine of Sainte Geneviève, while, in January 1794, the

* Vol. ii. p. 272. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, vol. iv. pp. 183-210.

terror being at its height, the prisoners of La Bourbe heard High Mass and vespers, in the church of the Institution de Jésus. When it is further known that the rural populations, though glutted with “biens nationaux,” and subjected to every corrupting agency, were never totally, or even notably perverted, and that amongst Robespierre’s papers, letters were found addressed to him by entire communes, supplicating the restoration of religious worship, and that the deputy Laporte, at one time member of the committee of General Safety, stated from the tribune of the Convention, (21st of February, 1795,) that the government had been unceasingly assailed with petitions for the re-opening of the churches, the correctness of Burke’s views, (at that time singular), will be more and more apparent.

From the peculiar aspect in which we proposed to consider Edmund Burke, it was not to be expected we should enter into the general criticism of his works. As it is, they have not been abandoned to cotemporary admiration or cotemporary censure. They have occupied the greatest intellects of our own time, and, if the decision of these be not unanimous on every point, all are agreed in representing Edmund Burke as the most wonderful genius of his period, and in ascribing to his writings and speeches, a far greater influence upon events, than is commonly supposed to have belonged to them. Had we not been so anticipated, it might have been a question whether we should not attempt to measure the capacity of his mind, and the riches of its stores. We might have offered for notice some varieties of a learning so various; and it would have been our study to show that it was never cumbersome, and never trivial, never missing when wanted, and never ostentatious when present. We should have tried to pursue the flight of his imagination, and, bolder still, to sound the depths of his philosophy; we could have desired to exhibit him, filling his hand with thunder for the loftier crimes, and shrivelling up the meaner vices with the blast of his sarcasm, but all this has been done by the greatest master of character alive,* and we have no more the wish to retouch his picture, than set up one of our own. We preferred to chuse, as we have chosen, a point of view from which, none that we

* Lord Brougham.

knew of, had attempted to sketch the character of Burke's intellectual greatness.

As regards his general politics, however, the case is different; for they come within the scope of our original design, to suggest to the consideration of Catholics those principles of constitutional doctrine, and that love of constitutional policy, (of course apart from all details), which might be found best to befit and serve them as Catholics; and both which we conceive to be attainable in the works of Edmund Burke.

It is not wished to hold him up as an absolutely perfect political character, or a model invariably excellent. No such exists, or ever has existed. An opposition to parliamentary, or any other species of reform, pushed to the length of his, would at the present day be irrational and dangerous. His judgment no doubt was influenced by circumstances of which it would be unfair to omit the consideration in testing the value of his doctrines, but it must be admitted too, that he concluded the question upon general grounds, as he has elaborately proved, and that his opposition to Reform goes much farther back than to the French Revolution. He regarded the existing state of things, not as the working of any theory, but as a system which had grown out of events, and owed most of its development to unassisted nature and its own internal energy. He considered it had found its own levels, and should be left to its own sagacity to alter or maintain them. Experience has shown some of his ideas to have been too absolute, and his fear of theory a little too exaggerated. But if with a gentle and reverent hand we remove the light dust of his school that adheres to the solid structure of his philosophy, or even if we forbear our hand altogether, the fundamental doctrines are such as Catholics can adopt and cherish; and in their application embrace the whole circle of our political duties, in relation to our friends, our enemies, ourselves, and the country at large.

We believe that, from the volumes before us may be drawn a knowledge of the constitution under which we live, not to be acquired elsewhere, and with which it is our duty, as Catholics, to make ourselves acquainted. The peculiar character of our religion is to exalt and consecrate human institutions by connecting them with itself, whereas, other religions, in like manner as they degrade marriage

into a social contract, have lowered the authority of government to that of a purely civil compact. Burke (and we claim it as another instance of his Catholic spirit) has avoided this error; for, while he acknowledged, as we do, the civil power to be grounded on compact, he commits the guardianship of that compact, not as the last French constitution did, to the "patriotism" of all concerned, but to the custodian of all authority and source of all power.* This is a compact from which nothing short of essential immorality can warrant a departure, and this compact, wherever a settled order of things is in existence, and not, as we before observed, immoral in its terms, the Church will presume and enforce. The only issue that goes to her, is one of fact. She only requires to see the coin and its inscription, and whether that be Cæsar, Bourbon, Bonaparte, Stuart, or Brunswick, she commands tribute to be paid out of it, without any reference to revolutions or coups d'état, to crossing the Rubicon, the battle of the Boyne, or the 18me Brumaire. It falls to the lot of few to be parties to the formation of these solemn compacts—most of us are born into them, and are made parties to them without any consent of ours. Happy is it for those whose conscience is not in this respect put in conflict with feeling or reason, and whom Providence has placed under a state of things which their understanding approves, and their affections cleave to. Conscience, according to a fine distinction taken by Burke, with regard to power, is absolute, not arbitrary.† It is criminal to resist, but not to inform and enlighten her, for, in the latter case, we shall obey pleasantly, and rule virtuously. And Catholics, under this constitution, are bound to understand its principles and working, because being bound to respect the higher powers, they are obliged to respect in their own persons those same powers, assigned them by the constitution, and to provide for their proper and dignified exercise.

The enforcement of this duty is not left to the naked and uninformed power of conscience. The preservation of our animal lives is a more important duty still, and neither is it committed by God to the mere black letter of con-

* Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, vol. iv. p. 460.

† Impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq., Speech—Fourth day, vol. vii. pp. 257—359.

science. We are furnished with instincts that direct us without study—pleasure has been attached to the exercise of the functions indispensable to life, and pain connected with what is fatal, so as to warn us off where reason either could not act at all, or might be too late in her conclusions. In the same way, to attach us to our political life, the preservation of which, be it remembered, is a duty likewise, certain feelings and passions have been infused into our body politic, which work towards its conservation, but which, like the passions of our natural bodies, may be perverted to its deterioration, perhaps destruction—and here the parallel ceases. The imagination of Burke, so curious in analogies, and so profuse of them, did not prevent him from observing, that many supposed analogies between the physical and moral world serve rather for illustration and amusement, than for the supply of real principles or the foundation of a real theory. To apply this; in the physical life, our passions only require the presence of the object to make them act, and instinct runs before judgment. It is not so with the political. No man is born with a passion for king, lords, and commons, and there is no such thing as an instinct of the British constitution. Though the body politic is full of exquisite sensations of honourable ambition, and though satisfaction of the strongest kind is connected with the discharge of its functions, and though the incitements to the performance of them, as promotive of personal and public interests, are very powerful; yet, these things do not affect us at once; their relations, combinations, and entire machinery in all its extent and complexity, must be fully mastered by those at least who pretend to exercise the higher functions; and it was with this necessity present to our minds, that we ventured to recommend the study of that constitution, in the life and writings of its acknowledged oracle, and our affectionate guide, of the friend, who, as we have already said, loved because he esteemed, and esteemed because he knew us.

With regard to political *action*, it is at the present moment especially, well worth while for us to study the rules laid down by Burke, with such comments as the necessities and advantages of the times may supply. We can learn from him to be practicable in our demands, though energetic in support of them; independent, though respectful in demeanour; warm friends and vigorous opponents; good subjects and good legislators. We shall learn to

censure authority with moderation and effect; we shall learn to repel the advances of anarchy and revolution, how, or wheresoever they solicit us. We ought to remember that, in the late "aggression," excesses, the most violent of our assailants were amongst the men who have least interest in religion of any kind, and that we have as little chance of coming, by their aid, to the full possession of our rights, as a Brahmin has of getting to heaven by holding to the tail of his consecrated cow. From Burke we may learn the uses and the dangers of political combination outside the doors of parliament, and the morality of friendship and connexion within. We shall know how long to cleave to our friends; we shall learn alike the duty of sacrifice or severance. If we apply to the study of his eloquence, we shall get rid of those peculiarities of style that are not supposed to indicate either taste or earnestness; we shall give up flourishing metaphorical swords, and throwing away scabbards that never *will* leave our sides, we shall abandon alliterative threats, and taunts, and defiances, particularly of the high and haughty kind; we shall learn to temper the constitutional fervour of our minds in the cold springs of philosophy; we shall, in a word, make ourselves worthy to be heard, a great step towards making ourselves believed. Finally, by adopting his maxims, following his rules, and studying his eloquence, after due allowance made for times, and men, and things, we believe a British Catholic may yet earn from a British statesman, an eulogy as glowing as that lately passed by the greatest Protestant statesman of France* on the greatest Catholic orator of Europe, when he said, "What is, perhaps, the most original feature in your character, and constitutes its principal charm, is, that you have known how to combine in rare perfection, respect for the past, and progress towards the future; fidelity to tradition, and the true relish of liberty."

To do all this with effect, it must be done by Catholics as such; not ostentatiously, but, not timidly; not hanging their scapulars over their clothes, however good a badge these may be for the valley of Jehosaphat, but having religion enough to wear them next their hearts. They shall require to be Catholics, not such as a late prime-minister said might have been used by Elizabeth, but such as Victoria

* M. Guizot.—Discours devant l'Académie Française en réponse à celui du Récipiendaire. (M. de Montalembert.)

need not blush to be served by. It will not do for them to regard their religion as a hunch-back does his deformity, a part of himself, and yet a dishonour—a thing that will smart if wounded, and is intolerable to jest upon, but which, like the “deformed transformed,” he would change bodies with the tempter to get rid of. Catholics of this kind, who are only such by the courtesy of parliament, and in virtue of the oath they take, can by no possibility exalt the character of their reputed Church; but, to those who, Catholic in feeling, in life, and conversation, obey the promptings of an ambition, just, reasonable, and pious, to devote their talents to the service of religion and country, in public life; we again recommend the *Life and Works of Edmund Burke*, and, borrowing a line of counsel from himself, presume to say,

“Imitate, remember, persevere.”

ART. IV.—*Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*,
 Edited by the RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P. Vol.
 I. and II. London: Longman, 1853.

ONE by one all those luminaries, with one solitary exception, which shone so frequent and so bright in the literary firmament in the beginning of the century have disappeared. The career of some has been rapid and dazzling as that of the fiery comet, which flees from our vision almost before the wonder, which was created by its appearance, had ceased; whilst we have watched others rolling on in their bright orbits in calm tranquillity, and seeming unwilling to set even after they had ceased to shine, and when the eyes of the world had been already turned to the morning rays of a new luminary. Byron and Shelly died in the flower of manhood, and in the case of the latter at least, before his genius had reached the point of culmination; Wordsworth outlived his genius, and Southey, and Scott, and Moore, lingered on for years in almost utter mental darkness. The wild and wayward opinions of the two former, their

unhappiness, the shock occasioned by the violent death of the one, and the sudden and unexpected death of the other whilst engaged in the romantic struggle for the liberty of Greece, fixed the attention of the public strongly on their personal history ; but how few even of those who had been delighted by the writings of the other great men whom we have mentioned, knew anything about them during the last years of their lives, or could even tell whether they were to be numbered with the living or the dead. When the death of a great man does occur, the attention of the public is roused for a day or a week, or, in the case of such great soldiers as Napoleon and Wellington, even for a month. But no one need hope to be longer remembered or talked of outside the circle of his own family and friends. The current of life sweeps on too rapidly to allow us to linger long in sorrowing for the dead.

Few authors can even hope that their works, however excellent, will long continue to be read. The public now performs the greater part of its reading in the railway carriage, and few, in such circumstances, think of taking with them, as companions, volumes of science or of philosophy, or even of poetry. The penny journal, or the shilling novel is almost sure of the preference ; and, indeed, these are the only works sold at the railway stations, where the traveller is almost as sure to buy his book as his ticket and newspaper before setting out on his journey. Although Macaulay's "*Lays*," and the poems of Tennyson and Longfellow have been well received, yet, we think that the success of any great epic or philosophical poem would be very problematical at the present time. Indeed, many fourth-rate novels have a far more extended circulation than the exquisite poetry to which we have just alluded, notwithstanding that it has been expressly adapted to the prevailing taste of the public. No one in the least acquainted with literary matters, could anticipate, for "*the Pleasures of Memory*," "*Marmion*," or "*Childe Harold*," or "*Lalla Rookh*," if they were now published for the first time, the enthusiasm with which they were received, and the profound impression which they made on the generation to which they were addressed. Certainly, if it be as true in poetry, as in all other things, that the demand causes the article to be produced, it is evident that there can be now no general desire for such poetry as we have mentioned, because the great men by whom it was written have

left no successors behind them. There are not wanting persons of the highest genius and of the finest poetical instincts, and yet no great poem makes its appearance. Rogers, who witnessed the birth and the glory of the modern empire of poetry, has lived to see its decline and fall. It is well for us who love to seek shelter in the shades, and to pluck the wild flowers of Parnassus, that the great men whom we have mentioned, and others scarcely inferior to them, lived in times so propitious to the full development of the poetic genius. A less hearty welcome might have deprived us of the noblest monuments they have left behind them, and have caused them to neglect, or to waste in small and inglorious works those powers which have been able to raise intellectual pyramids that shall be viewed with wonder and delight by all succeeding generations.

But there is one kind of literature which, however taste may vary with time and circumstances in other respects, always has been, and always must be popular—we mean the biography of great men. The unchanging popularity of good novels, which are imaginary biographies, and are only good inasmuch as they embody the incidents of real life, proves that the history of the humblest man, provided it be true, minute, and life-like, may be intensely interesting. But this interest must be greatly increased when we have to relate the story of a man, who, although the son of a poor shopkeeper, raised himself to the society of the highest in the land, and to the very pinnacle of literary fame. However just may be the complaint in some instances, that “the lives of literary men are devoid of incident,” it certainly cannot be said with any truth about Moore, who held a distinguished place in society, as well as in letters, and has left behind him, in his “*Memoirs, Correspondence, and Journals*,” a mass of most interesting information with regard to the man himself, and the society of which he was so distinguished an ornament. Byron said that he and Moore were the only authors who knew the aristocratic society of England, the one from his rank, and the other from circumstances; and, certainly, whilst we peruse these volumes, we almost seem to tread the crowded saloon with their author; and as for poor dear Tom’s own heart, so full at once of idolatry for lords and of pure holy domestic affections, it is laid perfectly bare before us. The papers left by Moore are a memoir of his life from his birth until 1799, when he was not twenty years old; a

journal begun in 1818, and extending to 1846—7, and letters to and from various correspondents, but especially his mother. Some inconsiderable portions of the Memoir and Journal have appeared in the prefaces to the ten-volume edition of his works, but the rest have never before been published, and, indeed, they were intended by him to afford the means of making some provision for his wife and family after his death. He states in his will, that he had confided them to Lord John Russell, who had promised to undertake the service of editing them. The death of all Moore's children and of his sister Ellen before himself, left his wife the only person to be provided for, and "Mr. Longman, anxious to comply with the wishes of Mr. Moore, at once offered for his papers, on condition of Lord John Russell's undertaking to be the editor, such a sum, as with the small pension allowed by the crown, would enable Mrs. Moore to enjoy, for the remainder of her life, the moderate income which had latterly been the extent and limit of her yearly expenditure."

As yet only two volumes of these papers have appeared. They contain a short preface by the noble editor, Moore's Memoir of his life, upwards of four hundred letters extended over the period from 1800 to 1818, with respect to which there is neither Memoir nor Journal, Moore's account of his duel with Jeffrey, and one year of his Journal from August 18th, 1818, until August 30th, 1819. As we are informed that the Journal is continued regularly until 1847, a period from its commencement of twenty-nine years, and as one year of it occupies a large portion of the second volume of the present publication—two hundred and nineteen out of two hundred and thirty-five pages—we cannot as yet say, nor does the editor help us to form any opinion as to what may be the probable extent of the entire work. But, of one thing we are quite certain, that it will not be too long, as the greater portion of it will be occupied by Moore's Journal, which, from the specimen given in the volumes already published, we may safely predict will be most interesting. We are also glad that so much of the work is still to appear, as it will afford Lord John Russell an opportunity of repairing the numerous sins of omission of which he has been guilty, in the editing of the volumes already published. No one will doubt that his Lordship's eminent abilities, and his long and intimate acquaintance with Moore, render him the fittest of perhaps

all living men to edit the present volumes. At the same time, candour forces us to say that, judging from the volumes already published, no one could have discharged the task in a more careless or slovenly manner.

The following is Moore's account of his ancestors and of his own first appearance in this world:

"Of my ancestors on the paternal side I know little or nothing, having never, so far as I can recollect, heard my father speak of his father and mother, of their station in life, or of anything at all connected with them. My uncle, Garret Moore, was the only member of my father's family with whom I was ever personally acquainted. When I came, indeed, to be somewhat known, there turned up into light a numerous shoal of Kerry cousins (my dear father having been a native of Kerry), who were eager to advance their claims to relationship with me; and I was for some time haunted by applications from first and second cousins, each asking in their respective lines for my patronage and influence. Of the family of my mother, who was born in the town of Wexford, and whose maiden name was Cadd, I can speak more fully and satisfactorily; and my old gouty grandfather, Tom Cadd, who lived in the Cornmarket, Wexford, is connected with some of my earliest remembrances. Besides being engaged in the provision trade, he must also, I think, (from my recollections of the machinery,) have had something to do with weaving. But though thus humble in his calling, he brought up a large family reputably, and was always, as I have heard, much respected by his fellow-townsmen. It was some time in the year 1778, that Anastasia, the eldest daughter of this Thomas Cadd, became the wife of my father, John Moore, and in the following year I came into the world. At this period, as I always understood, my father kept a small wine store in Johnson's Court, Grafton Street, Dublin; the same court, by the way, where I afterwards went to school. On his marriage, however, having received, I rather think, some little money with my mother, he set up business in Angier Street, No. 12, at the corner of Little Longford Street; and in that house, on the 28th of May, 1779, I was born."—Vol. i. p. 2.

It is related in a periodical publication,* that a young barrister who lodged in Moore's father's house happened to be entertaining a party of his friends on this very evening, and that a servant entered the room where the gentlemen were making merry, some time during the small hours of the morning, to beg that they would be a little more quiet, as Mrs. Moore had just given birth to a son. It was pro-

* The Irish Quarterly Review.

posed that they should finish the night in a tavern, and Jerry Keller, who was present, observed that it was right to adjourn *pro re nata*. Without questioning the authenticity of this story, we must say that it certainly was not known to Moore himself who loved a joke in his heart, and would not have suppressed this one if it had come to his knowledge. Immediately after this event, Mrs. Moore indulged in the strange fancy of having a medal struck off, with the name and date of the child's birth engraved upon it. The medal was in fact nothing more than a crown piece, which she had caused to be smoothed to receive the inscription; "and this record of my birth," says Moore, "which from a weakness on the subject of her children's ages, she had kept always carefully concealed, she herself delivered into my hands when I last saw her, on the 16th of February, 1831; and when she evidently felt we were parting for the last time." 'This fond idolatry of the mother for her only son continued, if possible, to increase until the last hour of her life. It was not mere love, but a kind of adoration which she manifested towards him on all occasions. She believed in her inmost soul that he was the best, the brightest, and in spite of his physical diminutiveness, the greatest of men. And with all his faults he was worthy of her love, for he returned it right honestly, and in no stinted measure. He never for one moment wrapt himself up in that selfishness in which married people with *families of their own* are so apt to envelop all their love and generosity. Even when difficulties thickened around himself and his own wife and children, he nobly stood by his mother. Miss Godfrey, Lady Donnegal's sister, writes to him most truly, (October 2nd, 1806.) "You have contrived, God knows how! amidst the pleasures of the world, to preserve all your home fireside affections true and genuine as you brought them out with you; and this is a trait in your character which I think beyond all praise; it is a perfection that never goes alone; and I believe you will turn out a saint or an angel after all." The deep love which he entertained for his mother in his infancy never changed even in its character until the last day of her life. One of the strongest evidences of his undimmed and undiminished affection is to be found in the fact, that neither the excuse of want of time, nor the flattery of fame, nor the society of the great, ever prevented him from writing

twice a week to his mother; except during his short absence in America and Bermuda, and even then we find that the very sight of a ship which he supposed to be homeward bound, sets him to write a few lines to his "darling mother, which he trusts in heaven will reach her safe and find all his dear ones at home, well and happy." Although the ship was bound for Lisbon, this letter (October 10th, 1803) safely reached its destination. The simplicity of these letters is exquisitely delightful, for in spite of poetry and advancing years, she is still his "darling mother," and he remains to the last, her "own Tom."

Moore was sent at a very early age to a school kept by a man of the name of Malone, who resided in the same street with his family. His description of this person shows that at this time genuine specimens of the regular old hedge schoolmaster, were to be found even in the metropolis.

"This wild odd fellow," he says, "of whose cocked hat I have still a very clear remembrance, used to pass the greater part of his nights in drinking at public-houses, and was hardly ever able to make his appearance in the school before noon. He would then generally whip the boys all round for disturbing his slumbers."

Moore, however, seems to have escaped this attention, chiefly because his mother at and ever after then, heaped all sorts of kindnesses and attentions on those who were in any way, whether as masters, ushers, or school-fellows, likely to assist him in learning.

"From my natural quickness," he continues, "and the fond pride with which I was regarded at home, it was my lot—unluckily perhaps—though from such a source I can consider nothing unlucky—to be made at a very early age a sort of *show* child; and a talent for reciting was one of the first which my mother's own tastes led her to encourage and cultivate in me. The zealous interest, too, which to the last moment of her life she continued to take in the popular politics of the day, was shown by her teaching me, when I was not quite four years old, to recite some verses which had just then appeared against Grattan, reflecting severely on his conduct on the question of simple repeal."

This short eclipse of the great patriot's fame, followed closely after the grant which he received from the House of Commons; and in allusion to this circumstance, Moore used to repeat with great energy

"Pay down his price, he'll wheel about,
And laugh like Grattan at the nation."

The only person, outside of his own family, with whom his mother allowed him to associate at this time, was an elderly maiden lady, named Dodd, who lived in a small neat house in Camden Street. The reason why this lady was so honoured, was that she moved in somewhat higher society than the Moores; and the poet ascribes to his mother's constant attention to this object, and her ambition to obtain for her children an early footing in the better walks of society, both his own taste for good company and the facility he afterwards found, in adapting himself to that sphere.

"Well do I remember," he says, "my Christmas visits to Miss Dodd, when I used to pass with her generally three whole days, and be made so much of by herself and her guests. Most especially do I recall the delight of one evening when she had a large tea-party, and when, with her alone in the secret, I remained for hours concealed under the table, having a small barrel-organ in my lap, and watching anxiously the moment when I was to burst upon their ears with music from—they knew not where! If the pleasure, indeed, of the poet lies in anticipating his own power over the imagination of others, I had as much of the poetical feeling about me while lying hid under that table as ever I could boast since." Vol. i. p. 4-5.

So soon as Moore was able to encounter the crowd of a large school, he was sent to the Grammar School of the well known Sam Whyte, who, although a reputation of thirty years had placed him at the head of his profession, had the good sense often to mention as an instance of the difficulty and rashness of forming any judgment of the future capacity of children, that after a few years trial he had pronounced Richard Brinsley Sheridan to be "a most incorrigible dunce." Mr. Whyte had been all his life ardently devoted to the drama, and all connected with it. This made him particularly anxious to cultivate Moore's talent for recitation, and it was not long before he attained the honour of being singled out by him on days of public examination, as one of his most successful and popular exhibitors. Indeed, it was thought scarcely possible that he should escape being made an actor, and his mother, who sanguinely speculating on the removal of the Catholic disabilities had destined him to the bar. was frequently

doomed to hear prognostics of his devoting himself to the stage; and to confirm these predictions, he actually made his debut at Lady Burrow's private theatricals in 1790, when he was only eleven years old. The play acted on this occasion, was the tragedy of *Jane Shore*. The epilogue was recited by Master Moore, who was kept up so long beyond his usual bed-time that he nearly disappointed the company by falling asleep behind the scenes.

It was about this time that he made his first attempt at regular verses. The theme of his muse was a toy called in French a "*Bandalore*," and in English a "*Quiz*." The ridiculous extent to which the fancy for this toy pervaded all ranks and ages, was thus ridiculed by the young poet—

"The ladies, too, when in the streets, or walking in the Green,
Went 'quizzing' on to show their shapes and graceful mien."

"I have been enabled," he says, "to mark more certainly the date of this toy's reign from a circumstance mentioned to me by Lord Plunket concerning the Duke of Wellington, who, at the time I am speaking of, was one of the aid-de-camps of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the year 1790, according to Lord Plunket's account, must have been a member of the Irish House of Commons. 'I remember,' says Lord Plunket, 'being on a committee with him, and it is remarkable enough, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was also one of the members of it. The Duke (then Captain Wellesley, or Wesley?) was, I recollect, playing with one of those toys called quizzes, the whole time of the sitting of the committee.' This trait of the Duke coincides with all that I have ever heard about this great man's apparent frivolity at that period of his life. Luttrell, indeed, who is about two years older than the Duke, and who lived on terms of intimacy with all the Castle men of those days, has the courage to own, in the face of all the Duke's present glory, that often on speculating on the future fortunes of the young men with whom he lived, he has said to himself on looking at Wellesley's vacant face: 'Well, let who will get on in this world, you certainly will not.' So little promise did there appear at that time of even the most ordinary success in life, in the man who has since accumulated around his name such great and lasting glory."

Moore's family generally spent the summer at *Irishtown*, or *Sandymount*, for the advantage of sea-bathing. During one of these summers, when a number of young people were assembled, they got up theatricals. The piece performed was O'Keefe's farce of the *Poor Soldier*, in which a very pretty person, named *Fanny Ryan*, played the

part of Norah, and Moore was the happy Patrick, dressed in a volunteer uniform belonging to a boy much older, or at least much larger than himself, and which accordingly hung about him in no very soldierly fashion. For this exhibition he wrote a farewell epilogue, which he delivered himself in a suit of mourning as little adapted to him as his regimentals. In describing their transition from actors to mere schoolboys, he said,

“ Our Pantaloon that did so aged look,
Must now resume his youth, his task, his book.
Our Harlequin who skipp'd, leap'd, danc'd, and died,
Must now stand trembling by his tutor's side.”

He was the harlequin himself; and of all theatrical beings this harlequin was his idol. To have been put in possession of a real harlequin's dress, would have made him the happiest of mortals; and he used sometimes to dream that there appeared a good spirit at his bedside, presenting him a suit of the true party-coloured raiment. But the utmost he ever attained of this desire was an old cast-off wand, which had belonged to the harlequin at Astley's, which he viewed with as much wonder and delight, as if it possessed the wonderful powers attributed to it.

Moore's brothers and sisters generally remained a month or two longer at the sea-side after the gay doings we have mentioned were put an end to by his return to school, and he used to join them every Saturday evening, and remain until Monday morning. On these occasions Tom, mounted on his little pony, made a kind of triumphal entry into Sandymount. His sister, accompanied by a number of fair young girls, full of smiles and welcomes, went out to meet him, and walked by the side of his pony into the town. Such a reception was quite sufficient to turn the head of any young gentleman of Master Tom's sensibility; yet it did not make him proud or overbearing, but only intoxicated him with delight. He says touchingly and truly,

“ My youth was in every respect a most happy one. Though kept closely to my school studies by my mother, who examined me daily in all of them herself, she was in every thing else so full of indulgence, so affectionately devoted to me, that to gain her approbation I would have thought no labour or difficulty too hard. As an instance both of her anxiety about my studies, and the willing temper with which I met it, I need only mention that, on more

than one occasion, when having been kept out too late at some evening party to be able to examine me in my task for next day, she has come to my bedside on her return home, and waked me, (sometimes as late as one or two o'clock in the morning,) and I have cheerfully sat up in my bed and repeated over all my lessons to her. Her anxiety indeed that I should attain and keep a high rank in the school was ever watchful and active, and on one occasion exhibited itself in a way that was rather disconcerting to me. On our days of public examination there was generally a large attendance of the parents and friends of the boys; and on the particular day I allude to, all the seats in the area of the room being occupied, my mother and a few other ladies were obliged to go up into one of the galleries that surrounded the school, and there sit or stand as they could. When the reading class to which I belonged, and of which I had attained the first place, was called up, some of the boys in it who were much older, and nearly twice as tall as myself, not liking what they deemed the disgrace of having so little a fellow at the head of the class, when standing up before the audience, all placed themselves above me. Though feeling that this was unjust, I adopted the plan which, according to Corneille, is that of 'l'honnête homme trompé,' namely, 'ne dire mot,' and was submitting without a word to what I saw the master himself did not oppose, when to my surprise, and I must say shame, I heard my mother's voice breaking the silence, and saw her stand forth in the opposite gallery, while every eye in the room was turned towards her, and in a firm clear tone, (though in reality she was ready to sink with the effort,) address herself to the enthroned schoolmaster on the injustice she saw about to be perpetrated. It required, however, but very few words to rouse his attention to my wrongs. The big boys were obliged to descend from their usurped elevation, while I, ashamed a little of the exhibition which I thought my mother had made of herself, took my due station at the head of the class."

But Mrs. Moore's ambition that her son should shine was perfectly under the control of her strong good sense; and when the editor of the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* proposed to embellish one of the numbers with a portrait of Master Tom, who was then thirteen years old, as an eminent *public* character, much to the young gentleman's disappointment, she firmly refused her consent.

While Moore was yet quite a child, his father happened to have an old lumbering harpsichord thrown on his hands as part payment of a debt from some bankrupt customer; and when he became a little older, his mother, anxious to try his faculties in every possible way, employed a youth, who was in the service of a tuner in the neigh-

bourhood, to teach him to play. The instructor, however, was a great deal more given to romping than to music, and their time was chiefly passed in vaulting over the tables and chairs of the drawing-room. Although this was the only art for which, in his own opinion, he "was born with a real natural love, his poetry having sprung out of his deep feeling for music," it is not wonderful that the progress which he made was not such as to induce his mother to continue him in this line of instruction. He left off after acquiring little more than the power of playing two or three tunes with the right hand only. But it was soon discovered that he had an agreeable voice and taste for singing; and in the gay life they led, (for Mrs. Moore was always fond of society,) this talent was frequently called into play to enliven their tea-parties and suppers. In the summer, too, his singing of the songs of Patrick was received with great applause.

Mrs. Moore's entertainments could match, in gaiety at least, those of the best of the supper-giving society in which they lived. The small front and back drawing-rooms, as well as a little closet attached to the latter, were on such occasions distended to their utmost capacity; and the supper-table in the closet, where people had least room, was always the most merry. In the round of singing that followed these repasts the hostess usually took part, having a clear soft voice, and singing such songs as "How sweet in the woodlands," which was one of her greatest favourites, in a very pleasing manner. Master Tom also of course was a performer, and gave some of Dibdin's songs with no small éclat. Among the guests on these occasions were Joe Kelly and Wesley Doyle, whose musical talents were of the most agreeable kind. Kelly, who knew nothing of the science of music, and who at this time could scarcely write his own name, had taken, when quite a youth, to the profession of the stage, and having a beautiful voice, and a handsome face and person, met with considerable success. Doyle, on the other hand, whose father was a professor of music, had received regular instructions in the art, and was able to aid a very sweet and touching voice with an accompaniment on the piano-forte. He and Kelly were inseparable companions, and their duets were the delight of the gay society in which they lived. Doyle attempted to Moore to play, but whether from shyness, or from

of success, he would not be taught. But in 1793-4, his eldest sister, Catherine, being twelve or thirteen years of age, it was thought time that she should begin to learn music. The expense of an instrument, for some time, stood in the way of Mrs. Moore's strong desire on the subject; but as she had set her heart on the education of her children, she was enabled, by strict economy, to scrape together in a few months a small sum, which, along with what Mr. Moore could be induced to advance for the purpose, and whatever trifle was allowed in exchange for the old harpsichord, made up the price of a new piano-forte. The person employed to instruct Miss Moore in music was a Mr. Warren, (nephew of Dr. Doyle,) who afterwards became a very popular music-master. Moore himself now voluntarily commenced to learn, and was soon able to play well; for in 1797, when he was only eighteen, Robert Emmet used to sit by him at the piano-forte whilst he played over the airs from Bunting's Irish collection. On one of these occasions, whilst he was playing "Let Erin remember the Day," Emmet starting up as if from a reverie, exclaimed passionately, "Oh that I were at the head of twenty thousand men marching to that air." Moore very soon got into the habit of never singing but to his own accompaniment at the piano-forte. This saved him from all the coarser dissipation into which the frequenting of men's society, (particularly as *then* constituted,) would have led him, because he became altogether dependent on the instrument even in his convivial songs; and except in a few rare cases, he never sung a song at a dinner-table in his life. "At suppers, indeed," he says, and where there were ladies to listen, and a piano-forte to run to, many and many have been the songs I have sung, both gay and tender; and at this very moment (1833) I could sing, 'Oh the merry Days that are gone,' while thinking of those times."

In the year 1793, (ætat. 14,) Moore enjoyed, for the first time, "the honour and glory" of seeing verses of his own in print. Miss Hannah Byrne, an old maid who was herself a good deal in the poetical line, not only encouraged, but wrote answers to his young effusions. The youthful bard adopted the name of Romeo, (the anagram of that of Moore,) and Zelia was the title under which the lady wrote. "Poor Hannah Byrne!" exclaims the *old* poet, "not even Sir Lucius O'Trigger's Dalia was a more un-

inspiring object than my *Zalia* was. To this lady, however, was my first published composition addressed in my own proper name. My pride on seeing in the first list of subscribers to the publication in which it appeared, the '*Anthologia Hibernica*,' Master Thomas Moore in full, was only surpassed by finding myself one of "its esteemed contributors."

The Catholic Relief Bill, which passed in 1793, and by which persons of the old faith were admitted to the University and to the Bar, left Mrs. Moore free to indulge her long cherished wish of bringing up her son to the profession of the law. He accordingly entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1794, but did not commence his course until the following year. He passed his entrance examination creditably, as was testified by his old master, Whyte, who, in publishing soon after in a new edition of his works, some verses which Moore had addressed to him a short time before leaving school, appended to them a note of his own manufacture, stating that the author of the verses had entered College at a very early age, with distinguished honour to himself, as well as to his able and worthy preceptor. This favourable start, he says, gave great pleasure to his dear father and mother, and made *him* happy in seeing *them* so. The long interval between his examination and entrance into College he considered the most happy and the most *poetical* period of his whole life. He spent a great part of it in reading Mrs. Radcliffe's romances, and listening, while he read, to Haydn's music at a friend's house in the country. Nor was he without congenial society, although of a homely enough kind, in his father's house.

"For," he says, "not content with my own boyish stirrings of ambition and attempts at literature of all kinds, to which they impelled me, I contributed also to inoculate Tom Ennis and John Delany (my father's two clerks) with the same literary propensities. One of them, Tom Ennis, a man between twenty and thirty years of age, had a good deal of natural shrewdness and talent, as well as a dry vein of Irish humour, which used to amuse us all exceedingly. The other, John Delany, was some years younger, and of a far more ordinary cast of mind; but even him too, I succeeded in galvanising into some sort of literary vitality. As our house was far from spacious, the bedroom which I occupied was but a corner of that in which these two clerks slept, boarded off and fitted up with a bed, a table, and a chest of drawers, with a bookcase over it; 1

here, as long as my mother's brother continued to be an inmate of our family, he and I slept together. After he left us, I had this little nook to myself, and proud enough I was of my own apartment. Upon the door, and upon every other vacant space which my boundaries supplied, I placed inscriptions of my own composition, in the manner as I flattered myself of Shenstone's at the Leasowes. Thinking it the grandest thing in the world to be at the head of some literary institution, I organised my two shop friends, Tom Ennis, and Johnny Delaunay, into a debating and literary society, of which I constituted myself the president; and our meetings, as long as they lasted, were held once or twice a week, in a small closet belonging to the bed-room off which mine was partitioned. After supper my two literary associates and myself used (unknown of course to my father and mother) to retire on the evenings of our meetings to the little closet beyond the bed-room, and there hold our sittings."

In addition to other matters, each member was required to produce an original enigma in verse, which the others were bound to explain. One night Tom Ennis, who was in general very quick at such things, was obliged to go to bed without making out a riddle which the president had proposed to the assembly; but after Moore had been some hours asleep, he was awakened by a voice crying out from his neighbour's apartment, "a drum, a drum, a drum," while at the same time the action was suited to the word by a most vigorous thumping of a pair of fists against the wooden partition. It was Tom Ennis, who had been lying awake all those hours, endeavouring to find out the riddle, and now thus vociferously announced his solution of it.

Moore was now sixteen, a musician, a poet, and what was greater than all, a University "man." He therefore assumed the critic's chair at the residence of an elderly lady, Mrs. Battier, to pronounce judgment on the poems of Mrs. Jane Moore, who had come to Ireland from some part of England upon the double speculation of publishing her poems, and promulgating a new plan for the dyeing of nankeens. It does not appear that Mrs. B. had anything to do with the nankeens, but being a poetess herself, she had invited Mrs. Jane, who wished to submit her works to the decision of competent judges, to meet Mr. Moore at tea on a certain evening. The hostess must have been reduced to a single apartment, for tea was served in the bed-room; and Moore being enthroned on the bed as proudly as possible, sat listening while Mrs. Jane, who

was of the largest and most vulgar Wapping mould, read aloud her poems, making havoc with the *v's* and *w's* as she went, to the great amusement of the young poet, as well as of the hostess, who could with difficulty keep her keen satirical eye from betraying what she really thought of the nankeen muse.

Moore shortly afterwards made the acquaintance of another poetical impostor of the same kind. He had gathered around him, to listen to a lecture which he was to deliver, the most accomplished of the fellows of the University, and the élite of the Dublin literati. Moore sidled up to the group of literary men who were conversing with the lecturer while waiting for the company to collect, and put in a little word now and then, with a heart beating from nervousness at the thought of conversing with a distinguished English lecturer. One of the questions Moore put to him was: "You know of course, Sir, 'Shenstone's Schoolmistress?'" "Yes," he answered, "but ha'n't seen her of some time." The lecture itself was quite of a piece with this specimen. Quoting a passage from Lucan, which he said was counted by some writers very "helegant and hingenious"—the passage being, according to his reading of it, "The evens hintomb im oom the hearth does not hinter,"—he declared his own opinion that it was neither "helegant nor hingenious."

Mrs. Battier, of whom we have just spoken, was appointed this same year (1795) poetess laureate to Stephen Armitage, a Dublin pawnbroker, and king of the island of Dalkey. The reigning sovereign was a right good fellow, and a charming singer, and every summer the anniversary of his coronation was celebrated with great frolic and gaiety. About noon on Sunday, the day of the celebration, the royal procession set out from Dublin by water; the barge of his majesty King Stephen being most tastefully decorated, and the crowd of boats that attended him vieing with each other in gaiety of ornament and company. There was even cannon planted at one or two stations along the shore, to fire salutes in honour of his majesty as he passed. Great crowds made their way on foot, and the whole length of the road in that direction, which is about ten miles from Dublin, swarmed with vehicles all full of gay people. Moore, who was present on the particular anniversary of which we are speaking, was so charmed by the farce of the whole travestie, as to be

induced for the first time to try his hand at that humorous composition in which he afterwards attained such matchless excellence. The piece was meant as a birthday ode to King Stephen—the following is a brief specimen of its style :

“ George has of wealth, the dev'l, and all—
Him we may King of Diamonds call ;
 But thou hast such persuasive arts,
 We hail *thee*, Stephen, King of Hearts.”

On the very morning after the celebration at which Moore was present, there appeared in the newspaper which acted as his majesty's state gazette, a proclamation offering a reward of many hundred cronebanes, or Irish halfpence, to whatever person or persons might have found and would duly restore his majesty's crown, which, in walking home from Dalkey the preceding night, and measuring *both* sides of the road according to custom, he had unfortunately let fall from his august head.

Moore brought such a reputation with him from school, that it was expected, especially by his mother, he would distinguish himself highly at college, and in the examinations of the first year he did gain a premium. But here his college honours terminated ; for after finding himself vanquished by competitors whom he knew to be dull fellows *intus et incute*, and who afterwards proved themselves such through life, he gave up the struggle entirely in the second year of his course, and confined himself to such matters as fell in with his own tastes and pursuits, learning just enough of the rest to bring him through without disgrace. This was at first a great disappointment to his mother, but some distinction which he obtained out of the direct line of the course threw a degree of *éclat* round his progress, and served to satisfy in some degree her fond ambition. On one occasion, instead of the short theme in Latin prose which each boy was required to give in as a mere matter of form, Moore took it into his head to deliver in a copy of English verse, which had the good fortune to fall into the hands of a Fellow named Walker, who had the credit of possessing more literary taste than most of his brotherhood. He was so much pleased with the verses, that he laid them before the Board, and obtained from it a premium for the young poet. “ The reward I received,” says Moore, “ was a copy of the ‘ Travels of Anacharsis,’ ”

in very handsome binding—the first gain I ever made by that pen, which, such as it is, has been my sole support ever since.”

We rather suspect that Moore underrates his own proficiency in the regular college course, for either at the desire of his mother, or from his own wish to distinguish himself, he went in, in 1797, (ætat. 18,) for one of the vacant scholarships, and obtained a pretty high place on the list of those who were judged worthy of this honourable and lucrative appointment. “But,” says Moore, “I had only the barren honour of that place for my reward; for though I were to come furnished with all the learning of an Erasmus, I should still—being like Erasmus, a Catholic—have been shut out from all chance of the prize. How welcome and useful would have been the sixty or seventy pounds a year, which I believe the scholarship was worth, to the son of a poor struggling tradesman, struggling hard to educate his children. I need hardly point out, nor can any one wonder, that the recollection of such laws, and of their bigoted, though, in some cases, conscientious supporters, should live bitterly in the minds and hearts of all who have at any time been made their victims... Though by the bill of 1793, Catholics were admitted to the university, they were still, (and continue to be to this present day,) excluded from scholarships, fellowships, and all honours connected with emolument; and as with our humble and precarious means, such aids as these were naturally a most tempting consideration, it was for a short time deliberated in our family circle whether I ought not to be entered as a Protestant. But such an idea could hold but a brief place in honest minds, and its transit even for a moment through the thoughts of my worthy parents, only shows how demoralizing must be the tendency of laws which hold forth to their victims such temptations to duplicity.” We reserve all notice of Mr. Moore’s religious opinions until we shall learn the circumstances connected with the writing and publication of the “*Travels of an Irish Gentleman*,” but we have quoted this passage with the hope that it may attract the attention of those Catholics whom simplicity, folly, or factiousness, induces to abet this system of exclusion which, to our certain knowledge, is every year drawing young men from Catholicity into Protestantism.

Englishmen are apt to complain of the disaffection

Irish Catholics, as if this were not the natural result of the injustice with which they have been treated. That Protestant bigotry is as rabid and rampant at this very moment, as it was toward the end of the last century, is proved by the attention with which the House of Commons, listens to the miserable tirades of Spooner, Napier, and Whiteside, and by the narrowness of the majority by which Maynooth College was saved from destruction. And yet it is pretended that Irishmen should be quite satisfied with this state of affairs. The actual condition of the Catholics, towards the close of the last century, was in a political point of view, far worse, although they do not appear to have been regarded with feelings of hatred either so intense or so general as those which are manifested towards them at the present time. Moore's whole family, and especially his mother, took the deepest interest in the cause of the patriots, and some of the most violent of those who early took part in the proceedings of the united Irishmen, were among their most intimate friends. Moore says he remembers being taken by his father, when he was only thirteen years old, to a public dinner, in honour of Napper Tandy, who took him for some minutes upon his knee. One of the toasts, "May the breezes of France blow our Irish oak into verdure," as well from its poetry and its politics, made an indelible impression on his mind. Most of these patriotic acquaintances were Protestants, the Catholics being still too timid to come forward in their own cause. Almost all the young poet's private associates were also on the patriotic side. Tom Ennis, vice-president of his domestic club of three, was thoroughly and to the heart's core Irish. One of his most favourite studies was an old play in rhyme, on the subject of the battle of Aughrim, out of which he used to repeat the speeches of the gallant Sarsfield with a true national relish. Those well-known verses, too, translated from the Florentine bishop, Donatus, "Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame," were ever ready on his lips. The Latin usher at Whyte's school, whose name was Donovan, together with the Latin and Greek which he did his best to pour into Moore, "infused also a thorough and ardent passion for poor Ireland's liberties, and a deep and cordial hatred for those who were then lording over and trampling her down. Such feelings were, it is true, common at that period among almost all with whom my family much associated, but in

none had they taken such deep and determined root as in sturdy 'old Donovan,' and finding his pupil quite as eager and ready at politics as at the classics, he divided the time we passed together pretty equally between both." His politics were not likely to be changed by his entrance into Trinity College at this period, where he became a member first of the "Debating" and afterwards of the Historical Society, and the intimate friend of Edward Hudson and of Robert Emmet. But Moore never was a United Irishman, an escape which he attributes to the watchful anxiety of his mother. On one occasion he sent a letter to "The Press," the organ of the United Irishmen, "written in a turgid Johnsonian style, but seasoned with plenty of the then favourite condiment treason," which being discovered by his mother, she exacted a solemn pledge from him that he would never again venture on so dangerous a step. The only occasion, indeed, on which he received any direct intimation of the existence of united Irish societies in college, was one evening when "a man now (1833) holding a very high legal station, and of course reformed from all such bad courses, not only mentioned the fact of such associations being then organised in college, but proposed to him to join the lodge to which he himself belonged."

It was well for Moore that he resisted this temptation, for in the same year (1797) "was that formidable inquisition held within the walls of the college, by the bitterest of all Orange politicians, the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon." To those who, like Moore, were acquainted only with the general views of those engaged in the conspiracy, "it was really most startling and awful to hear the disclosures which every new succeeding witness brought forth. There were a few, and amongst that number were Robert Emmet, John Brown, and the two Corbets, who did not appear at all. But others who had themselves been implicated in the plot, came forward as volunteer informers, or else were driven by the fear of the consequences to secure their own safety at the expense of their associates and friends. The proceedings of the first day had shocked Moore dreadfully. "I had," he says, "heard evidence given compromising even the lives of some of those friends whom I had been most accustomed to regard both with affection and admiration; and what I felt even still more than their danger,—a danger ennobled at that time in my

eyes by the cause in which it had been incurred,—was the degrading spectacle exhibited by those who had appeared in evidence against them.” He says he remembered well (in 1833,) the gloom which hung over the family on that evening as they discussed the probability of his being called up for examination on the morrow, but that the deliberate conclusion to which his dear honest father and mother came was, “that overwhelming as the consequences were to all their prospects and hopes for him, yet if the questions leading to the crimination of others which had been put to almost all examined on that day, and which poor Dacre Hamilton alone refused to answer, should be put also to me, I must in the same manner, and at all risk, return a similar refusal.” The penalty for such refusal was not only banishment from the university, but exclusion from all the learned professions, a penalty which only one, and he the son of a Protestant widow lady, with very small means, had the fortitude to encounter. At length Moore’s turn came, and he stood before the terrible Fitzgibbon, beside whom sat “Paddy” Duignan, of anti-Catholic notoriety. The oath being proffered to him, Moore said in a firm clear voice, “I have an objection, my lord, to taking this oath.” “What’s your objection, sir?” he asked sternly. “I have no fear, my lord, that anything I might say would criminate myself, but it might tend to affect others; and I must say that I despise that person’s character who could be led under any circumstances to criminate his associates.” This was aimed at some of the revelations of the preceding day, and, as Moore learned afterwards, was so felt. “How old are you, sir?” “Between seventeen and eighteen.” “We cannot allow any person to remain in our university who would refuse to take this oath.” “I shall then, my lord, take the oath, still reserving to myself the power of refusing to answer any such questions as I have described.” “We do not sit here to argue with you, sir,” he rejoined sharply, upon which Moore took the oath and seated himself in the witness chair. He was then asked, “Have you ever belonged to any of the united Irish societies?” “No, my lord.” “Have you ever known of any of the proceedings which took place in them?” “No, my lord.” “Did you ever hear of a proposal at any of their meetings for the purchase of arms and ammunition?” “No, my lord.” “Did you ever hear of a proposition made in one of these

societies with respect to the expediency of assassination?" "Oh no, my lord." Being asked, since such were his answers, why he had objected to taking the oath, he added to the reasons already given, the natural hesitation he felt to take an oath for the first time, on which one of the Fellows named Stokes, a man of liberal politics, said, "That's the best answer that has been given yet."

Moore was now dismissed without further questioning, but felt a little nervous as to the impression he had made upon his young friends and companions in the body of the hall, until they all crowded round him with hearty congratulations. "Of my reception at home," he says, "after the fears entertained of so very different a result, I will not attempt any description; it was all that such a home alone could furnish." He was still apprehensive that the Lord Chancellor would object to admitting to degrees some of those who had been summoned to the visitation, as rumours to that effect were afloat at the time. But these fears proved to be utterly groundless, as he was allowed to take his degree in 1798 or 1799, and he could even perceive by the conduct of the Chancellor on this occasion, that the impression he had made upon him at the visitation was far from being unfavourable.

Moore was now in his twentieth year, (1799) and was freely admitted into the higher ranks of society. "All this time," he says, "my poor father's business continued to be carried on, nor, to do my fine acquaintances justice, did any one of them ever seem to remember that I had emerged upon them from so humble a fireside. A serious drain was now to be made upon our scanty resources, and my poor mother had long been hoarding up every penny she could scrape together towards the expenses of my journey to London, for the purpose of being entered at the Temple." A part of the sum which he took with him was in guineas, which was carefully sowed up in the waistband of his pantaloons. A journey from Dublin to London was a very different thing in 1799 from what it is now. Moore tells his mother that the journey was exceedingly expensive. He paid a guinea for his passage to Holyhead, £1 16s. 6d. from Holyhead to Chester, and three guineas in the mail from Chester to London, which, with the other contingent expenses, made the whole about eight guineas. On his journey he met with a madman and a sharper, but happily escaping both, got "a very comfortable room at

six shillings per week, on the second floor, No. 44, George Street. In another letter he asks his mother if she thinks this horribly dear. "My lodging, you know," he tells his father, May 22, 1799, "is six shillings a week, and I pay the man two shillings a month for cleaning my shoes and brushing my coat. Before this I was obliged to pay two-pence for my boots every day, and a penny for my shoes... I want a total refitment; my best black coat, the only one I have been able to wear, is quite shabby. Half-a-crown's worth of tea and sugar serves me more than a week," and he adds that he dined splendidly on nine-pence. Yet with all this economy he is like Mr. McCawber, continually in difficulties. Sometimes he cannot procure a pair of boots or pantaloons, sometimes a shabby tailor urges him for "the *small balance* of a *very large* bill, and sometimes he is in danger of losing his term from not being able to pay the fees necessary on the first day of dining. But he always met friends in his difficulties. Through his introductions he made several acquaintances, "all of whom were kind, and some of whom asked him to dinner." Of this latter "serviceable class was Martin Archer Shee, while his brother-in-law, Nugent, an engraver, and not very prosperous, poor fellow! was always a sure card of an evening for a chat about literature and a cup of tea." In the difficulty about his fees, Mrs. McMahon, the wife of a Dublin apothecary, who had transported himself and his gallipots to London, took him aside one evening, and telling him of a small sum which she had laid by for a particular purpose, told him it should be at his service until he was able to repay her. And when the shabby tailor pressed him for the small balance, Lady Donegal was anxious to serve him. As Moore continued to be the intimate friend of this lady, and of her sister, Miss Godfrey, during the remainder of their lives, and as, to the former he dedicated the *Irish Melodies*, an heir-loom, which poor Lord Belfast declared * that he prized above all others, we shall give a short extract from the letter to his mother, in which he first speaks of her. It was written in this year, (1799,) but is without a date. Lady Donegal "took that opportunity of telling me that all her money was at her bankers, and would be much better to be employed by me

* Poets and Poetry of the Nineteenth Century, p. 80. He died at Naples this year, aged twenty-five.

than to lie idle, and that she requested I would make use of any part of it to any amount I might have occasion for. I could not help crying a little at such kindness from a stranger, told her I did not want it, and went and thanked God upon my knees for the many sweet things of this kind He so continually throws in my way." In this same year he became acquainted with Lord Moira. Writing to his father, (April 29,) he says, "I sat near an hour with Lord Moira this morning, and am to dine with him on Saturday. He is extremely polite." It was not, however, till November that he paid a visit to Donington Park, (his lordship's country residence,) on his way back to London from his friends in Ireland. "This was," he says, "at that time a great event in my life; and among the most vivid of my English recollections is that of my first night at Donington, when Lord Moira, with that high courtesy for which he was remarkable, lighted me himself to my bed-room, and there was this stately personage stalking on before me through the long lighted gallery, bearing in his hand my bed-candle, which he delivered to me at the door of my apartment."

Alas, poor Tom! this was the beginning of thy misfortunes, for in thy very heart of hearts thou didst "dearly love a lord." This idolatry for rank was one of Moore's constitutional weaknesses, and if his grand acquaintances did not remember the humble fireside from which he emerged, he certainly never forgot the respect due to rank and fortune. He *ought* not to forget, he says, *poor* Mrs. McMahon, and her gallipots, who offered all the money she had in the world to pay his fees; but when Lady Donegal hearing of the difficulty about the small balance of his tailor's bill, talks about her banker, and offers him the use of it, he cries, goes down on his knees to thank God, and forthwith writes the matter home to his mother. Now to us the conduct of the apothecary's wife appears far more generous and noble, although, instead of at a banker's, she may have had her few guineas sewed in the tail of her petticoat, just as Moore's bank had not long before been the waistband of his breeches. Even of Edward Hudson, "his manly and accomplished young friend," who had been seized among the delegates assembled at Oliver Bond's house, he thus writes to his mother from Philadelphia, June 16, 1804, "I have seen Edward Hudson. The rich bookseller I had heard of is Pat Byrne, whose daughter

Hudson has married ; they are, I believe, doing well. I dine with them to-day. Oh, if Mrs. Merry were to know that ! However I dined with the consul-general yesterday, which makes the balance even. I feel awkward with Hudson now ; he has perhaps had reason to confirm him in his politics, and God knows I see every reason to change mine." Yet of this friend he says, (Memoir, p. 49,) " He was full of zeal and ardour for everything connected with the fine arts, drew with much taste himself, and was passionately devoted to Irish music. He had with great industry collected and transcribed all our most beautiful airs, and used to play them with much feeling on the flute. I attribute, indeed, a good deal of my own early acquaintance with our music, if not the warm interest which I have since taken in it, to the many hours I passed this time of my life tête-à-tête with Edward Hudson, now trying over the sweet melodies of our country, now talking with indignant feeling of her sufferings and wrongs." But between 1797 and 1804, Tom Moore had learned to appreciate the aristocracy, and Edward Hudson, with all his accomplishments, was a dentist's son, and his wife a bookseller's daughter. We shall soon see that, although he declares that he was in a manner born, and continued all his life, a kind of rebel in politics, he could not endure the " hail fellow well met" equality which he found in America.

But his admiration of the aristocracy led to far more serious consequences to himself, for he surrendered for a time the spirit of manly independence, and trusted for worldly wealth to the patronage of the great. He had not, indeed, at this time discovered the rich mine which he possessed in his own genius, and he never went farther than a *dinner* in that most unpoetical of pursuits, the study of the law.

Moore had translated some of the odes of Anacreon, at a very early period of his life, and in his nineteenth year, (1798,) had made such progress in the work, that he selected about twenty, and submitted them to his friend, Dr. Kearney, Provost of Trinity College, with the view that should they appear to him worthy of a classical premium, he should lay them before the board of the university. The opinion he gave of their merits was highly flattering, but instead of laying them before the board—which could not, he was afraid, confer any public reward upon the translation of a work so amatory and convivial—

he advised the young poet to complete the translation of the whole of the odes and publish it. He accordingly took his work with him to London, and we shrewdly suspect, devoted all his working hours to it. Indeed, he never once mentions the law in his correspondence, except in connection with fees or a dinner. He could not resist the charms of literature, and no doubt he expected to be handsomely paid for his Anacreon. But his golden dream soon vanished, and on the 27th of June, 1799, he writes despairingly to his father: "The booksellers shrink from risking anything on a person who has not a *name*, so that one must, at first, sacrifice a little expense, or be content with eternal obscurity; and, indeed, I am so vexed, that I could almost determine to acquiesce in the latter. I think I will set off to-morrow (for Ireland), but if I do not I will write. Oh, father! I hope I may one day or other repay you, but heaven knows how!" On his return to London in December, he set about publishing his work by subscription, an occupation so disheartening and so exceedingly like begging, that heaven only knows how some persons acquire a decided taste for it. The first two *hard guineas* he received as subscriptions he kissed, and locked up religiously. He got on tolerably well in London, but says of his *Alma Mater*, "*This*, (his Greek ode prefixed to the translation of Anacreon.) I hope will astonish the scoundrelly monks of Trinity, not one of whom I perceive, except the provost and my tutor, have subscribed to the work. Heaven knows they ought to rejoice at anything like an effort of literature coming out of their leaden body! They are a cursed corporation of boobies! and if it were not for my friend, their provost, the public should know my opinion of them." In the summer of 1800 Anacreon was published, and dedicated, by permission, to the Prince of Wales. These beautiful poems at once placed Moore in the front rank of literary men, and threw open to him the doors of the great. He tells his mother that he had six invitations in one day, that he was sending showers of apologies, that Lady Harrington sent him a ticket for the "Ancient Music," and that he had been introduced to the prince, which cost him a *new coat*, for the introduction was unfortunately deferred until the former one was grown confoundedly shabby. However he got it on an economical plan, by giving two guineas and an *old coat*.

But although, "in accordance with a foolish custom,

the name of Mr. Moore was printed amongst the most distinguished persons"—although he was feted by the great, and spent many months at Donington park—although every one met him with smiles, including his tailor, he yet felt that something was wanting to make him independent, and unfortunately he looked for this something, not to his own resources, but to the patronage of Lord Moira.

That kind, but weak-minded nobleman, led him to believe that he would provide for him, and it was quite natural for Moore at this time to trust to the promises of the great. Lord Moira did actually procure him a situation in Bermuda in 1803. It is highly honourable to him that his desire of this kind of preferment chiefly arose from his wish to be able to assist his father in "providing for his dears at home." At first, indeed, when Lord Moira offered him the situation in Bermuda, he hoped it would be so considerable as to enable him to bring the whole family with him. But thinking it best to see the matter with his own eyes, before taking so decided a step, he sailed for America in 1803, and arrived in Bermuda in the following year. In the very first letter which he wrote after his arrival, he tells his mother that "it is *not* worth his while to remain in Bermuda"—that he has entered upon business, however, having two American ships for trial—that he perfectly acquits those whose representations have induced him to go out, as they were totally ignorant of the nature of the situation; and finally, that he will return in spring to his "adored father, darling Kate and Ellen, and his sweet mother."

Before returning, however, he resolved upon a tour through the United States, and the following is the fashion in which this associate of Emmet and Hudson writes to his mother, (June 13, 1804,) of the "free and enlightened citizens" who came "between the wind and his nobility."

"Every step I take, not only *reconciles*, but *endears* to me, not only the excellencies, but even the errors of old England. Such a road as I have come! and in such a conveyance! The mail takes twelve passengers, which generally consist of squalling children, *stinking* negroes, and republicans *smoking* cigars! How often it has occurred to me that nothing can be more emblematic of the *government* of this country than its *stages* filled with a motley mixture, all 'hail fellow well met,' driving through mud and filth, which *bespatters* them as they *raise* it, and risking an upset at every

step. God comfort their capacities! as soon as I am away from them, both the government and the stages may have the same fate, for what I care."

Now, we are not in love with America or her institutions—we are not blind to her defects, but we can also see the greatness and power which were bursting forth even in 1804. Moore himself lived to suspect his own injustice, and to think better of the stinking negroes. We regret that we cannot make room for some extracts from the numerous letters which he wrote home during his tour in the States, and in Canada, for they are exceedingly beautiful, filled at once with the most charming descriptions, and with the deepest affection for the humble friends at home, to whom they are almost all addressed.

Some time before Moore went to Bermuda, Carpenter, the bookseller, offered to advance him a hundred per annum, the repayment of which was to be deducted from the price of the copyright of a volume of poetry, in the composition of which he was then engaged. After his return to England he published this volume, the title of which was "Odes and Epistles." A good many of these poems relate to the United States, where he had been so shocked by "the rude familiarity of the lower orders," and by "the maturity of the vices" of the population in general, as to lose all "sanguine hope of the future energy and greatness of America." After such a preface it was not unreasonable to expect that the poet himself would take care not to transgress the rules of decorum. But this was so far from being the case, that Jeffrey, coupling his present with his two previous publications—the amatory and convivial odes of Anacreon, and the more amatory songs of Thomas Little, accused Moore, in an article which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1806, of a "deliberate intention of corrupting the minds of his readers." Moore first read the article in the inn at Worthing, where he had taken up his sleeping quarters during a visit to the Donegals, and would have posted in hot haste to Edinburgh to shoot the author, but that "he could not compass the expense of so long a journey." Fortune however favoured him, for on reaching London he found that Jeffrey was actually in town, as if he had come on purpose to make a target of himself. The scene which followed was truly Picknicksian. After being put off by a "cool-headed friend," he was happy in discovering a hot-headed one

called Hume, by whom he despatched to the unconscious Jeffrey a fire-and-brimstone epistle, in which, after quoting some of the coarsest expressions of the critic, he says, "To this I beg leave to answer, you are a liar; yes, sir, a liar." Poor Jeffrey, who had come up to London to enjoy a short vacation with his friends, and not to be shot, referred Hume to Francis Horner, and the meeting was fixed for the following morning at Chalk Farm. But now that the preliminaries were comfortably arranged, there arose a new difficulty, for neither Moore nor Hume had pistols, nor in all probability the price of them. The combatants might have been obliged to take shot about at each other out of the same pistol; or rather, as Jeffrey had no pistol any more than Moore, the two little men would have been forced to decide the matter by fisticuffs, had not a soft-hearted friend, named Spencer, accommodated them. Moore, who was determined not to be left in the condition of the two Connaught gentlemen, who, having consumed all their ammunition in firing at each other, sat down together, and chatted very amicably whilst the seconds went to the nearest town to procure more, bought, in the course of the evening, powder and bullets in such large quantities as would have done for a score of duels. He slept at Hume's lodgings, but as his friend had but one pair of sheets, they were obliged to steal into Moore's apartments between twelve and one at night, to take the sheets off Moore's bed, and carry them in the coach with them. On reaching Chalk Farm in the morning, they found Jeffrey and Horner already there; and the latter said he saw some suspicious looking fellows hovering about, but who now appeared to have departed. These were in fact the sheriff's officers whom Spencer had sent to watch the sport. Hume and Horner retired to load the pistols; but this must have been a rather tedious affair, as, from Horner's knowing nothing about the matter, Hume had to load them both. The principals, *of course*, had bowed to each other on meeting, and Jeffrey said, "What a beautiful morning!" "Yes," said Moore with a slight smile, "a morning made for better purposes." Jeffrey sighed, and as they walked up and down they came in sight of the bungling operations of the seconds, upon which Moore related what Billy Egan, an Irish bar-rister, once said, when, as he was sauntering about in like manner while the pistols were loading, his antagonist

called out to him to keep his ground: "Don't make yourself unaisy, my dear fellow, sure its bad enough to take the dose without being at the mixing up!" Jeffrey had scarcely time to smile at the story when they were placed at their respective posts, and the pistols were handed to them. They raised them, and waited but the signal, when, though there was not much danger of bloodshed, as Jeffrey had not up to that time taken to soldiering, and Moore had only once fired a pistol, on which occasion he nearly shot off his thumb, the police officers thought proper to step in, take the pistols from the combatants, and convey them to Bow Street. The people in attendance enquired if they wished to be separated, but neither party having expressed any desire to that effect, they were all shown into the same room. It seems indeed, by a letter written by Miss Godfrey, Oct 2, 1806, "that Jeffrey took a great fancy to Moore, from the first moment he saw him in the field of battle, pistol in hand, to kill him;" and Moore declares on his own part, "that his liking for Jeffrey was of the same early date."

This would have been an exceedingly comfortable termination of the affair, but, unfortunately, the borrowed pistols were left in the police office, and when Moore returned for them he was refused by the officer in attendance, who observed, in a not very civil manner, "That it appeared to the magistrate, there was something unfair intended, as there was a bullet found in the pistol taken from Moore, and nothing but powder in the one taken from Jeffery. Mr. Horner soon put matters right, as far as the magistrate was concerned, and Moore got back the pistols, but never was anything so ridiculous as the account of the affair which appeared in all the newspapers. By changing the bullet into pellet, it was represented that the combatants intended to have assailed each other with paper instead of lead, and to confirm the public in its impression, Moore's own second, Hume, was so frightened by the ridicule attached to the whole affair, that he refused to sign the statement drawn up by Jeffrey's second, Horner, so that the only effort made at public explanation, was a short letter written by Moore himself. The matter terminated, *of course*, in Jeffrey and Moore becoming bosom friends, and a note, ridiculing this duel, which appeared in 1809, in the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," led the "poet of all circles," into a hostile corres-

pondence with Lord Byron in the first instance, and, as a natural consequence, into eternal amity with him in the end.

When Lord Moira became a minister in 1806, Moore was sure of some lucrative office, but all he really got was the situation of barrack-master, for his father in Dublin. In the following year Lord Moira wrote to Moore, who was then staying in that nobleman's house in Donington, to inform him, that he had been turned out of office, without being able to provide a fit situation for him. His first impulse on receiving this communication, was to abandon all hopes of a situation, and to resume his legal studies. "For," he says to his mother, "if I am to be poor, I had rather be a poor counsellor than a poor poet." But the muses and hope soon returned, and he continued to write beautiful poetry, for which he was but shabbily paid by Carpenter, and to be poor, and to be kept away from the levee in 1811, for want of a waistcoat. In this same year, March 25th, he was married at St. Martin's church in London, to Miss Bessy Dyke, a Ballet girl, we believe, for Lord John Russell does not tell us a word about her. At all events, she filled, before her marriage, some inferior station on the stage, and of course had not a penny. This event must have been a terrible blow to the poet's whole family, and especially to his mother, who expected that he would have married a countess in her own right, at the very least, with an ample fortune. Indeed, he did not summon up sufficient courage to mention the event to her for three months. His father replied to the communication in which he mentioned his marriage, in a manner which elicited the following noble sentiments from Moore: "If I thought," he writes to his mother, May 1811, "for an instant that this resolution arose, in any degree, from any feeling of *hopelessness* or disappointment at my marriage, it would make me truly miserable; but I hope, and, indeed, am confident, dearest mother, that you do me the justice to be quite sure, that this event has only drawn closer every dear tie by which I am bound to you, and that while my readiness to do everything towards your comfort remains the same, my power of doing so will be, please God! much increased by the regularity and economy of the life I am entering upon. Indeed, I may be a little too alive to apprehension, but it struck me there was rather a degree of coldness in the manner in which my dearest

father's last letter mentioned my marriage; and if you knew how the cordiality and interest of all my friends have been tenfold increased since this event, you would not wonder, my darling mother, at the anxiety which I feel, lest those whom, in this world, I am chiefly anxious to please, should, in the least degree, withhold that full tribute to my conduct; but I know I am, (like *yourself*), too tremulously alive upon every subject connected with the affection of those I love, and I am sure my father by no means *meant* to speak coldly.....even if the present change in politics does not do all it ought to do for me, I have every prospect of having it in my power to assist you in my little way more than ever; and if my father wants some money now, let him only apprise me, and draw on Power for it without hesitation." Nor was this a fallacious promise, for his wife devoted herself to his family as well as to himself, and, notwithstanding their stinted means, and increasing family, always encouraged him to share his money with his father's family. When, in the year following (1812) he got his mother to write to his wife, he exclaims, "My dearest mother, Bessy has received your letter, and if you could witness the pleasure it gave both her and me, you would think it was the only one thing in this world which we wanted to make us quite happy." The generosity and self-sacrifice of Moore and his wife, must be estimated by their own necessities. At this very time he writes to Power, the publisher of the *Irish Melodies* and *Sacred Songs*: "I have but just got your letter, and have only time to say, that if you can let me have but three or four pounds by return of post, you will oblige me. I have been the week past literally without sixpence." On some occasions he is kept from home because he has not money to pay for his seat back in the mail; on other occasions his wife and he have been obliged to prolong their visit a week beyond the time they originally intended, because they had not a penny to give the servants at their departure. The aforesaid Countess would have been very sulky in such circumstances. Even in 1817, when his father was deprived of his situation, and only got half pay through Moore's interference, although he was then obliged to leave the country in order to avoid a prison, on account of the defalcations of his Bermuda agent, he settled a hundred per annum on his parents, which he paid regularly during the remainder of their lives. It was said

wittily of Moore, when he married, "*incidit in fossam*;" but after reading these volumes, which we took up with a strong prejudice against Mrs. Moore, we are bound to say that she was a most excellent and devoted wife. We scarcely know that she had any relations of her own, for they are not once mentioned in these volumes, but all her thoughts, desires, and affections, were certainly given up to her husband and his family. And if the last years of Moore's life were saddened by the misconduct of some and the loss of the whole of his children, a misfortune which certainly originated, in part at least, in his having brought them up in a religion different from that which he himself professed, yet we do not attribute this in the slightest degree to his wife. In this, as in every other matter, we are firmly persuaded that she acted in strict obedience to her husband's orders.

Although, in 1811, he had still strong hopes of obtaining a situation through Lord Moira's influence, he yet set himself strenuously to work in order to achieve, as far as possible, his own independence. For the Irish Melodies which he had commenced to write in conjunction with Sir John Stephenson, by whom the music was supplied, and the Sacred Songs begun at a somewhat later period, he received from the Messrs. Power an engagement of five hundred a year. The agreement was for seven years, and as much longer as Moore chose. This engagement was even more fortunate for his fame than for the emolument which it secured him—for we fully agree with Lord Byron, that Moore's name will go down to posterity with his Melodies, and we would add, with his Songs generally. He is decidedly the first of English lyrical poets, and if some of his Songs want the simplicity of Burns, they are also free from the coarseness and the harshness of the Doric idiom, which, to southern ears at least, is disagreeable, unless it be used very sparingly, and the Scotch phrases be selected with great care. Soon afterwards, (in 1812), Moore conceived the project of writing a poem on an Oriental subject, of the quarto size, which Scott had adopted and rendered popular. His fame was already so great, that his friend Mr. Perry insisted he should receive no less a sum than the highest that had ever been paid for a poem. This sum was 3000 guineas, which Mr. Longman agreed to pay. The work did not appear till May, 1817, at which time Moore, who, as he says himself, could never work without

a retaining fee, had already drawn a small part of the money. The poem was *Lalla Rookh*, which was received with the greatest enthusiasm on its first appearance, and still continues to be one of the most popular in our language. It is, indeed, a great and a learned poem, but it is in our opinion far inferior to Moore's lyrical productions. It contains a greater number of the faults, with fewer of the beauties of Moore's style than his shorter productions. Ornament, sometimes gaudy, sometimes far-fetched, but generally, in itself beautiful, however excessive or misplaced, is the only fault of Moore's exquisite Songs. In the Songs it does not occur often—in *Lalla Rookh* it is a frequent blemish. Had Moore possessed less Oriental learning, his poem would have been better. He had collected a vast quantity of materials which he worked up with exquisite skill into similes and illustrations, but these recur so constantly, that they become tedious, and they also distract the attention too often from the main action of the poem. Yet, with all its defects, it is a great poem—greater than any of his contemporaries, except Byron and Shelley, could have written—and one which will live as long as the language which it adorns shall continue to be read.

In 1812, Moore removed with his wife and infant daughter from London to a small house at Kegworth, near Donington Castle, the residence of Lord Moira. He wished to be near that nobleman's residence for the convenience of the library, and also because, as he assures his mother, his lordship had voluntarily renewed his pledges of procuring a situation for him. When Lord Moira, during the same year, having deserted his friends and joined his political enemies, moved it is said by the tears of the prince, was appointed Governor-General of India, Moore wrote to his mother that if offered any place of great emolument, he did not think he could refuse it in justice either to himself or to those who depended on him. Indeed all his friends wrote to congratulate him on his approaching good fortune, and all the newspapers had it that he was going to India with a salary of £4000 a year. Lord Moira himself wrote to Moore (November 12th) to explain his own political conduct, but not a word did he say of the situation. At length his Lordship came down to the country and the Poet saw him for a moment. He merely said, "You see a school-boy taking his holiday."

As this could not be endured, he sought and obtained an interview with the Governor of India, "who fought very shy of him ever since he came to the country." "He said," Moore writes to Lady Donegal (Tuesday, 1812) "he had not been *oblivious* of me. After this devil of a word, but little heart or soul could be expected from him." He was sorry all the Indian patronage he was allowed to exercise here was exhausted, but if any thing should turn up after he went out he would let Moore know. In the meantime he would try to get something for him at home from the ministry. Moore at once asserted his independence, declared he would take nothing from the ministry, and that he "would rather struggle on as he was (without a penny) than accept anything that would have the effect of tying up his tongue under such a system as the present." When he went home to his cottage he put this declaration in writing, and sent it to Lord Moira, adding, that with respect to his promise of letting him know if anything good should occur in India, he must beg he would dismiss *that too* entirely from his thoughts, as it was too late in the day for him to *go on expecting*, and that he must now think of working out his own independence by industry. This was right manfully done, and in the following year he removed from Lord Moira's neighbourhood altogether, and took up his residence in Mayfield Cottage, near Ashbourn, Derbyshire.

In the summer of 1815, Moore and his wife paid a visit of some months to Ireland. Never was a creature more anxious than Bessy was to gain the love and good opinion of Moore's relations, and we find that the slightest irregularity in her Irish correspondence, after her return to England, makes her quite unhappy. In 1817, Moore removed his family to Hornsey, Middlesex, where he remained only a few months, and on the recommendation of his kind and steady friend, Lord Lansdowne, who wished him to dwell near his own house (Bowood), he took up his residence in November, in Sloperton Cottage, Devizes, which he got *furnished* for £40 a year. Here he remained until his death.

It would be impossible to convey any adequate idea of the simplicity, beauty, and truth, of the letters and journal contained in the two volumes of Moore's life, which have been already published, without far exceeding the space allowable in such an article as this. They are so full of

interesting matter, that a selection is almost impossible. But we think that the imperfect sketch of them which we have given, will prove that Moore was a man of the most sterling integrity, and of the highest honour—that he was a man whom his acquaintances must respect, and his friends must ardently and devotedly love.

ART. V.—*Des Intérêts Catholiques au Dix-neuvième Siècle.* Par LE COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT, l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française. Paris, 1852.

FEW writers and statesmen have rendered, at so early an age, such important services to the Church and to society, as the upright and virtuous, the learned and eloquent nobleman, whose last essay stands at the head of our article. Scarcely had he left the university, when in the periodical press he obtained distinction as a Catholic publicist, and before his age permitted him to take his hereditary seat in the senate of his country, he eloquently defended at its bar, with other distinguished friends, the liberties of the Church and of Catholic education. When at last invested with the dignity of a peer, he devoted for fifteen years his uninterrupted energies, whether as a writer or an orator, to the defence of the most sacred interests of religion and humanity.

In his first work* he depicted with admirable naïveté the manners of the thirteenth century, and the workings of Almighty God in an elect soul, giving withal a most vivid and masterly portraiture of the moral and intellectual condition of that most glorious epoch of the middle age. As a statesman and an orator, the Count de Montalembert took his place by the side of the most eloquent speakers that adorned the restoration and the government of July, and had a prominent part in every parliamentary debate, involving more momentous concerns; whether the internal constitution and discipline, or the temporal rights of the Catholic Church were in peril, or whether the cause

* *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.* Paris, 1836.

of civil liberty and social order were to be vindicated against despots and anarchists. With cool intrepidity and consummate skill, he crushed the Ultra-Gallicanism of a Dupin, and the Voltairianism of a Thiers, or unmasked the tortuous policy of a Guizot. A Frenchman by birth and education, he is on the maternal side connected with England, and hence his oratory combines the brilliant vivacity of French with the manly dignity of English eloquence.*

Generally sound in his political principles, he is remarkable for vigour and dexterity of reasoning, masculine sense, and even occasionally depth of observation; while brilliancy of imagination, fervour of feeling, and a chaste and classical diction pervade his eloquence, now sparkling with humour and irony, now flashing with indignation.

Well versed in classical learning, and possessing a rare acquaintance with the literatures of the chief nations of modern Europe; he possesses, moreover, very great theological knowledge, and has made the profoundest researches in history. Indeed, he has come to the tribune like the ideal orator of Cicero, "*peritus omnium artium atque scientiarum*." One of the most salient features of his oratory, in fact, is the skill with which he brings his immense historical learning to bear on every topic, religious or political, he may have occasion to handle. His opponents declare he overwhelms them beneath the torrent of facts, examples, illustrations, anecdotes, dates, and precedents from every period of history. In short, we cannot bestow on him higher praise than by affirming that though he has not attained his fortieth year, he surpasses in eloquence consummate orators, like Berryer and Guizot, and in his forth-coming work on St. Bernard, will, it is said, nearly rival the historical research of Hurter.

All these high intellectual qualities are informed and sustained by the most vivid faith, the most fervent piety, an inviolable attachment to the Church, a glowing patriotism, and a generous independence of character. In the recent dreadful revolution, which has convulsed his country, he evinced a rare courage as well as sagacity, con-

* His gesture and mode of delivery have, it is said, much resemblance to those of an English speaker.

trived by his conciliatory demeanor to hold together discordant parties, and was thus enabled to render the most important services to church and state.

With one who possesses so many claims on our esteem and admiration, whose intellectual and moral qualities are of so high an order, we have scarcely the heart to find any the least fault. If we were disposed to be critical, we should say that this eminent orator and statesman does not possess, in a degree proportionate to his other great mental endowments, the power of discernment. Superior as he is in extent of historic learning and force of eloquence to the Spanish and German publicists, Balmez and Jarcke, he yields to the former in sagacity, and to the latter in scientific precision. In the essay before us, learned, judicious, and eloquent as it is, Count de Montalembert frequently uses terms in a vague and unsatisfactory manner. He talks of charters, and parliaments, and states-general and Cortez, and representative systems, without attempting to define their nature and attributes, or to point out the difference between forms of polity, which though bearing the same name, or an outward resemblance to each other, are still very distinct in their essence. The Mediæval Monarchy, the British Constitution of 1688, and the French Charter of 1814, and other more recent constitutions, have, doubtless, many points of resemblance; but the great differences which subsist between them, and which have been pointed out by distinguished Catholic publicists of our age, are almost entirely passed over by our author. He sees not, we feel convinced, where lies the strength of the British constitution, and even hints that, had the French people possessed a little more English sense, they might have worked out their charter of 1814; a charter which, without reproducing the internal organism, imitated the mere outward forms of the British Constitution. The defects and the dangers of a government where royalty was unendowed, where it was deprived of all effectual exercise of its veto, and thus left defenceless against chambers and the ministries they supported; where the clergy without real property had no fixed and certain seat in the legislature; where no moral and material ties united the upper and the lower houses; where the latter consequently, as commanding the purse-strings of the nation, was thus lord of the ascendant, while it represented but very partially the interests and the fe

ings of the community ; where the people, deprived of its municipal rights and corporations, and provincial privileges, was a mere passive instrument in the hands of the administration ; the evils of such a government, we say, though not unperceived, are certainly not fully appreciated and brought forward in the present essay.

This oversight, which we noticed in a former number, is partly to be ascribed to the peculiar line of policy which M. de Montalembert has deemed it expedient to pursue for the last twenty years. Though devotedly attached to monarchy, and to all her concomitant institutions, he thought he best promoted the interests of church and state in disconnecting the cause of monarchical government in France from that of legitimacy. Now the cause of Catholicism in that country is certainly independent of the Bourbons ; but how that of monarchy can be, we are at a loss to determine. No prescription can yet be pleaded against the claims of that august family. In the sixty years that have elapsed since the overthrow of the old French constitution, no settled permanent government has yet been able to supply its place. In that space of time the Bourbons reigned for fifteen years, and their expulsion was an act of injustice ; for as we showed on a former occasion, the ordinances of July 1830, which served as its pretext, were purely defensive against the encroachments of the revolution on the rights of the Church and the crown.* And had the deposition of Charles X. from the throne been justifiable, the expulsion of a whole dynasty, that had no part in the incriminated measures, was surely an act of gross iniquity. The immense majority of the adherents of the fallen dynasty reprobate all attempts at civil war with the view to bring about a restoration ; they will tolerate, respect, and even aid any government that is prepared to protect religion and property, order and freedom ; and the excellent prince himself, the object of their ardent hopes and affections, concurs in these views. No course can be more consonant to reason and equity, for the sacred rights of religion and social order rise superior to any dynastic claims. But so long as Divine Providence suffers the legitimate line of princes to exist, and time and a settled government have established no pre-

* See Dublin Review, for December 1852, Art., Count Joseph de Maistre.

scription against their rights, then it is a work extremely arduous for any other ruler to found a permanent order of things in France. Any new government in that country, whether it be established by usurpation or by popular election, must either enter into a dangerous compact with the principles of the revolution, or at least, if it refuse to stoop to this concession, be perpetually reminded of its precarious tenure of power; since popular favour, proverbially inconstant, or military force can at any moment pluck down what either had set up. An intriguing usurper, like Louis Philippe, in order to reign, was often compelled to flatter the revolutionary prejudices and passions of the Bourgeoisie. Napoleon III., though his power rests on a far broader basis, yet from the very fact of his election, as also from the little sympathy he meets with in the upper and enlightened classes, must look for support exclusively to the army and the peasantry. But the legitimate prince reigning by hereditary right, and not by the favour of any particular class, would belong to the whole nation, and not to any part of it; would represent ancient as well as modern France, the traditions of the past and the wants of the present, the principle of stability and the principle of progress; for there is no regular progress without stability, and no wholesome stability without progress.

Monarchy, besides, subsists by love, that is, by the feelings of devoted inherent loyalty, and not by a sense of expediency. The instinct of self-preservation, the hope of military glory, or the prospect of a country's better administration, may sometimes induce a nation, or considerable classes in it, to rally round a crafty usurper, or a bold adventurer, who has seized on power. But such feelings constitute not a solid foundation for a durable monarchical government.

The fact that not a few Royalists place the interests of the legitimate dynasty above those of religion and social order; and then the hope that by keeping aloof from that party, he might better conciliate the interests of the new governments to the Church: such were the motives, honourable no doubt, which have dictated the course of policy pursued by the Count de Montalembert. But he might have seen, in the first place, that it was extremely difficult for the French Catholics to render any substantial or important service to the Church without the co-operation of the powerful Legitimist Party; secondly, that the great

majority of the adherents of the House of Bourbon deprecated any thing like civil war for the restoration of that dynasty; and thirdly, that many of their leaders and eminent statesmen, like the Viscount Falloux, M. de Vatimesnil, M. Laurentie, the two brothers Riancey, and others that could be named, are as zealous Catholics as himself, and would throw no obstacle in the way of a Government prepared to protect the high interests of Religion and society. We find not fault with our author for giving his support to the various *de facto* Governments of France; but what we cannot approve, is, that as long as the legitimate dynasty exists, and its claims have not become obsolete, he should look elsewhere for the establishment of a temperate, as well as settled Monarchy in his country. Thus he was cruelly deceived by the Government of July; and Louis Napoleon, from whose advent to power he expected so much, has, by the very first acts of his reign, provoked his indignant opposition. Even were Louis Napoleon as fervent a Catholic, and as staunch a Conservative as the Count de Montalembert, (which he is very far from being,) he would find it a task of extreme difficulty to get over the embarrassments of his position—to break with the traditions of his uncle's despotic policy—and to found a lasting civil Government, independent of military dictation and popular caprice. We say not that such a consummation of things is impossible, nor do we pretend to affirm that the present Emperor of France may not be an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence for establishing a happy and durable Rule, under which the interests of Religion, order, and freedom, may be alike sheltered. But the lessons of history, we confess, inspire us with grave doubts as to such an issue of events; nor has the policy pursued by the head of the French Government for the last year been such as to diminish our feelings of distrust.

To such a sense of distrust it is, we must attribute the zeal with which all the eminent Conservative statesmen of that country, Orleanist as well as Legitimist, pursue the work of *fusion*, or reconciliation, between the two branches of the House of Bourbon; a reconciliation which, as preliminary to the reestablishment of the Legitimate dynasty, they conceive to be a necessary prelude to the consolidation of a free and stable Government in France. If a Guizot and a Molé so devoted by interest and affection to the Family

of Orleans, and even a Thiers, who was one of the most active agents in bringing about the Revolution of July, have at last seen the imperious necessity of admitting the rights of the elder branch; why should the Count de Montalembert, who seems to entertain little hopes from the present Ruler of France, retain his isolated position, and look for the safety of his country from every upstart and adventurer who may seize on the helm of the state? Why, when all the great Statesmen with whom he has been for the last four years engaged in the noble league of defending society against the ravages of Socialism, (and the Buonapartists can scarcely reckon one statesman of eminence,) when all these statesmen unanimously declare that next to the Church, Monarchy can alone save France, and that out of the legitimate line it is in vain to look for a true, that is, a stable and temperate Monarchy; why, we repeat, should the Count de Montalembert renew the labour of Sisyphus, and doom himself to the recurrence of perpetual disappointments? Next to the loss of civil liberty, no greater misfortune can befall a people, than the loss of an ancient dynasty, which had grown with its growth, and strengthened with its strength; which was rooted in its history, and intertwined with its affections. When a nation expels, or suffers to be expelled, its natural and legitimate rulers, it then learns too late what stern task-masters it imposes on itself.

The great Catholic Publicists, whom M. de Montalembert most reveres, thought not so lightly of the claims of legitimacy. During all the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, from 1793 to 1814, the restoration of the House of Bourbon was ever present to the great mind of De Maistre, who looked to it as the almost indispensable condition to the restoration of social order, and civil freedom in France. The Spanish matches nearly broke the heart of the lamented Balmez;* for they blasted the hope he had long cherished of an alliance between Queen Isabella and the eldest son of Don Carlos, as the best, if not the only means, of extirpating the seeds of civil warfare in his country, of uniting against the Revolution all adherents of the Church and of Monarchy, and thereby repress-

* He predicted that a severe punishment would be inflicted on Louis Philippe for his intrigues in this affair. This prediction was fulfilled within a year after it was uttered.

ing the reactionary Absolutism of many Carlists, and the dangerous Liberalism of a considerable portion of the Christiansos, and so ultimately ensuring to Spain the blessings of a free and durable Government.

There is another circumstance which ought to have great weight with the Count de Montalembert. In the year 1848, some of his distinguished Catholic friends, who like him had hailed the Revolution of 1830, and without being able to find anything in the House of Orleans which could satisfy their reason or their affections, had still kept studiously aloof from the Legitimist Party, were carried away by some of the extravagant political utopias of that calamitous year.* He himself, indeed, evinced, as we have said, in that fearful crisis, a rare wisdom, as well as courage, and rendered to his country services which she can never adequately repay.† Yet if a holy Priest, a most eloquent orator, and a very learned and profound divine, like the Père Lacordaire, for example, were, from the policy of isolation we advert to, unable to resist some political illusions of that period, (though his good sense was not slow in extricating him from his false position;) how can we expect that the people—we mean the good, religious, well-thinking portion of the people—should withstand the seductive artifices of Revolutionary Demagogues, unless it be upheld by old traditionary maxims of government, and fixed hereditary attachments? Intemperate and injudicious men there are in the Legitimist, as in every other political party; yet the coquettings of the late Abbé de Genonde, and the Count de La Rochejacquelin, with the Revolution, were contrary to the better judgment of their own leaders, and the instinct of the whole Royalist party.

These remarks are urged on the noble author, not by way of censure, but of respectful suggestion. This is a subject beset with difficulties, and on which the most virtuous and most enlightened men may take different views. It is our humble opinion, that if, without taking any attitude of hostility to the present Government, the Count de Montalembert would, like the venerable Molé, give his

* We allude to the writers of the "*Ere Nouvelle*."

† During the disastrous days of June 1848, Count de Montalembert was exposed to great personal danger. He carried despatches from the Legislative Assembly to General Cavaignac amid the thickest of the fight.

moral support to the *Party of Fusion*, his services to the Church would be in nowise impaired ; while his opposition to Despotism on the one hand, and to the Revolution on the other, would be more disciplined and effective.

But it is time to analyze the Essay before us. It is divided into two parts. In the first, from page 1 to page 38, the author contrasts the state of the Church half a century ago with her present condition—the moral, social, and intellectual prostration of the chief Catholic nations of Europe at that period, with the amazing life and energy they now display in all those several departments. In the remaining chapters he shows the dangers of Absolutism to the Church, as well as to the State, and points out the advantages accruing to both from a Parliamentary Government, of one kind or another. The picture which he draws of the state of the Church's humiliation in Europe fifty years ago, and the immense progress she has since made, is extremely vivid and interesting. How desolate indeed stood the Bride of Christ, despoiled as she had been of her riches, and stripped of her ornaments, when this century first dawned upon her ! When we look to France, we see everywhere the burning traces which the lava-stream of her dreadful Revolution had left. Churches closed and desecrated—the Clergy that had escaped imprisonment and the scaffold pining in exile, or lurking in concealment—the sacred mysteries of Religion, as in the days of Heathen persecution, celebrated in the obscurest privacy—the sabbath hideously profaned—the canticles of Divine praise and thanksgiving seemingly hushed for ever, and succeeded by the Bacchanal roar from the haunts of vice and intemperance—Atheism exhausted by its orgies, sleeping a drunken sleep ; and the Gallic soil covered with the smouldering ruins of altars overthrown, and shrines rifled, and the peaceful asylums of piety and learning plundered and violated. On the other hand, the splendid Monarchy of fourteen hundred years, which, (to use the words of Gibbon,) “had rested on the triple basis of the Church, the Aristocracy, and the Magistracy,” and which even in its decay still commanded respect, was replaced by an unsightly, irregular, blood-stained edifice, without ornament, without proportion, without solidity, constructed by the folly of godless sophists, the desperate ambition of bloodthirsty tribunes, the chicanery of man-pettifoggers, and the sordid cunning of usurious financiers.

The eye, sickened by this scene of social confusion, turned for solace to the military camp, which alone preserved the semblance of order. There a young soldier, "followed by thirty victories in his train,"* was about to reconcile his country with the Church, and attempt for a time the work of Charlemagne.

But if we run over the eventful fifty years that have intervened, what a contrast do we behold! The Church has at last been released from the fetters of State-bondage in which for upwards of a hundred and sixty years she had been enthralled. The Jansenist Heresy, which, like an insidious, parasitical plant, had crept and wound round her trunk, consuming so much of her sap, has now quite withered away. The Gallican prejudices, which had so long crippled her best energies, placed her in a false position towards the Holy See, and the rest of Christendom, and reduced her to such abject dependence on the Secular power, lie now for the most part impotent and prostrate. The Clergy, chastened by the fire of persecution, is eminently distinguished for concord, virtue, zeal, and charity, as well as strict orthodoxy, and devotion to the Holy See. The female cloisters, utterly unknown fifty years ago, formed as they are to supply the wants and necessities of every class of the community, and devoted to the alleviation of every misery, physical and moral, that can afflict humanity, are now to be found in almost every town in France; while the Religious Orders of men consecrated to the work of education and charity, preaching, missions, and learning, sacred and profane, have (so soon as the late restrictive laws were repealed) sprung up in no inconsiderable numbers.

If among the Laity, owing to the long oppression the Catholic Church has had to endure, the systematic corruption of education, the indefatigable efforts of the artizans of evil, and the encouragement, or at least impunity, accorded to them by succeeding Governments, crime and impiety have reached an enormous pitch; yet not only have the peasantry and townspeople of entire districts preserved their faith inviolate, and their morals untainted, but a vast proportion of individuals in all parts of France, and among all classes of the community, and more especially among the

* The beautiful words in inverted commas are from the *Père Lacordaire*.

ancient nobles, afford most edifying examples of virtue and piety. Need we point to the countless institutions dedicated to purposes of religion and charity, supported not as in former times by independent endowments, but by the stated contributions of the devout Laity? Need we name the "Propagation of the Faith at Lyons," which has so powerfully conduced to the support and extension of Catholic Missions, and was termed by his late Holiness his chief solace? or the Association of St. Vincent of Paul, with its extensive ramifications throughout France, and which initiates the upper and educated classes in the apostleship of charity? or that of St. Francis Xavier for promoting the moral training and intellectual culture of the working classes? or the Confraternity for the Conversion of Sinners, which, under the grace of Heaven, has been instrumental in reclaiming to religion and virtue the most godless and hardened reprobates?

Catholic literature and science also, which in France at the commencement of this century were in so feeble a condition, have within the last forty years, and in despite, too, of the most formidable obstacles, displayed an amazing vigour and fertility, and put forth productions worthy to compare with those of the seventeenth century.

After the many revolutions, and the fearful social crisis, which it has lately gone through, the political organization of France, it is needless to say, is in a most critical and precarious condition. One lesson, however, misfortune has taught our neighbours. Never was the character of the French Revolution better understood, and never were the true means for bringing about a regeneration of society more fully appreciated, and more generally acknowledged, than at the present time. But on this subject we have already had occasion to speak.

In Italy half a century ago, the patrimony of the Church had become the spoil of a sacrilegious invader; the Holy Father had but just died in captivity; the Papal chair remained for eight months vacant; and the election of a new Pontiff perforce took place on a foreign soil. The Church, which for fifty years had been so oppressed by absolute governments, was now persecuted by impious but ephemeral Republics, that had sprung out of the great moral convulsion of 1789. The anti-catholic legislation of the eighteenth century, that had so well prepared the way

for the Revolution, which shook its close, was an instrument, that Italian Jacobinism found ready to its hand, and which it but wielded with more consistency and vigour. A portion of the Italian nobles and literati, indeed made themselves the servile instruments of French irreligion and lawlessness. But the great bulk of the people remained steadfast in its devotion to the Church, and firm in the practice of its religious duties. And though during the eighteenth century Italy in art, literature, and science, no longer held the same high and brilliant position as in the preceding ages, yet she never ceased to put forth a variety of solid and useful works, animated with an excellent spirit, in the several departments of theology, history, the Belles Lettres, and physical science. The sirocco wind of impiety had not, as in France, blighted up the fair vegetation of religion in this most interesting of all lands; and hence the utter impotence of the Revolutionists of our times to accomplish there their infernal designs.

But within the last fifty years extraordinary indeed has been the progress of Italy in intellectual pursuits—a progress which our author has not sufficiently noticed. Not only has she pursued with great success the career of physical discovery, but she has brought forth men of profound thought and creative genius, worthy of her most glorious times. A Silvio Pellico, and above all, a Manzoni in fictitious literature—a Mai in archæology—a Perone and a Passaglia, a Ventura, and an Orioli in dogmatic Theology—and in moral and metaphysical philosophy a Cardinal Gerdil—a Galuppi—and a Rosmini have resuscitated the old intellectual fame of that noble country.

Italy, which in former ages, had given birth to such profound philosophers, as a St. Anselm—a St. Thomas Aquinas, a St. Bonaventura, and accomplished thinkers, like the Platonists of Florence in the fifteenth century, cultivated Metaphysics with less assiduity in succeeding times; for the frightful abuse of human reason evinced in the Reformation, threw, by a natural reaction, the nations of the Catholic South on a too exclusive culture of art, imaginative literature, historic research, and physical science.* Hence had arisen, as F. Schlegel in his *History*

* Whilst we were engaged in writing this paper, the admirable discourse of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman on Italian science

of Literature observes, a most unjust prejudice against the Italian nation, eminently endowed as it is with every intellectual gift, that it possessed but little aptitude for the higher departments of speculative thought. This calumny has been nobly rebutted by the above-named distinguished metaphysicians; and we may with reason congratulate Italy on having supplied this deficiency in her modern literature; for Metaphysics, which Alban Butler well denominated the "Generals of science," as they draw their chief light from Revelation, reflect it in turn on every other sphere of knowledge.

On the whole we should say that, in despite of great political disadvantages, Italy, though at present inferior to Germany and France in intellectual cultivation, is nearly on a par with Great Britain.

The Church in that country, though persecuted at various periods during the last fifty years, has not had to pass through so tremendous an ordeal, as in France and Spain. The Episcopate there is most learned and pious; the inferior clergy in most of the states exemplary; many of the Religious Orders most useful and edifying, and others are now undergoing salutary reforms. The peasantry and less wealthy burgesses still cling with their ancient tenacity to the Catholic faith, and in virtue and integrity yield to those of no other country. And though among a portion of the nobility and the commercial and educated classes, irreligion and corruption prevail to no inconsiderable extent, yet in those very orders of society, the Church reckons her most zealous and fervent disciples.

In Spain and Portugal the Church, during the eighteenth century, was doomed to the same state-oppression, as in other countries. Jealous encroachments on the rights of the Holy See—interference with episcopal jurisdiction—the cruel persecution and expulsion of an illustrious order, that in Spain and throughout her vast colonies had, by its pastoral labours, its preachings, its writings, its colleges, its foreign and domestic missions, rendered perhaps more important services to Church and

fell into our hands. We always knew that Italy had achieved much for the natural sciences, but until we saw the number and variety of interesting facts collected by His Eminence, we had no idea of the extent of the obligations which this department of knowledge is under to that much-calumniated land.

State than in any other land ;—the secret encouragement of the anti-christian sect ;—such was the sad spectacle, which the most Catholic kingdom then exhibited. In the State the same symptoms of decline and dissolution. A monarch, personally virtuous and intelligent, like Charles III. lets himself be hood-winked by a Junto of anti-christian conspirators, such as D'Aranda, Campomanes, and others, who “sowed the whirlwind, which Spain has had since to reap.” And his weak-minded successor, Charles IV., was a passive instrument in the hands of a wretched upstart favourite, like Godoy—the paramour of his queen, and who disposed at will of the treasures, the liberties, the honours, and even independence of his country.

While the Court was sunk to this state of ignominy, the once illustrious Grandees and nobles of Spain, who, in the middle ages, had been Europe's van-guard against the Saracen,—whose martial feats had afterwards filled two continents with amaze and admiration—who in their Cortes had been the intrepid defenders of the popular liberties, as well as of the Royal prerogatives ;—these nobles, we say, now whiled away their time in frivolous court-intrigues, dallying in attendance at the palace, forgetful of their ancestral glories, without influence on the nation, without utility to the sovereign. The Commons, too, bereaved of their Cortes, which were not only the bulwark of their freedom, but an arena of wholesome activity, and an outlet of honourable ambition, saw agriculture, commerce, and manufactures gradually decline, their once crowded and opulent cities dwindle away in population and in wealth, and the riches of America pass into the hands of rivals and foes. The history of that country loudly attests how civil and ecclesiastical liberties rise and sink together, and should utter a warning to those honourable, but misguided Catholics in France, who, out of a very natural horror for Revolution, are now preaching up the blessings of absolute rule.

This high-minded people has, in the last fifty years, had to pass through the stern apprenticeship of misfortune. All orders of society, but more especially the Court and public functionaries, have had to expiate, some lukewarmness and relaxation of discipline, others transgressions of a deeper dye.

The war of independence, however, tested all the latent

energy existing in this people, and which misgovernment and disaster had not been able to extinguish, and called forth all the prodigies of its old religious patriotism. But a party, brought up in the perverse doctrines of the eighteenth century, abused this noble movement, and made the national efforts in defence of the altar, the throne, liberty, and national independence, minister to its own selfish and anarchic projects. A mimicry, horribly ludicrous, of the crimes and follies of the French Revolution afflicted that country, and disgusted Europe for a considerable period. But the burning plough-share of irreligion has scathed but the surface of society, and hence the deadly plants of Revolution have not been able to take deep root there.

"The Catholic Reaction in Spain," justly observes M. de Montalembert, "is only the more profound, for having been so long silent and unperceived." He might have referred his readers to the very full, accurate, and interesting details on this subject, which an illustrious writer, a few years ago, inserted in this Journal.* This work of religious reaction has been crowned by a most favourable concordat, which we trust will be fairly carried out by the Government. Spain has passed with singular good fortune through the recent European crisis; and has, on the whole, enjoyed of late years a degree of freedom as well as tranquillity, which she had not for a long time known. We often heard it tauntingly said, that that nation was utterly decayed, that during thirty years' Revolution, it had not turned up a single great man. Jacobinism was not likely to produce great men; and it is among its adversaries we must look for tokens of greatness. The calumny has been at last nobly belied; the Christians of Spain have brought forth a hero, like Zumal-Carregui, worthy to take his place beside her most renowned warriors; a divine, a philosopher, and a publicist of the first order, like Balmez; and an admirable orator and thinker, like Donoso Cortes. Genius begets genius; and we doubt not, that, taking into account the mighty convulsion which in our times has shaken the Peninsula to her inmost depths, the two distinguished writers we have named are but the precursors of a host of Catholic

* In the article entitled "Spain," in the July Number of 1845.

literati, destined to vindicate the ancient glory of their country.

The religious prospects of Portugal are not by any means, so satisfactory as those of her neighbour. For a hundred years, with the exception of a short interval, she has been oppressed by governments more or less anti-catholic; for whose sway, indeed, the loss of her Cortes at the commencement of the eighteenth century had prepared the way. Her example, like that of others, proves that nations, as they decline in faith, decline in freedom and in learning too. Yet we anticipate that after the heroic energy it displayed in the war of independence, and the chastening trials it has since had to go through, the land of Emanuel and Albuquerque, of Cabral and Camoens, will ere long reassert its ancient rank among the nations.

We have hitherto followed our author in his survey of the past and present condition of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, while we have endeavoured to bring forward certain facts and circumstances, which he did not judge expedient, or which it entered not into his plan to allege.

Let us now hear him describe the great moral and intellectual regeneration of Catholic Germany, which the last fifty years have witnessed.

"The regime of Concordats," says he, "exists in Germany also; but executed without honesty, they have not sufficed to heal the wounds of Religion in that great country. Other remedies, other lessons were needed; the lessons have not failed, the remedies have followed in their train. At present what a change, and what a progress! German Protestantism, shattered by the blows of Rationalism, and of the Pantheism which it has given birth to, has lost all soul; it subsists only as a Corporation artificially maintained by the strong arm of the State. All real life hath departed from it; doctrine it hath none; it dares not any longer teach any. If in the country of Luther, we ask what has become of that famous doctrine of justification by faith only—a doctrine so commodious that one may marvel it has not become the symbol of all the libertines in the world; we shall find that it is nowhere any longer professed. If we were to reckon up the number of Protestants disposed to sign in its primitive text the Confession of Augsburg, a single hamlet would suffice to hold them.

"There exists, in truth, an intelligent and courageous group of *Pietists*, whose focus is at Berlin, and from whom a glimpse of truth, and even of justice in regard to Catholics from time to time breaks forth. But if I mistake not, they reckon among them more

political and military adepts than theologians; they meet with more sympathy on the throne, than among the people. Beyond them, Protestantism is nothing but a name to serve as a mask to all the negative and destructive theories, which modern philosophy has unfolded. To profess Protestantism is simply to declare oneself not a Catholic, and sometimes even no longer a Christian.

"Amid this dust of the desert, the Catholic Church rises up with her immutable teaching, and her austere discipline, such as she sat at the Council of Trent, and such as ten generations of Reformers, without posterity have in vain striven to undermine. She has traversed intact intestine wars and foreign conquest, she has braved diplomatists and jurists; she has survived despots and demagogues—Joseph II. and Robert Blum. All that seemed most calculated to depress her, has served but to strengthen and diffuse her influence. The old edifice of the Holy Roman empire in crumbling to pieces has snapped asunder many of the bonds which shackled her, and opened out to her new fields of activity. It is all over with that odious maxim of the old Germanic Law, '*Cujus regio illius religio*,' a maxim which assigned territorial limits to the expansion of truth, and condemned nations blindly to follow the caprices and the passions of their masters.* Prussia in conquering vast Catholic provinces, has been obliged to treat with the Church, and to open to her provinces, whence the true faith had been banished for three centuries.

"Hesse, Saxony, Mecklenburg, all those countries, till of late exclusively Lutheran or Calvinist, have been obliged to submit to the same arrangement. And on all sides we see groups of Catholic believers settle under the shadow of those vast old Churches, which Protestantism had usurped, but had never been able to fill. Braving human respect, vulgar unpopularity, and the fury of the Rationalist press, the Nobility and the literate class, who have both so much to atone for, have furnished a series of numerous and brilliant conversions. That series was commenced by the illustrious Count Stolberg, and will certainly not be closed by M. de Florencourt.† These two names suffice to show, that the

* In virtue of this principle consecrated by the peace of Passau in 1552, the inhabitants of the Palatinate were obliged to pass *four times* successively from Lutheranism to Calvinism, and vice versa in the space of twenty-seven years (1556 to 1583), according to the whim of the four princes, who during that period succeeded each other in the dignity of Elector Palatine.

† We may cite, besides, among the names that occur to our memory the Princess Gallitzin, who was, at the commencement of our century in Münster, the centre of a remarkable intellectual movement; Adam Müller, the Councillor Schlosser, the eloquent publicist M. Jarcke, the learned and courageous professor Phillips, the

Church has been indebted to these conversions for some of her ablest apologists, her most intrepid champions, and writers, historians, and doctors of the first order; while in Germany, as elsewhere, heresy has been utterly incapable of robbing the Catholic Church of a single name worthy of being regretted or cited."—pp. 14-17.

After noticing the great moral stir, which the heroic conduct of the late Archbishop of Cologne gave to the Church in Germany, our author proceeds as follows:—

"The Revolution of 1848 breaks out; and unknowingly to all, it becomes the occasion of a most unexpected triumph to the Church. In that Frankfort Assembly, so tumultuous and so ridiculous, but for a while so formidable, we see her priests, her orators, and her theologians mount the tribune. They come to claim, like the French Catholics, freedom of education and freedom of the Church. In the midst of those ephemeral Constitutions, which every morning saw start up, at Vienna, at Berlin, at Frankfort, at Erfurt, the principle demanded by the Catholics is consecrated by law; that principle of freedom of conscience in the civil order of things, which evil so long turned to account, and which perhaps henceforward will prove available to the cause of truth alone. * * * * *

"The Church resumes possession of her rights; her bishops assemble in synod for the first time since the 'punctuations of Ems.'* The calm and gravity of their deliberations, form an admirable contrast with the stormy, blood-stained debates on the political stage. Their decrees are received with respect; their authority is regarded with surprise; their wishes listened to without apparent repugnance. * * * * *

"There where that Association, called 'Gustaphus Adolphus,' had been established, and which under the invocation of the Ravager of Germany, had sought to spread Protestantism even into the last strong-holds of Papal superstition; there germinate, take root, and branch out every day more and more the great Associations of Pius IX., St. Charles Borromeo, and St. Boniface, which move together, and at rapid strides to the conquest of Germany, by faith and by charity. Their solemn and annual meetings at Mayence, at Münster, and at Ratisbonne have at once insured and sanctified the right of Association. Their intelligent initiative combines the

Countess Ida H. Hahn, who has recounted her conversion in a beautiful work, entitled "From Babylon to Jerusalem;" Hurter, in fine so well known among us by his noble History of Pope Innocent III.—*Note of the Author.*

* The Synod of Ems held in 1786.

authority of the Priest with the activity of the layman. Their courageous perseverance tends to re-construct Germanic unity, so vainly proclaimed by democracy, by founding it on the cordial and prolific union of the Catholics of Prussia, Swabia, Westphalia, Bavaria, and the Tyrol. Lastly, where the late Archbishop, Clemens August von Droste, saw priests misled by Hermesianism,* and Government-functionaries, whom the Revolution was soon to chastise for their blindness, brave his authority, and seek to undermine it in the heart of the people; a simple vicar of the Cathedral, † without any other resource but his captivating eloquence, founds and propagates with prodigious success the work of Christian Gilds, under the form of a vast Association for promoting the moral and physical well-being of workmen." † pp. 18-20.

The Count de Montalembert notices with wonder and admiration, the revival of Catholicity in these realms, and contrasts the humble state of our Church twenty-five years ago, with her present flourishing condition. What a marvellous change, indeed, from the period when the penal laws were first relaxed in 1778, down to the present time! It is interesting to watch the various stages in the progress of English Catholicity during those eventful eighty years. The first may be reckoned from Burke's speech at Bristol, down to the immigration of the French clergy in 1792, and the writings of O'Leary. The second from that immigration to the parliamentary debates on Catholic emancipation in the early years of our century, and the episcopate of Dr. Milner, and his literary labours, as well as those of Dr. Lingard. The third from that period to the Act of Catholic Emancipation, won chiefly by the heroic exertions of the Irish people, headed by their illustrious leader. The fourth from the latter period to the pastoral and literary exertions

* This dangerous doctrine, which fomented by the Bureaucrats and the Rationalists, had infected the greater part of the theological Faculties of Northern Germany, has already almost fallen into oblivion. It derives its name from Dr. Hermes, a priest and professor at Bonn, who pretended to apply to Divinity the method of Kant. It is right to add to these words of our author, that this system has been condemned by the Holy See; but Dr. Hermes died before its condemnation.

† M. Kolping.

‡ The Gessellen Verein. Any zealous English or Irish priest, that would wish to found a like institute in these Islands, the writer of this Paper would undertake to furnish with the statutes of this most useful Association.

of Cardinal Wiseman, and the greater boldness and activity of the Catholic press, which he stimulated by example as well as patronage. The fifth stage includes the conversion of Dr. Newman, and of so many other distinguished members, whether lay or clerical, of the Anglican Church, as well as the establishment of the hierarchy, and in which the Church may be said to grow each month in moral and intellectual strength and stature. -

Such is the glorious march of British Catholicity ! And it is our firm belief that this blessed progress will not be arrested, and that in the course of half a century, the bulk of the people of England will be gathered into the Church's fold, *if a political revolution do not break out*, and crush the young rising plant of Catholicity. But in the present state of the country, such a political tempest cannot be averted, if the house of commons be to any considerable extent democratized, that is to say, if the bonds of interest and principle between the upper and the lower houses be dissevered ; if the influence of the landed proprietary, as well as of the more opulent and educated classes be excessively weakened ; and the opinions and passions of the masses be more directly represented in the popular branch of the legislature. In that case, we should be doomed to have not only all the evils usually incident to an unbridled democracy, but all the calamities which must ensue, when the multitude is inflamed, in part by sectarian and political fanaticism, in part by irreligious and jacobinical principles. The house of commons would then present a horrid medley of a Praise-God-bare-bones-Parliament, and a French Convention ; but this is a subject too vast to enter upon here. Suffice it to say, that the Catholic Church, which has now the largest stake in the peace of these realms, would be the first victim of a revolution. Surely, the reforming zeal of our senators would find ample scope in the amelioration of the civil and criminal laws and judicatures of this country, and in the improvement of the moral and material condition of the lower classes, and in remedying the countless evils of Ireland, bringing about, for example, an equitable adjustment of the relations between landlord and tenant, which are there in a state unexampled in any Christian country, as well as in allotting a portion of the revenues of her almost sinecure Establishment to charitable purposes, beneficial to the whole community, and in no wise offensive to Protestant

feelings. Surely, such judicious and practical reforms would earn for them more lasting gratitude, than democratic innovations on a Constitution, which has so well stood the test of time, and combined more than any other system of polity since the middle age, the advantages of stability and freedom; innovations, too, made in the vain attempt of preventing bribery, that must be counteracted chiefly by moral means, and which, in cities at least, is always found to keep pace with the extension of the popular franchise.

Our author pays a just tribute to the talents of our distinguished architect, the lamented Pugin, and notices the services which the revival of pointed architecture has rendered to the Church in this country. He admires the religious enthusiasm and patriotic devotedness of the Irish people, which, without shedding a drop of blood, so nobly achieved the freedom of its altars and hearths, and now by a vast mysterious dispersion. (the immediate result, doubtless, of cruel oppression, but overruled by Divine Providence to a wise purpose), has, in the commercial and manufacturing cities of Great Britain, in her widely-extended colonies, and throughout the boundless continent of America, become the standard-bearer of Catholicity. And the mighty Liberator too, who, by his sagacious forethought, and the potency of his word, and the indomitable energy of his character wielded and controlled, and directed the popular masses to the bloodless attainment of their civil and religious liberties, has found a panegyrist worthy of himself.

We miss a tribute to the learning and eloquence of his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, and to the abundant fruits which have attended his remarkable episcopate. Nor is the promise and nascent vigour of British Catholic literature sufficiently noticed. For, not to speak of the transcendent genius of Dr. Newman, who, whether we consider the singular union of depth and subtlety in his intellect—his profound and various learning—his fine poetic imagination, and the strength, precision, and graceful simplicity of his style, has now, (especially since France and Catholic Germany have lost so many of their intellectual giants), scarcely his match in any European country; we possess in Mr. Manning, Mr. Allies, Mr. Ward, Mr. Oakeley, Father Faber, Mr. Morris, Mr. Digby, and others that might be named a constellation of learning, eloquence, and powers of

reasoning, not equalled in the living Protestant literature of England.

We come now to the second part of this Essay.

Many of the observations in the succeeding chapters are directed against the line of policy, which, since the Coup d'Etat of the 2nd of December, 1851, has been pursued by M. Louis Veillot, and the other writers of the "*Univers*." The controversy, with the exception of one passage, is conducted with great temper and courtesy. A man of the highest honour and probity, and distinguished, too, for religious fervour, like M. Louis Veillot, may undoubtedly err in his change of political opinions; but of *baseness* he is utterly incapable, and we are sure, that this expression, which has dropped from M. de Montalembert, in the heat of argument, will be revoked by him.

M. Louis Veillot is an acute, vigorous, caustic writer, who has rendered considerable services to religion, and has, by extraordinary exertions established a journal of extensive influence, as well as great talent. Yet, though in general, free from personal acrimony, he is not unfrequently intemperate and injudicious in the expression of his opinions, and is certainly not qualified to be a political leader. The impetuous zeal, as well as the tiresome contentiousness, with which two years ago the question of freedom of education, and more recently, the study of the Pagan classics, has been discussed in his journal, have disgusted and alienated some of his best friends. Again, the foolish, as well as dangerous antipathy he is seeking to revive against Great Britain, and which could be gratified only by a revolutionary war; the eulogium pronounced on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, so justly reprobated by M. de Montalembert; the coolness with which the emperor Louis Napoleon's iniquitous spoliation of the House of Orleans has been treated; the favour manifested for absolute monarchy, fatal as it has proved to the freedom and prosperity of Catholic nations, and which has so much contributed to bring about the bloody revolutions that have for the last sixty years convulsed them; the too unqualified sympathy for the new Ruler of France, though it is now known, that he prevented the Austrian prime-minister, Prince Schwartzemberg, from crushing the revolution in Switzerland, and restoring the independence of the Catholic Cantons; and though, as regards the internal policy of the country, the three great objects for which the

Univers has always contended—the freedom of the Church—the freedom of education—and the municipal and communal franchises—either rest on no secure foundation, or have been contracted within narrower limits; all these things, we say, are grave errors, which we exceedingly regret to see committed by a journal, that has rendered such important services to Church and state, and to which the Catholics of these realms also are under very great obligations. On the whole, we entertain the highest respect for the virtues, the talents, and the energy of character that distinguish M. Louis Veuillot, and think that he would make an excellent sub-editor of the “Univers” under the guidance of the Count de Montalembert.*

In his discussion with the writers of this Journal, the noble author has generally truth on his side. He shows the dangers of absolute power to the Church, and the advantages which representative government, in one shape or other, secures to her. Defective as may be many of those governments, yet, where they guarantee the rights of the Church, they offer her more safeguards against state tyranny, than the Bureaucratic absolutism, which is so jealous of ecclesiastical freedom. Thus the present constitution of Prussia is a poor concern, not likely to last; yet the Catholics of that country cling to it, as offering better security for civil and religious liberty, than the military rule, which preceded it.

There is much wisdom in the following reflections on temperate and rational freedom.

“Is it necessary that I should now explain what I understand by liberty? Shall I be suspected of revering under this ancient and sacred name the inventions of modern pride, the infallibility of human reason, the absurd heresy of the indefinite perfectibility of

* The Archbishop of Paris has seized the moment when the best friends and supporters, clerical and lay, of the “Univers,” have cooled in their sympathy for it, to strike a blow at that journal, and thereby at what are called “Ultramontane principles,” which it so ably represents. We submit that it is beyond the power of any prelate to interdict the discussion of an opinion, which, to say the least, the Church has abandoned to the liberty of the schools. But the bishops and clergy of France, who have long ago discarded Gallicanism, will doubtless take energetic measures to protect the Catholic press; and the Holy See, we should think, will have a word to say on the subject.

man, the consecration of envy under the name of equality, the idolatry of numbers under the name of universal suffrage, and of the sovereignty of the people? Shall I be obliged to defend myself from all understanding with the preachers of absolute, unlimited freedom?—I trust not. What I love and what I desire is temperate, well-regulated, well-directed, and guarded liberty—*moderate and virtuous liberty*—liberty such as was proclaimed, sought after, conquered, or conceived by the mighty hearts and great nations of all ages, in antiquity, as well as since the Redemption; the liberty which, far from being hostile to authority, can co-exist only with it, but whose overthrow makes authority immediately degenerate into despotism.

“Once again, I mean not to profess here any absolute, universal theory, exclusively applicable to all ages and to all nations. I submit only, that among the greater part of Christian nations, and in the present state of the world, freedom is a blessing, a relative, and not an absolute blessing. Except in what regards laws directly established and revealed of God, I hold that the Absolute is in everything the enemy of truth, such as it adapts itself to human infirmity.

“Liberty, therefore, can and ought to vary in its application and in its extent, according to times and places, according to men and things. But wherever it exists, it has this incomparable advantage, that it creates, or that it claims indispensable securities against the abuses of power. It establishes them in constitutions, written or traditionary, in laws that respectively bind nations and their sovereigns in those compacts, which, from the beginning of the world, have ever been the condition and the palladium of regular and permanent communities. Those guarantees are always imperfect, often ephemeral; but they are always necessary, ever to be regretted, and always regretted when they have perished. They constitute the most imperious and the most legitimate of man's needs in society. No political form irrevocably insures those guarantees, none can prevent them from degenerating into abuses. But in despite of these conditions of imperfection and weakness, the least successful essays, the least durable institutions, the laws the least observed—all are preferable to absolute power, to the unlimited dominion of man over man, whether that dominion be exercised by an individual, or by the multitude—in the name of an irremovable dynasty, or in that of the sovereign people.

“I know I have against me the great authority of Bossuet, and I lament it. He wishes that the rule of kings should be absolute, and he endeavours to distinguish this sort of government from an arbitrary one. The care which men have always taken to set limits to sovereign power in the various constitutions of empires and monarchies, he calls a *vain torment*.*

* Politique tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte, liv. x. art. 6. prop. 11.

"But we know that Fenelon, in concurrence with the immense majority of Catholic doctors anterior to the seventeenth century, is of quite a different opinion. Man will always give himself up to this vain torment, and this is to his honour. He is, besides, justified in this effort by the example of all ages, and especially by the tradition of Christendom, by the whole history of those glorious mediæval times from which Bossuet wilfully averted his gaze. Dazzled by absolute monarchy—by that which Lewis XIV. personified before his eyes—his genius paused (embarrassed as it were) before the study and illustration of the noblest periods in our annals. In writing his *Universal History*, he breaks it off suddenly at the reign of Charlemagne, that is to say, at the very moment when Christendom is founded, when the Church triumphs, when the priesthood and the empire institute their alliance. In tracing for a Christian prince the rights and the duties of government, he borrows his illustrations exclusively from the history of the Jewish people; as if the example of that nation, over which, by means of prophecies and miracles, God had reserved to Himself a direct and visible controul, which was, besides, always rebellious to His law, and whose political existence preceded the advent of our Lord, were to be the only one to be invoked by Catholic nations having the Church for their immortal guide, and Calvary for their starting point. I abandon this observation to competent judges; I hazard it only in trembling, for no one bows with more tender respect, with more fervent admiration than myself, before the most masculine genius and the most eloquent writer the earth ever bore.

"I dare, then, to affirm, until proof be given to the contrary, that the close alliance of the Church with absolute power, which Bossuet and his successors had made a sort of article of faith among us, was a novelty dating only from the seventeenth century, and which has arrayed against it a thousand years of contrary traditions and precedents in the history of Catholicism. I shall endeavour further to prove, that this novelty having been attended with very ill fortune to the Church, its resuscitation would be very inopportune.

"Liberty, defined and circumscribed as I have attempted to define it, is, in consequence of man's original fall, a weapon in the

And he has just said in express terms, after having cited the examples of Saul, Herod, and Abimelech: "We see that from the establishment of absolute power, there is no longer any protection against its abuses, no hospitality which is not illusive, no safe defence for chastity, no security, in fine, for life. *Let us therefore candidly acknowledge, that there is no temptation equal to that of power, nor anything more difficult than to refuse ourselves any gratification when men grant us everything, and seek only to anticipate, or even excite our desires.*

hands of evil ; but thanks to the remnant of virtue and intelligence in man, redeemed as he has been by the blood of a God, it is a power and an instrument for good also. In despite of the inconveniences inseparable from liberty, as from all human things, still, wherever it has reigned, it has ever been advantageous to truth, that is to say, to the Church. I am enabled positively to affirm, from a serious and profound study of the subject, that such was the religious, political, and social faith of the middle ages. All the great Popes, all the great Catholics of those mighty ages, fought for freedom under the form which it then assumed. All thought like that monk, a contemporary of Charlemagne, who wrote to the Pope : ' Freedom has not perished because humility has freely prostrated itself.' * All would have repeated with pleasure the words of a bishop of Lisieux, a friend of St. Thomas of Canterbury : ' What we take from freedom is so much lost to faith ; for both united by mutual bonds, have the same profits and the same losses.' † All would have said with Pope Julius II., to the citizens of San Marino : ' Be of good courage, and remember that nothing is more useful and more delightful in the world than liberty.' ‡

"This tradition of the most Christian ages of history, interrupted for two centuries and a half by the absolute monarchy and the revolution, of which that monarchy was the parent, tends each day to revive and spread. Witness the attitude and the language held by the immense majority of our bishops in the struggles they had to go through during the late reign, § and which are embodied in the noble words recently published of the Bishop of Moulins : '*I will candidly avow, were I even to pass for an obsolete upholder of opinions already remote, I love liberty ; I love her too much when she serves me not, to endure her when she incommodes me !*' " p. 70—5. ¶

* "Non ideo libertas succubuit, quia humilitas semetipsam libere prostravit." Ambrosius Autpertus, abb. S. Vinc. ad Vult. Ep. ad Steph. III.

† "Quoties libertati detrahitur, constat fidei nihilominus derogari, quoniam mutua sibi invicem ratione connexæ eadem semper et dispendia sentiunt et proventus." Ernulf, episc. Luxov. Epist. 85 in lib. I, S. Thom. Cantuar.

‡ "Hortamur ut forti et magno animo sitis, considerantes nihil dulcius aut utilius esse libertate." Delfico Documenti, p. 61, 88.

§ In the interval which has elapsed between the moment when these lines were written, and that when we are correcting the press, a great number of bishops have been called upon to address to the head of the state their public homage of respect and gratitude. It must have been observed, that nothing in those manifestations has occurred to disavow the past which we invoke, or support the theories which we combat.

¶ Letter to the Bishop of Orleans, 20th July, 1852.

In the following passage our author shows the perils which the Church, under absolute rule, is exposed to, and the advantages she reaps from a free and temperate government. We are happy to find that his views coincide with opinions which we ourselves have formerly put forth in this Journal, as to the close analogies subsisting between the divine constitution of the Catholic Church, and the mixed, well-balanced monarchy of the middle age.

“Must we then be condemned to demonstrate after so many others, a truth which seemed to have become a common-place, to wit, that of all governments, the one which has ever exposed the Church to the greatest dangers, has been an absolute government. It little matters whether it be the absolutism of the multitude, or of one individual. A power without limit, without control, that is to say, an omnipotent power, is needs formidable to the Church, for the reason that it can do everything, because omnipotence constitutes a temptation too strong for human infirmity, because he who can do all things, wishes to do all things ; because such a government is necessarily led to encroach upon the spiritual domain, the only domain which has not fallen under its grasp, the only power that has remained standing to front it. Thus every power, which wishes to bereave the Church of the blessed life of freedom, deceives and betrays her till such time as it can oppress her. Even in allying itself with the Church before engaging in the unavoidable struggle, absolute power can impart to her only favours and repose, honours and privileges ; but rights and strength it never can give her. Thus when the struggle doth commence, the Church, humanly speaking, enters upon it without strength and without rights. I know full well the arm of God will never be wanting to the universal Church, but history is there to show, that the Church can disappear from certain countries where it had been long flourishing. It has perished in almost all the east, in Scandinavia, in a part of Germany ; it is perishing at this moment among the Slavonian races. Now, wherever it has been ruined, it has been only under the pressure of absolute power.

“The government apparently most suitable to the Church, is one analogous to her own, as analogous at least as human institutions can possibly be to a divine institution, that is to say, an authority tempered by durable laws, (though perpetual they cannot be, like those of the Church,) tempered by customs, traditions, legal and indomitable opposition. We speak not here of the shackles which Gallican servility had invented in order at once to fetter the Church, and to give full scope to lay despotism. According to the Ultramontane doctrine, in our opinion the only true one, the Pope is the monarch of the Church ; but he is not an absolute monarch ; he can do nothing, and attempt nothing, beyond the divine consti-

tution of the Church, which he has not framed, and whereof he is only the expositor and the depository. He governs not singly, but with the assistance of a numerous body of bishops, whose authority he himself upholds with a scrupulous hand. Even in the lowest ranks of the clergy and of the laity, every subject of this spiritual empire has his peculiar, traditional, imprescriptible rights. Catholicism, formed as it is for endless duration, knows not those extremes of baseness to which the emancipated, who have abused their freedom, are reduced.*.....

"We may affirm with our hand on the page of history, that the modern idea of the absolute state, so imprudently adopted by certain Catholics, and even by certain theologians, has solely its origin in the war against the Church.

"The Catholic middle age had not the least notion of such a domination, or of an unlimited tutelage exercised over all the corporations and individuals that compose society. It is the modern rationalist jurisprudence which has resuscitated this Pagan idea, that perished with the Byzantine empire, in order to oppress, under pretext of settling limits, to the Church. Everywhere the enslavement of the Church, and the decline of her influence, have kept pace with the progress of civil despotism. This has been apparent in France, especially, where since Richelieu royalty has violently severed the country from its national institutions, which were based upon the idea of hierarchical and traditional freedom.† But the princes declared to be omnipotent against the Church, have soon turned this doctrine against all that could and ought to have resisted them in the temporal order of things; they have triumphed there, as in the ecclesiastical order, by the aid of the Gallican lawyers and theologians. And they thus founded the absolute power, which the revolution has inherited, and which when it once gets hold of, it takes care to retain.

"Much is said at this moment of the necessity of a reaction against Paganism, and doubtless with infinite reason. This idea is extended to

* Bellarmine, who passes for the most exaggerated of Ultramontanes, Bellarmine, a Jesuit and a cardinal, hesitates not to say in his book, "*De Romano Pontifice*," "*Licet resistere Pontifici invadenti animas, vel turbanti rempublicam, et multo magis si Ecclesiam destruere videretur, licet, inquam, ei resistere, non faciendum jubet, et impediendo ne exequatur voluntatem suam. Non tamen licet eum judicare, vel punire, vel deponere, quod non est nisi superioris.*" (Lib. ii. cap. 29.) In the third chapter of the same work, he proves that the monarchy tempered by aristocracy is infinitely superior to the pure or unmixed monarchy.

† Consult for this transformation of temperate into absolute royalty, an unimpeachable witness, M. Laferrière, Inspector General, etc., in his *Course of Administrative Law*, published in the *Revue de Legislation*, 1838.

the domain of education ; and again with reason, provided people observe the moderation suitable to all, even the most legitimate reactions ; provided we pass not from one extreme to another ; that we reject not the constant tradition of Catholic education, and that we proscribe not all that happens not to be in the Gospel and the Fathers, as the Caliph Omar burned everything not contained in the Koran. The evil which the revival of Paganism in the moral, social, and literary order of things has produced, cannot, in my opinion, be exaggerated. But in matter of Paganism, I know nothing more revolting, more deep-rooted, more perilous, than that political Paganism, which exalts into a dogma unity of power, the omnipotence of the state, monarchical idolatry, a government without control and balance, on the ruins of those ancient franchises, and those ancient checks, which the ancient organization of Christendom opposed to civil despotism.*

"The government of one man, who pretends to act for all, to speak for all, to think for all, such is the ideal of Paganism, as it was realized under the Roman empire. The Christian middle age was founded on the complete absolute negation of a like state of things. Since the period of the *Renaissance*, some kings of western Europe, Lewis XIV. at their head, dreamed of the return of this scheme of polity, but without ever having realized it. Russia is the true modern ideal of this system. But for the last hundred years, the progress of rationalism and democracy among us has indisputably prepared and fashioned us for such a regime. Yet that Catholics should in any degree, directly or indirectly, become the apologists or the instruments of such a government, is a calamity which we hope we may be still spared. This is the result, however, which the systematic warfare waged by certain religious writers against political liberty, as it has been claimed and practised by modern nations, inevitably leads to." (pp. 91-6.)

We are glad to see by the passage we have marked in Italics, that M. de Montalembert has qualified the incautious approval he had given to the Abbé Gaume's "*Ver Rongeur*;" a work, which has not found a single supporter of name among the Catholics of Germany † and

* Lately has been cited a remarkable instruction of Pope Clement VIII., on the index, wherein I find these remarkable words :—"Ea quoque aboleantur, quæ Paganismum redolent..... Item, quæ ex Gentilium placitis, moribus, exemplis, *tyrannicam politiam* fovent, et quam falso vocant rationem statûs, ab evangelicâ et Christianâ lege abhorrentem, inducunt, deleantur."

† The Historisch-politische Blätter, and the Volk's-Halle, have contained essays against it ; and the chaplain and fellow-prisoner of the late Archbishop of Cologne, M. Michelis, has written an able pamphlet in refutation of it.

England, and against which the greater part of * French Catholic writers have protested. That only expurgated editions of the Pagan Classics should be placed before the eyes of youth, and that passages of an irreligious tendency should be censured by the tutor, is a principle that has been ever acknowledged and acted on in Catholic schools. Moreover, that some portions of the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers should be more generally read and studied, than has hitherto been the practice in our collegiate education, is a truth, which is now among Catholics very generally felt and admitted. But this admission in no wise affects the study of Heathen classical literature: The Pagan Classics must be studied, because, amid all their errors, they are often the witnesses of the primitive Revelation; because they frequently corroborate the testimony of Holy Writ, and illustrate the manners, customs, and usages it describes; because, without them, the writings of the Fathers, and the records of Church History would not unfrequently be obscure, and even unintelligible; because they fill up a mighty chasm in the history of the human race; because, as the languages of modern Europe were mostly formed out of the tongues in which they composed, their works assist us in the cultivation of our own literature; because they throw light on the origin of our own laws and civil polity; because all that was true, and good, and beautiful among Heathen nations belonged not to Heathenism as such, but partly to primæval revelation, partly to human reason itself, and therefore contained the seeds of that excellence, which Christian nations brought to maturity; and lastly, because it is useful and ennobling withal to contemplate the heights, which even under a defective system of civilization, man can rise to in art and science, in legislation and in philosophy.

The reprobation of all Pagan literature, which many passages in the Abbé Gaume's book more than imply, †

* Journals of great weight, like "*Le Correspondant*," and the "*Ami de la Religion*," have espoused the cause of classical studies, while eminent writers, like M. Le Normant, M. Foisset, the bishop of Orleans, M. Landriot, and a Jesuit, the Père Cavour, have entered the lists against the Abbé Gaume.

† To take but one example, the words which Scripture applies to the crime of idolatry, "that it is the beginning and the end of all evil," are referred by the Abbé Gaume to heathen literature itself!!!

can consistently rest only on the tacit assumption, that Heathenism instead of being a mixture of truth and error, is unmitigated falsehood and imposture; consequently, that as the Lutheran heresy maintains, unregenerate man is all evil, his virtues, sins, and all his moral faculties are not merely, to use the words of the Council of Trent, "weakened" by the Fall, but radically and totally vitiated. Hence Luther, consistently enough with his fundamental doctrine, railed against that dead heathen, Aristotle, and his fellow-Pagans. But as Heresy in her career ever leaps from one extreme to another, the greater part of Luther's followers, since the middle of the last century, exalt the Pagan models in art, literature, philosophy, and politics, above those of Christian countries. It was so with the Bible. The first German Protestants held, that not merely the sense, but each word and comma of Scripture was divinely inspired; but lo! their descendants have ended by rejecting the divine inspiration of the Bible, and even the authenticity of most of its parts.

It ill becomes Catholic writers, however, from a mistaken zeal, to sanction, though ever so remotely, heretical exaggerations.

In the following passage, our author treats, with much tact and wisdom, the delicate as well as important question of religious Toleration. He points out its general expediency and even necessity, its special utility to the true Church in these times, and then traces the limits which it should not overstep.

"I know full well that in the present day, different in this respect from preceding times, religious liberty is everywhere the necessary concomitant of political freedom. I hesitate not to affirm, that if we could suppress the liberty of error and of evil, it would be a duty. But experience proves that in our modern state of society we cannot completely attain this object without stifling withal the liberty of good, without intrusting omnipotence to governments, neither worthy nor capable of exercising it. Freedom of conscience—that principle so long invoked by the enemies of religion—now turns in every country to its advantage. Doubtless it would be absurd to proclaim it in countries where it does not exist, where it is claimed by no one. But where it exists, where it has been once inscribed in the statute book, let us beware not to efface it, for it becomes the safeguard of faith, and the bulwark of the Church. We well know that this principle, invoked by the first reformers, was never practised by them: that Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII., were the most violent persecutors not of Catholics only, but of Protestants, who did not

in everything think like them ; that the Reformation triumphed in England, in Germany, in Holland, by the aid only of penalties, and of the most stringent coercion. It is not, therefore, the principle of religious freedom, which Protestantism has been indebted to for its success. On the other hand, we do not see that Catholicism has gained anything in France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes ; on the contrary, it has ever been on the decline from that period down to the present time. Further, we do not see that in Spain, in Italy, in Piedmont, where down to this day the freedom of dissenting religions has been proscribed, the Church has escaped spoliations and the most bloody persecutions. It would seem, then, that *there* does not at present lie the chief danger to the Church. By a wonderful secret of Divine Providence, in every country at present, free enquiry is conducive solely to the cause of truth ; everywhere in order to arrest the progress of the Catholic faith, is heresy compelled to shelter itself under oppressive laws, or the violence of popular tumult. This is the case in Sweden, in England, in Prussia, in Switzerland, and even in the little duchy of Mecklenburg.* It is not certainly Catholics, who at the present day proscribe their adversaries, banish them, prohibit their preaching, or drag them to the prætorium. No, it is against them that at Stockholm, in London, in Schwerin, at Geneva, such coercive measures must be employed in order to check the triumphant expansion of their principles. At present, to fear either liberty or science in the pretended interest of religion, would be tantamount to question its truth. Thus the venerable prelate, whom we just cited, has written the following words, and under the ægis of his authority, we are happy to place our own personal conviction. 'After all,' says he, 'what have we to fear?' Catholic truth hath unto this day struggled against all obstacles, overcome all heresies, successfully combated all, even the most hostile opinions of philosophy, triumphed over the most angry passions; she has come into collision with all sciences that have been perverted against her, and the sciences have come in succession to bow before her, and recognize her divinity. The attack has assumed all forms, exhausted all means ; let us leave to the freedom of defence the task of paraly-

* In this Lutheran country a Catholic is not allowed to have the divine offices celebrated in his own house by an itinerant priest. A special ordinance of the Grand Duke, dated the 10th March, 1852, interdicts Catholics the celebration of the Mass elsewhere than at Schwerin and at Ludwigslust, and once a year at Batzow. A converted nobleman, who had invited a priest to come and live with him, was summoned by the police to make him quit the country within eight days. We must read the correspondence of this Grand Duke with the Catholic priests, published by the Volk's-Halle of the 1st September, 1852, in order to form a just idea of what Lutherans understand by freedom of conscience.

zing the freedom of attack. Let Catholicism but find a clear stage, and you will see that everywhere it will attain its ends. The mind of man having been made for Catholicism, as it in turn is made for the human mind, the passions may in vain murmur and complain, it must needs reach the mind.' "*(pp. 99—101.)

In the principles here laid down we fully concur. The passage marked in italics is entitled to great attention, coming, as it does, from so staunch a defender of religious liberty, as the Count de Montalembert.

The subject is of such importance, that we shall venture a few words in its further elucidation.

The rule of conduct for governments, we take it, is shortly this. Keep out heresy, as long as with due regard to the rights of honest conviction, and the peace of your realm, you can safely do so; but when once it has obtained a footing in your realm, allow it the fullest freedom; that is to say, so long as it respects your civil laws and institutions. And on this principle Catholic governments have long acted. Thus we see, that in those countries of our communion where Protestantism has obtained a footing, such as Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Bavaria, Belgium, France,* and Switzerland, their Catholic governments have accorded to it the fullest toleration; but in those lands, where it was never introduced, like Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the system of religious exclusion prevails. And the reason of this distinction is obvious. The first introduction of heresy into a land is usually attended with tumults, seditions, civil war, and revolution. Throw Spain open to Protestantism, said the great theologian and publicist, Balmez, and you renew the religious wars

* Mgr. Rendu, évêque d'Annecy: *De la Liberté et de l'avenir de la République Française.* p. 98.

† In France, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, —a period when no Protestant government afforded toleration to Catholics,—the Huguenots enjoyed the fullest religious freedom. And if, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they were in 1685 unfortunately bereaved of their religious liberties, yet those who remained in their country enjoyed during the eighteenth century practical toleration, as the example of the Maréchal de Saxe, who, though a Protestant, was commander-in-chief of the French armies, would alone show. Two years before the Revolution of 1789, Lewis XVI. issued an edict of toleration in favour of his Protestant subjects.

of the sixteenth century. Take for example the case of the Madiai in Tuscany,—a case which has been so grossly misrepresented, and about which, in this country, so fanatical a cry has been recently raised.* First, here is an attempt made to introduce what is called a purer form of religion by means of the grossest bribery, such as is practised by the Souters in Ireland, and which all men, we should think, except atheists, must stigmatize as most corrupt and immoral. Secondly, it is by profane ridicule and indecent ribaldry, which all legislators have ever visited with punishment, and not by fair argument, the dogmas of the Catholic Church are in this instance assailed. Thirdly, the party at whose instigation the Madiai carried on their work of proselytism, is a revolutionary, jacobinical faction, which aims at the introduction of bloodshed and anarchy into the Italian peninsula. Fourthly, the sort of Protestantism which these people would smuggle into their country, is not what is called the orthodox Protestantism, (for this on the Continent has no expansive force,) but the Swiss and the German Protestantism, which in most cases is substantially identical with Deism, that is still punishable by English statute and common law, and for which the bookseller Carlile was thirty years ago sentenced by the Queen's Bench to heavy fine and imprisonment. Fifthly, even the orthodox Protestantism, even Anglicanism itself could not be introduced, as was just observed, into a purely Catholic country, without producing those civil disorders and commotions, that marked the era of the Reformation. There are elements enough of political discord and confusion in Italy, without adding to them the religious rancour of sects.

Again, a Catholic government owes it to its subjects, especially to the humbler and more ignorant, and consequently more defenceless classes, to guard them, (as long as it can do so, consistently with the claims of justice and the rights of humanity), from the moral contamination of heresy.

So we conclude; happy those countries, where religious toleration prevails; but still happier those that are blessed with religious uniformity,—an uniformity, which, as the

* They are in a healthy prison, and are at liberty to peruse their Protestant Bible, as even Protestant witnesses have confessed.

illustrious Protestant Cuvier once said at the French tribune, it is a crime to disturb.*

We had marked many passages of this interesting Essay for extraction; but must conclude, for our paper has swelled beyond the limits we had prescribed to ourselves.

M. de Montalembert, as we have seen, has victoriously proved, that the Catholic Church is the parent of true liberty; that the temperate monarchy, which is most analogous to her own divine constitution, offers her the greatest securities, as, on the other hand, it best promotes the civil freedom and happiness of mankind; that this form of government, which prevailed in the middle age, has in modern times been mostly succeeded by an absolutism, that has proved as inimical to the interests of religion, as to those of society, and has prepared the way for the anarchic revolutions of our time. But, as we before observed, M. de Montalembert, in his onslaught on absolutism, as well as on democracy, has too much overlooked the vices of the modern representative system, which is itself but a disguised democracy. Admiring, too, as he does, the mediæval institutions, he thinks their resuscitation impossible. This is so far true, as regards minute and transitory forms, but not as regards the lasting, essential elements, that compose modern European society. For, on what was the monarchy of the middle ages based? On a proprietary royalty—an endowed clergy—an opulent aristocracy, and free burghesses, in the possession of extended municipal rights. But these are institutions, the first elements whereof still exist in all European nations, and which, in order to regain their former vigour and efficiency, need but that the pressure of revolutionary laws should be removed. Does our author suppose, that if the pious liberality of the French people were allowed by the laws to endow their priesthood, the bishops and clergy would not soon possess sufficient property, not only to found charitable institutions, but to maintain their rank in the senate? And are not the old French nobles, in despite of the most sweeping and cruel confiscations that history records, still, on the whole, the largest landed proprietors in the country? And

* Not long ago, M. Jules Gondou, in the "Univers," quoted a passage to this effect from a speech delivered by the Baron Cuvier in the French Chamber of Peers during the first years of the Restoration.

would they not be still more so, if, as under the Restoration, the right of primogeniture were revived? And are not the burgesses of France still conscious of their ancient dignity, and still desirous of the re-establishment of their old municipal rights? Yes, where the tyranny of revolution ceases, there the natural institutions of society spontaneously revive.

We trust that the lesson which our author has read to the present Ruler of France, will not be thrown away on him. Immortal services has that prince rendered to France, by rescuing her from the horrors of socialism. But the great work of social reparation requires something more than a successful coup d'état; the bleeding wounds of society must be bound up by the soothing hand of the Church, which to that end requires unfettered freedom of action; and social order can no more be re-established by military despotism, than freedom could be founded by the tumultuous democracy that has just been overthrown.

ART. VI.—1. *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., a Colonel in the Service of Her Majesty Queen Anne.* Written by himself. 3 vols. 8vo., 2nd Edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1853.

2.—*Villette.* By CURRIER BELL, Author of "Jane Eyre," "Shirley," &c. 3 vols, 8vo. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1853.

3.—"*My Novel;*" or, *Varieties in English Life.* By PISISTRATUS CAXTON. 4 vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1853.

4.—*Lady-Bird.* A Tale. By LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON, Author of "Ellen Middleton," &c. 3 vols., 8vo. London: Moxon. 1853.

MANY of our readers are old enough to remember a very dull and uninviting class of publications, commonly known as "Serious Novels." Like the Sentimental, the Fashionable, the Historical, and the Philosophical schools, they had their day of popularity. But it was a very brief one, and the current of fashion has long been flowing in the opposite direction. The notion which a

large proportion of readers seems, of late years, to have entertained of the calling of a novelist, might be fully expressed by the well-known device of the ancient sundial, "*Horas non numero, nisi serenas.*" If we are to judge by the class of publications which had become popular, the profession was shorn of all its severer pretensions, and brought down to the luxurious standard of the age. Its functions were not supposed to extend beyond the "unclouded hour." Its duty, in the eyes of most of its patrons, was merely to fill up a chance interval in the routine of business; to beguile the tedium of an idle and purposeless life; in a word, to minister to the lightest and most trivial requirements of literature. We do not speak now of the more serious and cultivated portion of the community. With them, no doubt, such notions were always estimated at their due value. But it is equally certain that a large class of readers,—abundantly large to exercise a most powerful influence on the views of a writer dependent upon their patronage,—had ceased for years to dream of looking higher. If we needed evidence of the fact, it would not be necessary to go beyond the latest volumes of *Bent's List*, or the *Publisher's Circular*. It speaks with a significance which it is impossible to mistake, in the mass of "Novels of the season,"—idle, frivolous, and purposeless, or with no purpose higher than that of mere amusement—which form the staple of the more pretentious columnus of these publications.

We do not say that the number of *positively bad* novels has been on the increase in England. On the contrary, if we exclude from consideration the literature of the very lowest class, and certain tasteless and trashy translations from foreign languages, with which the cheap libraries have of late years been teeming, and the deliberate reproduction of which is almost more disgraceful than the original authorship, modern English fiction may be pronounced comparatively pure; at least it presents a striking contrast, in this particular, with the contemporary literature of France and Germany.

The vice of which we complain is negative, rather than positive. It is not that the books to which we allude directly instilled corrupt or pernicious principles. It is not even that their immediate tendency was seductive and enervating. It is rather that they sought *merely* to excite or amuse, and nothing more; that they failed to

impress any practical lesson of life; and that, without directly relaxing the moral tone of the mind, they were utterly deficient in the power, and even the design, to brace and invigorate it. The writers did not appear to feel, or perhaps they refused to recognize, any higher obligation than that which is purely literary. Like Mr. Skimpole, they declined altogether the notion of "responsibility." And if they succeeded in producing an effective tale, provided it did not violate any of the proprieties of life, or trench upon the received principles of popular morality, they conceived themselves to have discharged all that was required.

It would be vain to shut our eyes to the fact that such, if not worse, has been the character of a large proportion of the fashionable novels which each successive season produces, and still more of the lighter serial and periodical literature of the day. Now we may be told that such works are, at least, not an evil; that they cannot be the instruments of positive harm; and that they supply a source of innocent literary relaxation, which, if it be not actually beneficial, is, at all events, indifferent, in its effects. But we know the contrary by painful experience. It is difficult in this matter, as in poetry, to recognize a medium. There is a natural tendency, especially among the young and imaginative, to transfer to real life the impressions and ideas with which they have been familiarized; and we fear that it will generally be found that the habitual reader of frivolous and purposeless literature has ended by himself settling down into a frivolous and purposeless habit of thought.

Now it cannot be doubted that the novelist's art is capable of much better things, and that, if honestly pursued, it may be made to exercise a powerful and widely extended influence. The most elaborate novel, in truth, is but a development of the same principle which is so frequently and effectively employed in the Scriptures of both Testaments;—the concealing a moral or doctrinal instruction under the veil of an apologue or parable. The machinery of a regular tale is, of course, more complicated; the plan is more artfully elaborated; the fiction is longer and more systematically sustained; but, in every essential particular, the leading characteristics of the type, even in its simplest form, are substantially preserved. And hence fiction has been pressed into the ser-

vice of almost every great movement of modern times, and has proved in every revolution, whether religious, social, or political, one of the most efficient instruments of propagandism. Unhappily, too, we have as much evidence of its influence for evil as for good. The experiences of *Candide*, and the daring, but ingenious paradoxes of Dr. Pangloss, did more to sap the foundations of faith and morals in France, than the ponderous sophistries of the *Encyclopædia*. The unhappy taint which, in more recent times, has contaminated the whole moral and social system of the operative class in France, is more surely attributable to the corrupting, though unseen, influence of a bad literature, than the direct teaching of communist lectures, or the organized agitation of socialist clubs and associations. We wish it could be said that this is confined to France. But unfortunately there has been no inconsiderable share of it of late years in England. A large proportion of the cheap literature of the working classes, partly of native production, partly imported from the worst continental markets, is of a character which it is impossible to contemplate without horror. That there is no exaggeration in the description of the contents of Mr. Sprott's book-basket in "*My Novel*," any one who chooses to refer to Mr. Mayhew's matter-of-fact enumeration of "coster-literature," may easily satisfy himself; and the most hasty inspection of the stock of any seller of cheap periodicals, whether in the metropolis, or in the manufacturing towns, will supply but too painful an evidence of the literal truth of his most startling statistics.

It is only of the lowest literature, however, that this is true. There is little trace of grossness in the higher class of English fiction. And even as regards more venial offences, although, as we have said, the tendency of many of our writers has, of late years, been towards the very lightest and most frivolous tone, we are bound to add, that few, if any, of these, has attained to real popularity. The mere caterers for public amusement, whatever may have been their temporary success—however effective they may have been as caricaturists, or dexterous in their more serious delineations of character—have never taken a permanent hold upon the public mind. No writers of fiction have ever attained a solid and permanent popularity, except those who have written earnestly and with a purpose. It has often happened that the purpose was

a vicious, or, at least, a questionable one. But *some* purpose, at least, seems necessary, in order to give life and reality to the fiction under which it is conveyed.

It may be said that, from its very nature, every novel must have some such purpose. And it is perfectly true, that in every novel there is, or is believed to be, one such general plan; and although the details are variously elaborated, according to the fancy or inventive powers of the author, the professed object, in all cases, is to advocate the common cause of morality and truth. In a word, the purpose of all novels, except the professedly bad ones, is to make, what the writer considers, virtue attractive and to render vice odious and repulsive in the same degree.

But the purpose to which we allude must be more specific than this. It is plain that, in proportion to the variety of views as to the constituents of true virtue, and the diversity of ideal representations thereof, which the writers may form to their imagination, will be the variety of special moral lessons they seek to impress. The vagueness of the conception must be fatal to the distinctness of the portrait; and, starting from the same general plan, we can conceive an almost endless variety of representations, from Lord Chesterfield's "Complete Gentleman," up to the lofty ideal of the *Civilité Chrétienne*. Among these numberless possible conceptions, we need scarcely say that the only ideal of virtue from which a true Christian artist can draw his representations, must be that which will bear the test of the sterling morality of the Gospel.

We are far from seeking hereby to imply that every really good novel must be, in the technical sense of the word, a religious novel. On the contrary, we think it all but impossible to produce a work of this class, which, with general readers at least, will not be likely to defeat its own object. There is an instinct of our minds which leads us to regard religion as so essentially a subject between ourselves and God, and one so, of its own nature, apart from the every-day concerns of life, that we are impelled, almost mechanically, to resist the attempt to bring it before us in any other form than its own. Religious teaching directly conveyed under the guise of fiction, is almost invariably tiresome, and, indeed, repulsive. The authoress of "Amy Herbert," is perhaps the only writer whose reli-

gious tales we could name, as exempt from the character of absolute prosiness, and even worse.

Nevertheless, although we do not desire to see the moral teaching made too prominent or too direct, we regard it as essential that it should at least be sound and unexceptionable, and founded on the immutable principles of Christian morality. Now we regret to think that the great body of our novels, even those which are considered perfectly unobjectionable, are lamentably deficient in this particular. Few of them will bear to be tried by the Gospel standard. Perhaps it is hardly too much to say, even of the best of them, that the lessons which they inculcate, and the models of action which they hold up for imitation, might equally be sketched by a moralist who had never studied a page of the New Testament.

Indeed, the ideal of virtue which pervades the great mass of our most successful novels hardly ever rises beyond the pagan standard. Analyze the character of any of their heroes. Pride, often in its grossest forms, and always in that more subtle, but equally pernicious guise, which is the great antagonist of true Christian perfection, is found its leading principle of action. The type is various enough, but the principle is unchanging. In some cases we meet it in the form of honour;—a chivalrous and admirable sentiment, undoubtedly;—but yet a purely natural principle, beginning with self, and ending with self, never looking to the higher and holier relations with God, never tempered by the habitual recognition of our total dependence on Him for all that we are, and all that we possess; in a word, systematically ignoring the great foundation of all true conception of virtue:—

Da me posso nullo,
Con Dio posso tutto,
A Dio l' onore,
A me il disprezzo.

In other cases it appears in the form of intellect; the impersonation of scholarship, philosophy, taste; a thing apart from, and above the vulgar herd, possessing few, if any, sympathies in common with them, and mixing up an element of pity, and often of contempt, even in the relations of benevolence by which it is still connected with its kind: Eugene Aram and Maltravers are favourable speci-

mens of this class. We could easily enumerate many others far more objectionable.

In other cases it assumes the guise of manhood;—the courage and self-reliance which bear down every obstacle, and which make even defeat a triumph, by the use to which it is converted.

But in these and the countless other types in which it appears, the whole tendency of the lessons which they embody, is to impress us with the belief that we are ourselves the arbiters of our own destiny. We look in vain for that vital truth, *Da me posso nullo*. It is true, indeed, that it is seldom *formally* denied; but it is always denied *in effect*, by being completely ignored.

Now the qualities which we are thus taught to admire, and on which we are habituated to rely, are, doubtless, great and admirable qualities; and when tempered by a true Christian spirit, they are the great elements of the perfection of manhood; but, as they are presented to us in these delineations, they are all infected with one common taint, more or less fatal according to their degree:—

“The trail of the serpent is over them all.”

It is the same for the writers who take their ideal from the affections, and draw the principles of action from the softer and more gentle qualities of our nature. Some of the most beautiful and effective novelists of the day owe their best charm to the skilful use of this element of interest. We need hardly say that there is none among Mr. Dickens's great qualities to which he is so largely indebted for his popularity, as the wonderful mastery which he possesses over this, the finest and most delicate machinery of our nature. And yet, after all, the affection which he paints, and which he makes so exquisitely amiable and attractive, is, especially in his earlier writings, a purely natural sentiment. It is “of the earth earthy.” It claims no higher origin than the impulse of our nature. It is but one of our instincts, flourishing spontaneously and without cultivation, even where, as in poor Joe, no other faculty has been permitted to take root, or where, as in the wretched girl in *Oliver Twist*, every better feeling has been obliterated by passion and crime.

The same defect is observable in the motives of action which are proposed. They seldom range beyond the things of this earth. If the rewards of virtue are not made explicitly

to consist in worldly happiness, in distinction, success, wealth, honour, love, at least no other finds a place; or, if there be any, it is that principle of the old philosophy which makes virtue its own reward. The means for the attainment of these ends, too, partake of the same character. The idea of aid from on high is a stranger in these pages. We are taught to rely on "ourselves alone;" and if there be any virtues more than the rest which are held up to admiration, it is those of courage, perseverance, and self-reliance.

It would be well, indeed, if the evil ended here. But unfortunately in many of the most popular novels within our memory, it extended far beyond what we have been describing. The heroes of many of those novels, (whose character as a whole, from the many great qualities with which they were invested, it was impossible not to admire,) are not merely dangerous models from the *defect* to which we have been alluding, but are positively calculated to corrupt and undermine the instincts of virtue, or at least to diminish the natural horror of vice, by divesting it of its grossness, and exhibiting it in connexion with qualities which irresistibly claim our admiration. If we expressly name "Pelham," "Sydenham," "The Young Duke," and "Vivian Grey," it is rather as examples of a class than for any special demerit of their own in this particular. The tendency of them all is not only, as we have already said, to exclude altogether religious sentiment from among the constituents of greatness and of amiability, but to represent both as (to say the least,) not incompatible with those vicious irregularities, into which youth is, at the best, but too liable to fall, and to which such examples, even in the ideal, are the most dangerous incentive. In truth, we defy the finest mind to pass through the ordeal of the habitual indulgence, even for a short period, in the reading of these books, and such as these, without feeling its instincts of virtue weakened, if not without receiving the direct impression that these vices are but incidental frailties of youth, venial in their nature, and almost unavoidable in themselves.

We may be told, however, that we are overstating the evil. We may be reminded that, although the books in question contain no direct religious teaching, yet they are far, even the very lightest among them, from excluding the idea of religion, or ignoring its influence. There is no

want of occasional allusions to religion and to its ordinances, and in many instances the allusion is as direct and formal as in a professedly religious novel. But our objection to them is, not that religion is excluded, but that its influence, *as a principle of action*, is ignored. Taking the very best of the cases to which we refer, if religion enter into the portraiture at all, it is as an adjunct of the character rather than a part. It is a thing tolerated rather than recognized. It is seldom presented as a principle of action, seldom even as a guiding influence. It can hardly even be said to appear at all, except as a conventional institution and a thing of mechanical habit. Above all, we never find it in that character which it must always possess in order to be genuine—unseen and yet not the less sensible; felt in its actions rather than it itself; the spontaneous and natural outpouring of the heart, animating and directing all its impulses, colouring all its views, inspiring its impulses, and chastening its desires.

It is true, on the other hand, that, in the works of our popular novelists, there is no stint of the purely natural virtues, honour, generosity, benevolence, delicacy of sentiment, disinterestedness. Perhaps, indeed, the ideal of these is generally too high to be practically available as a model; and we have little doubt that the excess to which this ideal perfection had been carried, was the cause of the reaction on the opposite side, which has been the distinguishing characteristic of the new and most influential school of fiction, founded by Mr. Thackeray. His conception of human nature, (we are speaking now of his earlier works,) is the very reverse of all this. Far from idealizing its great and good qualities to form his heroes, he may rather be said to have blotted them out from his portraits altogether. In his sketches of life we look in vain for those perfect beings which it was the fashion of older novelists to draw. It is not merely that in his pages we lose sight of that perfect disinterestedness which seems to live solely for the happiness of others; that we meet no more of that utter disregard of self which (whatever may be the minor peculiarities of individual conception), forms the common basis of the character assigned to the hero of a popular novel. Mr. Thackeray is not content with suppressing all this; he has absolutely reversed the picture, and the axiom from which he starts in his conceptions of character is, that self, the love of self, the interest of self,

the gratification of self, and the exaltation of self, constitute for all, rich and poor, high and low, men and women, the main-spring of action, and the guiding and controlling principle of conduct. For him life is one vast "Vanity Fair;" and, if we be content to accept his delineations, we must believe that there is no single human being exempt from its influence. All is hollow, insincere, sham. The degree of sham may vary, but the difference is only in degree; and the principle of action is the same in all his characters, from the professional adventurer who swindles for his daily bread, to the doating and (as far as meets the eye,) the self-denying lover who sacrifices all for the happiness of the object of his affection. Under all the best and most generous actions which he portrays, Mr. Thackeray never fails to place the same unvarying under stratum, and sooner or later we are sure to see it cropping up from below. If there be any exceptions to this rule among the many personages whom he has sketched, their good qualities are marred in our eyes by the weakness, simplicity, and utter want of dignity, with which they are coupled. There is not a single generous or unselfish character in Mr. Thackeray's novels, who is not almost a simpleton, at least in those things in which this generosity is displayed. Certainly there is not a single one of whom it could be said that Mr. Thackeray's delineation of generosity is calculated to render that virtue respectable or attractive. The generosity of a hero, in his hands, degenerates into the weakness of a muff.

Thus the direct tendency of the writings of Mr. Thackeray and his imitators, is to create a painful scepticism, if not an utter disbelief, in the existence of genuine virtue among men. In this point he is evidently himself a hearty unbeliever. Hence it is that among the whole host of satirists, ancient and modern, there is not one who is more earnest or more scathing in his denunciations of vice in all its forms, and especially of the master-vice of the world, hollowness and sham. Nevertheless we do not hesitate to say, that we regard Mr. Thackeray's writings as more dangerous to virtue in certain temperaments than, if this be possible, the most inflammatory production of the modern French school. No man is more successful in denouncing vice and laying bare its turpitude. But while he does so, he exhibits it as universal, and by a natural inference una-

voidable. If all the world around us is corrupt, how can we hope to maintain ourselves pure? Other writers undermine virtue by a process of seduction. Mr. Thackeray withers it up by the ordeal of despair.

We are sorry to place in the same category the able and original authoress of "*Jane Eyre*," and "*Shirley*." Indeed, her great claim to originality lies in her having discarded the traditional ideals of heroes and heroines, and formed those of her tales of sterner stuff than that employed by her predecessors. Like Mr. Thackeray, she too is a sceptic as to the perfectibility of the human race. She has little faith in its better qualities, and little sympathy with the display of them; and she is never more completely at home than in violating and setting at defiance the conventionalities of opinion in their regard.

With respect to both of these writers, it will easily be inferred from what we have said, that the religious element scarcely appears at all in their pages; and, indeed, in "*Jane Eyre*" and "*Shirley*," the defect is far more than merely negative. There is a subtle tinge of fatalism pervading the writings of both, sometimes openly expressed, sometimes showing it in the progress of events. We are made unconsciously to feel that our actions are not under our control. Esmond, in Mr. Thackeray's new novel, [iii. p. 166,] holds that "*nature fashioned some men for ambition and dominion, as it hath formed others for obedience and gentle submission. The leopard follows his nature as the lamb does, and acts after leopard law; she can neither help her beauty, nor her courage, nor her cruelty, nor a single spot on her shining coat, nor the conquering spirit which impels her, nor the shot which brings her down.*" He declares that his mistress, Beatrix, "*could no more help exercising her coquetties on every man that came near her, than the sun can help shining on great and small;*" [iii. 246.] and in a still more serious matter, that the prince *could no more help following* her with unlawful love, than she herself could help her beauty. [p. 259.] Without stating it so broadly in so many terms, the author of "*Jane Eyre*" creates the same impression by the whole tenor of her stories. Now we need scarcely say that principles such as these, by their own nature, strike at the very root of all responsibility, and relax the even fundamental obligations of the moral law. How much more fatal their tendency, when coupled with that hateful spirit of distrust and scept-

ticism, which doubts or disbelieves all the good, accepts (and even exaggerates in degree) all the evil, with which, in the casualties of intercourse, it may chance to find itself thrown into contact! We defy the most generous and trusting heart to pass entirely unscathed through such an ordeal. Sure we are that in itself it is calculated, not alone to blight and chill every good and generous emotion, but to scathe and wither up the very sources of these emotions themselves.

We have allowed ourselves to be drawn into these loose and desultory observations, as a preliminary to a few strictures upon the novels of the present season. It would be vain to expect that there should not be very many among them which are faithful to the old type, and to which the objections which we have been making apply with all their force. But we gladly recognize among them, and we are happy to add in the very best and highest class, evidences of far better promises, and even performances. We have selected from the mass four of undisputed pre-eminence—those of Mr. Thackeray, of the author of *Jane Eyre*, of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and of Lady Georgiana Fullerton. It will easily be understood that we have no idea of attempting a formal criticism of all or any of them. Our observations regarding them must be limited to the particular points which we have been all along discussing.

Mr. Thackeray's novel, "*Esmond*," is in the form of the autobiography of a Colonel in the service of Queen Anne—a form which the author, although with occasional slips and anachronisms, has taken every pains to maintain in all the details of language, style, sentiment, and manners. *Esmond* is (as it is supposed,) the illegitimate son of Lord Castlewood, the head of one of the old Catholic Cavalier families. On the death of his father, he has been taken under the protection of the new Lord Castlewood and his lady. He is educated along with the Castlewood children, Frank and Beatrix, is loved and cherished especially by Lady Castlewood, with all the tenderness of a parent. Lord Castlewood, though warm-hearted and generous, and blest with a wife's love, by far the purest and most devoted which Mr. Thackeray has yet portrayed, becomes a drunkard, an indifferent, and ultimately an unfaithful husband. He is estranged from his wife, and notwithstanding his own infidelities, becomes jealous of her. In a duel, which is the result of this jealousy, and

in which Esmond, after vainly endeavouring to prevent it, acts as his second, Lord Castlewood is slain; not, however, until after he has learnt that the supposition as to the illegitimacy of Esmond's birth is without foundation, and that he is in reality the rightful heir of the title and estates, which he had himself been enjoying. Lady Castlewood resents the share which Esmond has had in the fatal duel which cost her husband's life, and for a time withdraws her protection from him, so that he is thrown upon his own resources, and forced to battle single-handed with fortune.

The history of his subsequent but little career is, we must say, exceedingly tedious and uninteresting, and is enlivened by his passion for the fair Beatrix, the daughter of his former patron and protector. Still there is much in his story which it is impossible not to admire. He is made aware of the secret of his birth and his rights, and yet, in delicacy to the living and the dead, he sacrifices all; and refuses to avail himself of the knowledge to their humiliation. We had hoped, as we read Mr. Thackeray's powerful and thrilling description of the struggle between, on the one side, ambition and love, (for his hopes of the hand of Beatrix are wound up in the decision,) and on the other, friendship, affection, and respectful consideration for the feelings of those whom he loves, that he had become a convert from his old sceptical and misanthropic theories, and had learned to understand and appreciate true generosity of heart. But we are sorry to say that the illusion was speedily dissipated. Esmond is generous, disinterested, self-denying, it is true. But the effect of these noble qualities is marred in him, precisely as it was marred in the heroes of Mr. Thackeray's former stories. Dobbin, in "*Vanity Fair*," possessed the same qualities in a high degree. Yet the character of Dobbin rises but little beyond what is familiarly termed a "spooney." And we are almost tempted to say, that weak and mawkish as Dobbin is, we should pronounce him a more respectable character than the hero of the present tale. The weakness and blindness of Esmond's passion for Beatrix, (a heartless and unprincipled coquette, who is but a reproduction of Blanche Amory in *Pendennis*.) is a blot on his character which no amount of high qualities could redeem, and which has the effect of rendering all the certainly great qualities of Esmond contemptible, if not repulsive. It is

not merely that his love is proof against all her indifference; that it survives the assurance on her mother's part that she will not accept him, and that she is not worthy of him. It is proof against *his own* knowledge of her worthlessness; his conviction of her worldly and ambitious character; against his knowledge of her having made and unmade engagements of marriage in which her heart had no concern; even against her still more questionable schemes to win what never could be a lawful love. Through all this, weakly, blindly, and against every principle of manly dignity and self-respect, he persists, not alone in loving on, but in suing meanly for a love the worthlessness of which is but too plain to every eye.

The character of Lady Castlewood, too, is equally disappointing. In the earlier period of the history she is very loveable indeed; and we were especially gratified to find that in her, for the first time, Mr. Thackeray had fully recognized the religious element of the female character as a main source of the true charm of the sex. Yet, here again, it is all marred, and more than marred. This Lady Castlewood, who has been as a mother—if not in years at least in position—to Esmond; who has lived for years with him in that character, addressing him and being addressed by him in the endearing terms of such relationship; who has been the confidante and depository of his love for her daughter; this Lady Castlewood—the soul of matronly honour—the paragon of Christian piety—the pattern of a wife—the impersonation of all womanly delicacy—turns out to have been in love with this adopted son from his boyhood; to have been cherishing this passion during her husband's life; yielding to low and unwomanly jealousy of her own daughter; and blindly clinging to her ill-placed love through all the changes of Esmond's fortune! And in the end, when she has long passed the age (at least in novel life) for marrying or giving in marriage, she actually marries the foolishly fond and oft rejected suitor of her heartless daughter!

Where is the young female mind, we ask, whose impressions of true female virtue, and of that sentiment which is akin to virtue, and its best natural preservative, would not be weakened, if not utterly destroyed, by such a picture as this?

The authoress of "*Jane Eyre*" has departed but little

in her new tale, "*Villette*," from the type which her early stories have made so familiar. Lucy Snowe is a repetition with hardly any variation of her first heroine. Cool, self-possessed, self-reliant, she makes her independent way through the world, yielding but little to the weakness, and we must add, exhibiting but little of the peculiar beauty of the traditionary female character. With all her evident cleverness, and the independence of her disposition with which it is impossible to avoid sympathizing, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the cold and distrustful spirit in which she scrutinizes and judges the characters of those around. Madame Beck, perhaps, may pass muster. But there is something peculiarly unamiable in the severity and rigour of the judgments which she passes upon the young girls of the school in which she is placed as governess. No doubt the sketch is graphic and lively in the extreme. But it is painful to think that her picture of that innocent and joyous period of life is, or can be, a true representative of the reality; that all we have been accustomed to believe of the warmth and generosity of girlhood was but idle romance or hollow exaggeration, and that a school of young, and to all seeming, artless, girls, is but a precocious miniature of the great *Vanity Fair* in its worst form. Among the numerous inmates of Madame Beck's extensive school, Lucy Snowe cannot find a single one to redeem it from this unamiable character. Jane Eyre herself was hardly a more thorough sceptic in the amiable qualities of her sex.

Professor Emmanuel Paul, in like manner, will recall the leading characteristics of Jane Eyre's hero: the same abrupt and moody temper, the same fierce and fitful passion, the same wayward but comprehensive intellect. There is one strongly marked and most important point of difference—M. Paul is a sincere and earnest believer; and one of the most pleasing pictures in *Villette* is that which exhibits this strange and fitful man—capricious and wayward even in the best traits of his character—yielding to the influences of religion. The following passage will be a novelty, as from the pen of the author of "*Jane Eyre*:"

"Mindful always of his religion, he made the youngest of the party say a little prayer before we began breakfast, crossing himself as devoutly as a woman. I had never seen him pray before or make that pious sign; he did it so simply, with such childlike faith, I could not help smiling pleasurably as I watched: his eyes

met mine—he just stretched out his kind hand, saying : ‘Donnez-moi la main ! I see we worship the same God, though by different rites.’

“Most of M. Emmanuel’s brother professors were emancipated free-thinkers, infidels, atheists, and many of them were men whose lives would not bear scrutiny ; he was more like a knight of old, religious in his way, and of spotless fame. Innocent childhood, beautiful youth, were safe at his side. He had vivid passions, keen feelings, but his pure honour and his artless piety were the strong arm that kept the lions couchant.”—*Villette*, vol. iii. p. 121-2.

A similar change in the conception of the character of the heroine is also observable. Lucy Snowe, with all her independence, is more accessible to religious influences than any of the earlier female characters of the authoress. It is true these influences are vague and unregulated, and partake of the wild and erratic temperament from which they emanated ; but the fact, at least, implies a recognition of a great and important principle. It is strange, however, that even such a writer as the authoress of “*Jane Eyre*,” cannot introduce the subject of religion at all, without making it the occasion for an attack upon that form of it, under which it is professed by the vast majority of her fellow-Christians. We have seldom met a more contemptuous, and certainly never a more silly caricature of catholic practice and discipline, than the following. We should explain that, Lucy Snowe, the autobiographer, is an inmate of a Catholic Pensionnat, or young ladies’ boarding-school, the moral and religious system of which, she describes as follows :—

“A strange, frolicsome, noisy little world was this school. Great pains were taken to hide chains with flowers ; a subtle essence of Romanism pervaded every arrangement ; large sensual indulgence (so to speak) was permitted by way of counterpoise to jealous spiritual restraint. Each mind was being reared in slavery, but to prevent reflection from dwelling on this fact, every pretext for physical recreation was seized and made the most of. There, as elsewhere, the Church strove to bring up her children robust in body, feeble in soul, fat, ruddy, joyous, ignorant, unthinking, unquestioning. ‘Eat, drink, and live,’ she says. ‘Look after your bodies,—leave your souls to me ; I hold their cure—I guide their course—I guarantee their final fate :’ a bargain in which every true Catholic deems himself a gainer. *Lucifer* just offers the same terms : ‘All this power will I give thee, and the glory of it, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou, therefore, wilt worship me, all shall be thine.’ ”—*Villette*, vol. i. p. 248-9.

We shall not trust ourselves to speak of the hateful and unwomanly parallel with which this unamiable paragraph is wound up. But we cannot help expressing our amazement at the ground of assault which the writer has had the hardihood to select. Is it not notorious that the most popular theme of invective against the Roman Church, is her alleged withholding from her subjects the legitimate and natural indulgence of sense, and fettering the rational freedom of men, by the harsh and unnatural asceticism of her system! And it is a very curious (and if it were not too painful, very amusing) example of the danger of meddling with subjects imperfectly understood, and of yielding to the impulse of blind and unreasoning bigotry, that this very lady, in another equally offensive and equally vehement attack on Rome, forgetting the ground of assault on which she has here relied, actually makes the very rigour which she here accuses us of relaxing, the theme of her impassioned and angry denunciation! She is giving an account of an attempt which was made to win her over to Rome, but which, as the reader will easily anticipate from what he has read, she successfully resisted.

"Then Père Silas showed me the fair side of Rome—her good works, and bade me judge the tree by its fruits.

"In answer, I felt and I avowed that these works were *not* the fruits of Rome; they were but her abundant blossoming—but the fair promise she showed the world. That bloom, when set, savoured not of charity. The apple, full formed, was *ignorance, abasement, and bigotry*; *out of men's afflictions and affections were forged the rivets of their servitude*. Poverty was fed, and clothed, and sheltered, to bend it by obligation to 'the Church'; orphanage was reared and educated, that it might grow up in the fold of 'the Church'; sickness was tended, that it might die after the formula and in the ordinance of 'the Church'; *and men were overwrought, and women most murderously sacrificed, and all laid down a world God made pleasant for His creatures' good, and took up a cross monstrous in its galling weight, that they might serve Rome*, prove her sanctity, confirm her power, and spread the reign of her tyrant 'Church.'"—Vol. iii. p. 198-9.

And she concludes with a *rifacimento* of the old and hackneyed story of Rome's ambitious and self-aggrandizing policy, to which everything divine and human is made subservient, and the accomplishment of which is the sole object of all her labours, however pure and disinterested their external seeming,

"For man's good little was done; for God's glory less. A thousand ways were opened with pain, with blood sweats, with lavishing of life: mountains were cloven through their breasts, and rocks were split to their base,—and all for what? That a priesthood might march straight on and straight upward to an all-dominating eminence, whence they might at last stretch the sceptre of their Moloch 'Church.'

"It will not be—God is not with Rome; and were human sorrows still for the Son of God, would He not mourn over her cruelties and ambitions, as He once mourned over the crimes and woes of doomed Jerusalem!"—Vol. iii. p. 199-200.

We gladly turn from this strange, and, with all her power, unpleasing and unamiable writer, to one who has long occupied a high place in English literature, and whose two last works have placed him indisputably at the head of living novelists—Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. We have neither space nor time for a regular criticism of "*My Novel*." It will be enough for us to say, that it combines all the best and highest qualities which distinguished the former works of its author, with a far more healthy tone, and a far more sound and truthful philosophy. The charming work to which it forms the sequel, "*The Caxtons*," is too well known to need any description at our hands. And we shall only say of "*My Novel*," that it is worthy of the admirable school of literature and philosophy, to which "*The Caxtons*" had introduced us. With all the rare and curious learning, the rich and felicitous illustrations, the homely, yet scholar-like wisdom, so lavishly spread over that admirable work; with all the tenderness, simplicity, purity, delicacy of sentiment, refinement of feeling, and high and generous emotion, that are grouped into the delightful family picture which its simple pages exhibit, "*My Novel*" unites the absorbing interest of a most skillful and elaborate plot. In "*The Caxtons*" our attention is limited to a few characters, whose fortunes present but little variety, and afford but little opportunity for effective combination. Yet the exquisite tenderness and simplicity which pervades it, the genuine nobility of thought which speaks even in its most common-place pages, have given it an amount of real interest far beyond that which ordinarily arises from the most exciting and complicated plot. "*My Novel*" enjoys the full advantage of both combined. The range of its characters is wide, almost beyond what is ordinarily met with, even in the professed novel;

and the incidents are sufficiently various and interesting to satisfy even the most craving appetite for excitement.

But what we prize infinitely more in "*My Novel*," is its sound and healthy moral tone. The author has cast aside, we trust for ever, his old ideas of life;—the worldly wisdom, which found an expression in such characters as Pelham, and even the cold and sceptical philosophy which is embodied in the far higher and more poetical conception—Ernest Maltravers. The young author, Leonard Fairfield, it is true, will easily be recognized as a reproduction of a former type; Audley Egerton, too, the statesman, (in many respects a repetition of Trevanion in "*The Caxtons*,") is not without a counterpart in the earlier works of the author; Randal Leslie is a still closer imitation of Lumley Ferrers, in "*Ernest Maltravers*" and "*Alice*." But the resemblance ends here. Not alone our dear old friend Caxton, whom we meet again with new pleasure in the pages of his son, but also Riccabocca, and still more Harley L'Estrange, are in a great measure original sketches; and, we must add, they are most successful in those parts in which they are original. The philosophy which speaks in them is calm, shrewd, and unimpassioned, it is true; but yet it is simple, trustful, generous, and full of sympathy with its kind.

We would gladly devote a few pages to our analysis of this most interesting story. But we think it better to confine ourselves to a single incident as illustrating the particular subject of our present enquiry. A brief explanation will suffice to introduce it.

Harley, Lord Estrange, (who may, in truth, be called the hero of the tale), had cherished painfully through life the memory of an unrequited boyish passion, the object of which (whose name was Nora Avenel) had died early and under very mysterious circumstances. Of this secret grief he had had but two confidants; his mother, whom he loved with a mixture of tenderness and respect, and his chosen friend Audley Egerton, to whom alone, indeed, he freely ventured to breathe the memory of this deep and lasting sorrow. After years of the tenderest and most unreserved confidence, he suddenly conceives that he has discovered, that the friend in whom he had confided, has, all along, systematically, and, as he believes, basely, abused his trust; that this friend had in the first instance availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his having been employed by himself to urge

his suit, in order to win the affections of the girl whom he pretended to court for another; that he had basely betrayed, and afterwards abandoned, not only her, but her child, and had left that child to the chances of poverty and neglect; that to himself his friendship had been but a continued series of hypocrisy and pretence; and that he had but made a sport of the hidden grief with which he feigned to sympathise. These impressions, although in great part without foundation, are, nevertheless, supported by what appears to be unquestionable evidence; and the sense of injury under which he writhes, is aggravated by the feeling, that at the very time these withering revelations arise, this pretended friend is unreservedly availing himself, for his own interest, of the active and generous services of him whose confidence he has so basely betrayed.

Under the influence of these bitter feelings, Harley meditates and prepares a most subtle and elaborate scheme of revenge, the instrument of which, by a refinement of ingenuity, he purposes to find in that son, (Leonard Fairfield,) whom Egerton had, as Harley supposes, abandoned, and of whose identity he is even unconscious. For the details of this plan, and for all the incidents connected with it, we must refer to the book itself.

Our business is simply with a most touching and instructive scene which the author has founded upon it. When Harley had matured all his projects, and his ripe revenge was on the eve of its accomplishment, a clergyman, Mr. Dale, (whose character, indeed, is one of the beauties of the book,) becomes aware of his intention, although he believes the plan to be directed, not against Egerton, but against Leonard Fairfield. Now Mr. Dale has been led by circumstantial evidence to suppose that Harley had been himself the seducer of the unhappy Nora, and, consequently, that Leonard is actually his own son. In order, therefore, to disarm his anger against Leonard, he explains away what he believes to be the ground of Harley's displeasure. We leave the rest to be learned from the story.

"Meanwhile Harley had listened to Mr. Dale's vindication of Leonard with cold attention.

"'Enough,' said he at the close; 'Mr. Fairfield (for so we will yet call him) shall see me to-night; and if apology be due to him, I will make it. At the same time it shall be decided whether he continue this contest or retire. And now, Mr. Dale, it was not to

hear how this young man wooed, or shrunk from wooing, my affianced bride, that I availed myself of your promise to visit me at this house. We agreed that the seducer of Nora Avenel deserved chastisement, and I promised that Nora Avenel's son should find a father. Both these assurances shall be fulfilled to-morrow. And you, sir,' continued Harley, rising, his whole form gradually enlarged by the dignity of passion, 'who wear the garb appropriated to the holiest office of Christian charity,—you, who have presumed to think that, before the beard had darkened my cheek, I could first betray the girl who had been reared under this roof, then abandon her,—sneak like a dastard from the place in which my victim came to die,—leave my own son, by the woman thus wronged, without thought or care, through the perilous years of tempted youth, till I found him, by chance, an outcast in a desert more dread than Hagar's,—you, sir, who have for long years thus judged of me, shall have the occasion to direct your holy anger towards the rightful head; and in me, you, who have condemned the culprit, shall respect the judge!'

"Mr. Dale was at first startled, and almost awed, by this unexpected burst. But, accustomed to deal with the sternest and the darkest passions, his calm sense and habit of authority over those whose souls were bared to him, nobly recovered from their surprise. 'My lord,' said he, 'first, with humility, I bow to your rebuke, and entreat your pardon for my erring, and, as you say, uncharitable opinions. We, dwellers in a village, and obscure pastors of an humble flock,—we, mercifully removed from temptation, are too apt, perhaps, to exaggerate its power over those whose lots are cast in that great world which has so many gates ever open to evil. This is my sole excuse, if I was misled by what appeared to me strong circumstantial evidence. But forgive me again if I warn you not to fall into an error perhaps little lighter than my own. Your passion, when you cleared yourself from reproach, became you. But ah! my lord, when, with that stern brow and those flashing eyes, you launched your menace upon another over whom you would constitute yourself the judge, forgetful of the Divine precept, "Judge not," I felt that I was listening no longer to honest self-vindication,—I felt that I was listening to fierce revenge.'

"'Call it revenge, or what you will,' said Harley, with sullen firmness. 'But I have been stung too deeply not to sting. Frank with all, till the last few days, I have ever been. Frank to you, at least, even now, this much I tell you: I pretend to no virtue in what I still hold to be justice; but no declamations nor homilies, tending to prove that justice is sinful, will move my resolves. As man I have been outraged, and as man I will retaliate. The way and the mode—the true criminal and his fitting sentence—you will soon learn, sir. I have much to do to-night: forgive me if I adjourn for the present all further conference.'

"'No, no; do not dismiss me. There is something, in spite of

your present language, which so commands my interest ; I see that there has been so much suffering where there is now so much wrath, that I would save you from the suffering worse than all—remorse. O, pause, my dear lord, pause, and answer me but two questions; then I will leave your after-course to yourself.’

“ ‘Say on, sir,’ said Lord L’Estrange, touched, and with respect.

“ ‘First, then, analyse your own feelings. Is this anger merely to punish an offender and right the living?—for who can pretend to right the dead? Or is there not some private hate that stirs, and animates, and confuses all?’

“Harley remained silent. Mr. Dale renewed.

“ ‘You loved this poor girl. Your language even now reveals it. You speak of treachery; perhaps you had a rival who deceived you: I know not, guess not, whom. But if you would strike the rival, must you not wound the innocent son? And, in presenting Nora’s child to his father, as you pledge yourself to do, can you mean some cruel mockery that, under seeming kindness, implies some unnatural vengeance?’

“ ‘You read well the heart of man,’ said Harley; ‘and I have owned to you that I am but man. Pass on; you have another question.’

“ ‘And one more solemn and important. In my world of a village, revenge is a common passion; it is the sin of the uninstructed. The savage deems it noble; but Christ’s religion, which is the sublime Civiliser, emphatically condemns it. Why? Because religion ever seeks to ennoble man; and nothing so debases him as revenge. Look into your own heart, and tell me whether, since you have cherished this passion, you have not felt all sense of right and wrong confused?—have not felt that whatever would have before seemed to you mean and base, appears now but just means to your heated mind? Revenge is ever a hypocrite,—rage, at least, strikes with the naked sword; but revenge, stealthy and patient, conceals the weapon of the assassin. My lord, your colour changes. What is your answer to my question?’

“ ‘Oh!’ exclaimed Harley, with a voice thrilling in its mournful anguish, ‘it is not since I have cherished the revenge that I am changed,—that right and wrong grew dark to me,—that hypocrisy seems the atmosphere fit for earth. No; it is since the discovery that demands the vengeance. It is useless, sir,’ he continued impetuously, ‘useless to argue with me. Were I to sit down patient and impotent, under the sense of the wrong which I have received, I should feel, indeed, that debasement which you ascribe to the gratification of what you term revenge. I should never regain the esteem which the sentiment of power now restores to me,—I should feel as if the whole world could perceive and jeer at my meek humiliation. I know not why I have said so much,—why I have betrayed to you so much of my secret mind, and stooped to vindicate my purpose; I never meant it. Again I say, we must

close this conference.’ Harley here walked to the door, and opened it significantly.

“‘One word more, Lord L’Estrange,—but one. You will not hear me. I am a comparative stranger, but you have a friend, a friend dear and intimate, now under the same roof. Will you consent, at least, to take counsel of Mr. Audley Egerton? None can doubt his friendship for you; none can doubt that whatever he advises will be that which best becomes your honour. What, my lord, you hesitate?—you feel ashamed to confide to your dearest friend a purpose which his mind would condemn? Then I will seek him,—I will implore him to save you from what can but entail repentance.’

“‘Mr. Dale, I must forbid you to see Mr. Egerton. What has passed between us ought to be as sacred to you as a priest of Rome holds confession. This much, however, I will say to content you: I promise I will do nothing that shall render me unworthy of Mr. Audley Egerton’s friendship, or which his fine sense of honour shall justify him in blaming. Let that satisfy you.’

“‘Ah! my lord,’ cried Mr. Dale, pausing irresolutely at the doorway, and seizing Harley’s hand, ‘I should indeed be satisfied if you would submit yourself to higher counsel than mine,—than Mr. Egerton’s,—than man’s. Have you never felt the efficacy of prayer?’

“‘My life has been wasted,’ replied Harley, ‘and I dare not, therefore, boast that I have found prayer efficacious. But, so far back as I can remember, it has at least been my habit to pray to Heaven night and morning, until, at least—until—’ The natural and obstinate candour of the man forced out the last words, which implied reservation. He stopped short.

“‘Until you have cherished revenge? You have not dared to pray since? Oh! reflect what evil there is within us, when we dare not come before Heaven,—dare not pray for what we wish. You are moved,—I leave you to your own thoughts.’

“Harley inclined his head, and the Parson passed him by, and left him—alone—startled, indeed; but was he softened?”—chap. xxviii., pp. 196–200.

We cannot help thinking this extremely beautiful, and, what is better, profoundly true. The appeal against himself to the reason of the revengeful man, through his own conscious inability to maintain his ordinary relations of prayer to God while yielding to the influence of the passion, reminds us of the stories told of some of our own most profound masters of asceticism.

For the time, however, the appeal is ineffectual. He even resists a similar and more tender appeal urged upon grounds in which his own heart is more directly concerned. In the

end, however, under an impulse of stern justice, he goes to Egerton, upbraids him, in one of the most moving scenes ever described by a moralist, with his treachery and hypocrisy; receives from him explanations which soften, and eventually disarm his resentment; and has the consolation of hearing that, after all, his trustfulness had not been abused. The paragraph with which this passage of this history closes has all the unction and all the energy of the very happiest efforts of Bourdaloue himself.

"Dawn was grey" in the skies when Harley sought his own chamber. To gain it he passed by the door of Violante's. His heart suffused with faithful, ineffable tenderness, he paused and kissed the threshold. When he stood within his own room, (the same which he had occupied in his early youth,) he felt as if the load of years were lifted from his bosom. His joyous, divine elasticity of spirit, that in the morning of life springs towards the future as a bird soars into heaven, pervaded his whole sense of being. A Greek poet implies that the height of bliss is the sudden relief of pain: *there is a nobler bliss still, the rapture of the conscience at the sudden release from a guilty thought.* By the bedside at which he had knelt in boyhood, Harley paused to kneel once more. The luxury of prayer, interrupted since he had nourished schemes of which his passions had blinded him to the sin, but which, nevertheless he had not dared to confess to the All-merciful, was restored to him. And yet, as he bowed his knee, the elation of spirits which he had felt before forsook him. The sense of the danger his soul had escaped—the full knowledge of the guilt to which the fiend had tempted—came dead before his clearing vision; he shuddered in horror of himself. And he who but a few hours before had deemed it so impossible to pardon his fellow-man, now felt as if years of useful and beneficent deeds could alone purify his repentant soul from the memory of one hateful passion."—Vol. iv. p. 228.

We have left ourselves but little space for the new tale of our old and cherished favourite, Lady Georgiana Fullerton. Fortunately, however, we have so fully discussed, on more than one occasion, all the leading characteristics of this original and accomplished writer, that our task, as regards our present publication, becomes comparatively easy. In some respects, indeed, we must own to considerable disappointment in *Lady-Bird*; for so the new story is rather fancifully entitled. It would have been difficult, it is true, fully to realize the expectations which Lady Georgiana Fullerton's tale of "Grantley Mavor" had led us to form; and it is impossible not to

feel that in the skilful and natural construction of the plot, it had many advantages over "Lady-Bird." The story of the latter is excessively, and we must add needlessly, painful. Some of the incidents want connection and probability; and there is one at least of the characters, Mr. Lifford, Lady-Bird's father, whom we cannot bring ourselves to regard as other than overdrawn and unnatural. But even were its faults far more serious than these, Lady-Bird has qualities which far more than redeem them, and could not fail still to be recognized as a work of great and very peculiar merits.

We meet, once again in its pages, the elevation of thought, the depth of feeling, the vigour and originality, the strong, but suppressed passion, the solemn earnestness, the calm, but most impressive philosophy, and above all, the ever present, yet unobtrusive, religious tone, which gave such an inexpressible charm to the delightful work more than once referred to in this Journal. "Lady-Bird" may fail to captivate the fancy, or to interest the feelings, to the same degree as its predecessor; but notwithstanding all its painfulness, it will teach the same cheering and consoling truths with equal impressiveness.

Perhaps, indeed, the most displeasing characteristic of the story—its excessive painfulness—arises from the author's desire to carry out to the full the great lesson which it has been the object of all her works, from *Ellen Middleton* downwards, to illustrate and enforce—the christian uses of affliction. There is not a single one of the leading characters in the present tale whom she has not pressed into service, in order to illustrate it in their several positions and degrees—Lady-Bird herself; her mother; her lover, *Adrien D'Arberg*; her humble friend *Mary Redmond*; the young artist *Mark Apley*;—even her harsh and unnatural father, Mr. Lifford. Nor can we assent to a recent criticism which condemns as a defect in the tale, its representing the hero, *Adrien*, and the sweet but unpretending *Mary Redmond*, as influenced by disappointment of the heart to devote themselves to the religious life. It is perfectly true that it would be a mean and unworthy estimate of this holiest of christian professions, to regard it *solely* as the refuge of the bruised spirit, or the home of disappointed affection. But in the incidents to which we allude, *Lady Georgiana Fullerton* has done no such thing. She by no means asserts or implies that the religious vocation never

occurs except from disappointment ;—the contrary, indeed, is elsewhere distinctly stated ;—(i. p. 213.)—she has merely recognized this, or perhaps we should rather say suggested it, as *one of the ends* which the religious life may subserve. True, it is the home of innocence, and the chosen resting-place of the pure and unsullied heart ; but that it is also the best and surest haven in the stormy sea of passion—that it preeminently is, and is held out by the Church to be, the refuge of them “ that labour and are heavy burdened,” it would be contrary to every Catholic principle to deny.

But we must not allow a dry discussion such as this to lead us away from the far more interesting subject of the work now before us. We shall leave the reader to learn from its own pages the details of its story, which we have already described as a lesson on the christian use of sorrow. “ Those who have felt themselves,” the authoress writes, “ how sorrow may be turned, I had almost said into happiness, and I will not unsay it, but at all events into a blessing, have a sort of yearning desire to make others, and especially young people, understand it.” We could almost fancy *Lady-Bird* to have been written under an impulse of this high and holy desire.

We can only find room for two pictures, both of which we have selected as illustrating this great christian moral. The first is the sketch of the hero of the tale, *Adrian D’Arberg*, one of the noblest conceptions we have ever met.

“ Few people would have had a better right to be conceited, if advantages of every kind, of looks, of mind, and of fortune could justify such a feeling ; a regular beauty of features, such as is seldom seen in real life ; eyes, which without being very large, were perfectly shaped, and so shaded by thick eyelashes, that they appeared dark, whereas they were blue ; so earnest an expression, that it might have been thought almost melancholy, if serenity had not reigned in their innocent depths ; a mixture of repose and of mobility was a singular characteristic of that remarkable countenance. He seemed as if his own rapid thoughts were passing before him in luminous array, suggesting every instant some new train of contemplation to an ever-eager spirit, and an intellect that seemed almost to spiritualize his face. Many, like *Fanny Apley*, were apt to misunderstand him, because he was so often absorbed in his own meditations, that the remarks of others were unattended to, and their attentions to himself unperceived. His own ideas were sometimes followed up by him in a manner that might look like egotism to superficial observers, who did not understand the deep

simplicity of his uncommon character. No one ever forgot himself so completely as Adrien d' Arberg did. He was profoundly religious, and there was in his nature a tendency to mysticism, that might have led him to a too intense and metaphysical contemplation of the God he adored, if the strong hand of the Catholic religion had not been over him, restraining every exaggerated tendency or fanciful bias, and saying to a naturally ardent imagination and investigating understanding, 'So far shalt thou go, and no farther.'

"He was by descent a German, by birth and also position a Frenchman, and had been partly educated in England. These circumstances seemed all to have contributed more or less to the formation of his character, and to the tone of his mind. He would have been perhaps a dreamer, had not his life been from his earliest youth, devoted to useful objects, and a passionate wish to serve his fellow-creatures, been at once the subject of his dreams, and the incentive to incessant labours towards that end. He had something of the *insouciance* of the French character; but his zeal for the honour of God and the happiness of men had prevented its degenerating into levity—had given seriousness to his views of life, and importance in the sight of his own actions, as well as to the events that passed around him. It had only left him careless of worldly advantages, which sat so lightly upon him, that at times he scarcely seemed conscious of possessing them. His English education had imparted to him that keen sense of honour, and that gentlemanlike regard for truth, which most even worldly minded Englishmen possess, or at least appreciate."—Vol. ii. pp. 75—8.

"Adrien d' Arberg had been much attached in his youth to a cousin of his who had died of consumption at the age of eighteen. Her virtue, her ardent piety, and her saintly death had made an impression upon him which nothing had effaced, and her memory had been associated with every interest and exertion of his life. She was a German, one of those fair, pale girls whose eyes have a natural sentimentality, bordering on melancholy. Her temper was serene and serious. There had been something at once romantic and religious in her affection for him. She had had a presentiment of her early death, and had never looked forward to earthly happiness. Whenever he talked of the future and of their marriage, she shook without sadness, but with a profound conviction that she should not live to be his wife. There was something holy in her face; she was like one of Francia's or Perugino's saints, or like the picture which old chroniclers draw of 'the dear St. Elizabeth of Hungary.'

"A very short time before her death she called him to her and told him that this might be the last time she should see him, and that she wished to take leave of him then. She enjoined him to do in the world all the good she would have wished to do, and add daily

to the treasure they had begun to lay up together in heaven. 'She had made her meditation that morning,' she said, 'on the history of Martha and Mary, and felt as if he would say that she had left him to do all the serving alone; but you will not grudge me, Adrien,' she added, 'that better part which I indeed have not chosen, but which has been chosen for me.' She gave him much advice; amongst other things, asked him to write the long work which he had since accomplished. She had a brother whom she dearly loved, and who had lost his faith. His conversion had been the object of her prayers and of her hopes, and now of her request to Adrien. She told him that she had never prayed for health or for any temporal blessing, but for one thing alone, and that she had even offered up her life to obtain it, that was, that he might lead a perfect life on earth, and do much for God and for the Church. 'I know not,' she added, 'if He has accepted the sacrifice; it is delightful for me to hope it, and do you, Adrien, always act as if it were so accepted. In every temptation, not to sin only, but to faltering in the upward path—think of my early death, and remember that you have double work to do.'

"Still deeper thoughts and tenderer words she spoke, too solemn to be here repeated, and hitherto he had carried them in his heart, and they had borne fruit in his life."—Vol. ii. 148—151.

The second is the sketch of Mrs. Lifford, Lady-Bird's mother. It is even more touching in the gentle resignation which it displays.

"Mrs. Lifford, soon after her marriage, had understood her fate, and quietly accepted it—at times almost rejoiced in it. She had done violence to her conscience by marrying. Her will had first been overruled by that of her relations. The heart, which had clearly recognised its vocation to a different and higher destiny, had, half in weakness, half under a transient impression wrought on her fancy, surrendered itself to an earthly love; and when, after a few months of something which she supposed must be happiness, but scarcely felt to be so, she suddenly awoke to the conviction of her husband's utter indifference, and accidentally discovered that the little affection his nature was susceptible of had been previously expended on another, that it was out of vanity alone that he had married her, that the memory of his first love occupied the only spot in his heart which was open to anything like feeling, and that indifference to herself was gradually changing into aversion; she experienced a strange sensation, in which something like satisfaction was combined with grief and shame. Perhaps it had a kind of affinity with the sort of relief which a criminal feels when his guilt is discovered, and the necessity for concealment is at an end. She had not gained the earthly happiness she had sought by doing violence to her convictions, and it was a kind of relief to her to find the hand of God upon her still, even in the form of chastisement.

When its weight grew heavier, and pain and solitude became her portion, still more distinctly did this feeling rise in her mind. Her's was no common destiny, and no common love had ordained it. Deep, fervent, intense expressions of gratitude had been poured forth from that lonely couch during long vigils of pain, and days of incessant suffering, for a fate which had in some sense restored to her the vocation she had lost; but in a woman's heart—although grace may master, sway, rule, and direct it, though it opens to her a world of bliss which throws human happiness at an immeasurable distance—there remains (except in the case of saints) something of infirmity, something of self-pity, something which is neither a wish nor a regret, but which looks like them at moments, and would appear so to those who do not readily comprehend the mysteries of the human heart.

“And so it was in that hour; that pale dying woman, (for dying she was, although months and even years might yet elapse before her death), could look upon the cold, handsome, unexpressive face of her husband, and think how he had slighted, neglected, and injured her, and not feel one touch of resentment or regret—day after day she had done so. It was her daily meditation, after his short formal visits to her; how wonderful God's ways had been with her, how, by His divine art, He had turned the transient joys she had snatched at, into pangs, which had proved so many stepping stones from the earth which they obscured, to the heaven which they disclosed.”—Vol. i. pp. 213—216.

But it is time to draw to a close. And although to some the subject may appear of minor interest, we cannot conceal our estimate of the importance of this department of literature as a medium for the diffusion, or at least the maintenance, of sound and healthy views of moral and religious responsibility. We are far from desiring the introduction of what is popularly called cant, into this or any other department of literature. But we are satisfied that the object which we desire can be accomplished with perfect success, without offending in this particular the most fastidious taste. It is to be done by insensibly producing good impressions, rather than by professedly inculcating good principles; by representing principles in their results rather than in themselves; by making virtue a thing to be felt and laid to the heart, rather than to be analysed and appraised by the understanding. A skilful and judicious artist—especially one to whom the task is one of love and of feeling rather than of mere duty—will find abundant range for the exercise of all the very highest faculties of his art among subjects, which, although in themselves not intimately connected

with religion, it is yet impossible to separate from its associations. He will be able insensibly to combine the things of earth, its interests, its pursuits, its affections, and even its crimes, with those higher and holier interests to which, in order that a true Christian lesson can be inculcated, all should tend, and all should be subordinated. Even in the most subtle web of human passions, and of the schemes and intrigues of which they form the material, he will introduce those more delicate threads, which, themselves unseen, yet communicate a purer effect and a softer tone to the fabric.

We should not conclude without expressing our conviction, that to this task the accomplished authoress of "*Lady-Bird*," is especially called. We shall hope to meet her soon again on what is, by vocation as well as by choice, her own field; and we cannot hesitate to express our conviction that we shall have the happiness of hailing her as the founder of a new and thoroughly Catholic School of Fiction.

ART. VII.—1. *Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy.* Seventh thousand, London, 1852.

2. *Monthly Records of the same Society.* Nos. I. to XIX.

3. *Tracts, Do.* Nos. I. to IV.

4. *Rome and European Liberty.* A Lecture delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, on Sunday, Jan. 16, 1853, by HENRY IERSON, A.M. Chapman, 1853.

IT is plain that poor Italy has become the theatre of a religious war; not a domestic war, a civil war, but a downright war of aggression, from a foreign country, by a foreign power, with foreign means. The Protestants of England have set their hearts upon what they call its conversion. With that generous zeal, and disinterested charity, which overlook the vulgar claims of the vice, the crime, the brutality, the ignorance, the heathenism, the unreligiousness of myriads at home, but which are charac-

teristic of Protestant proselytism, it has been resolved to try what may be done in a country which from various circumstances appeared temptingly open to its inroads. Sardinia, the adopted favourite of Lord Palmerston and Exeter Hall, enlightened in their eyes, because it showed symptoms of religious indifference as well as of political liberality, afforded a good entrance into the Peninsula, as well as what the fishing-barks of modern apostleship particularly require, snug and safe shelter, whence they may pursue their labours without risk. Lombardy was tolerably closed to them; but the presumed discontent of the entire population with their political rulers, gave hopes that, before long, the daggers of the Mazzinians would open a way for the bible, and a road for its preachers. For these fishermen again are fond of troubled waters; and perhaps do not care much, if their hue be that of the Nile, in the plagues of Egypt. Central Italy had been lately convulsed by a republican phrenzy, as different from what we admire in our own constitution, as the most absolute despotism; and of all its states none had been more foolishly disturbed, or more fatally ruined, than Tuscany.

This name brings us at once to the main portion of our task; as we may even say, places us upon the very theatre of the more active war that is being waged by Protestantism in Italy. Towards it therefore we beg to call the attention of our readers, and we must claim their indulgence if we begin our work somewhat remotely from the point which we desire to reach. This their minds will no doubt easily anticipate; but we consider its antecedents of the utmost importance, and will therefore run some risk of trying patience, to secure attention to them.

It is universally allowed that no principality in Europe enjoyed a more paternal rule, contained a more contented population, possessed a more richly cultivated country, or gave greater evidences of prosperity, improvement, refinement, or happiness, than the beautiful state of Tuscany. Its capital, the very queen, even in Italy, of every good art; its sea-port the centre of Italian commerce; its secondary cities, such as Pisa, Siena, and Lucca, formerly capitals, rich in monuments, of rival republics; its valleys more gardenlike than agricultural in their splendid appearance; its hills yielding the sweetest of oils, and that abundance of rich wines, of which

“Il Montepulciano è il Re,”

and which transformed the grave philosopher Redi into the dithyrambic laureat of "*Bacco in Toscana*;" its mountains, either richly wooded, as when Milton admired them, or yielding more profitable mineral produce in the hands of generous and skilful industry;* its silks, its porcelains, and other manufactures, not a whit behind those of other countries in substance or beauty; its pietra-dura work defying the competition of the whole world; its elegant industry, at once exclusively and generally, the occupation of its peasantry, by which the vilest of material, straw, is transformed into the head-dresses of queens;—Tuscany, comprehended within itself more elements of material comfort and general enjoyment, than perhaps any other country of an equal, or a greater, extent. Nor was its civil and moral condition uncorresponding to its physical and industrial advantages. Taxation was light to an un-European degree; a standing army was a department of state scarcely existing; and a national debt was an almost unknown financial necessity. The large apanage of the Grand-Ducal crown in its dominions, and without them, cultivated, like the property of any subject, at its own charge, scarcely threw any burthen of maintaining the sovereign house upon the industry of the people; the administration of justice was never impeached; the punishment of death was unknown in the national code, and crime was at as low an average as in any state of Europe. But what formed a special peculiarity of the government, and made it paternal rather than mild, was the great simplicity of its monarchs and their families, and the easy footing on which they stood with their subjects. The court divided its year between the capital and the several beautiful but simple villas, like Poggio di Cajano, which it possessed in various parts of the country; the majesty which hedges in a king was easily thrown off; the Grand-Duke might be seen visiting his own "possessions," or farms, like any other proprietor, and walking side by side, and chatting, with a peasant who might be going the same road; until the latter, according to a popular anecdote of the late sovereign, would take out his wooden snuff-box, tap it, open it, and

* We may mention the extensive copper-mines near Volterra worked by Mr. Sloane, who considers the comfort and education of all employed by him as a first duty.

offer it to his imperial companion, with the familiar, but purely Tuscan phrase, "*Stabacchiamo Maestà*," "Let us exchange pinches, Sire;" while the Duke, suiting his action to the word, would open his golden *scattola*, and offer its contents to the rustic fingers, in fair exchange for what he accepted.

And indeed there was no peasant in Europe who could vie with the Tuscan, in natural ease of manners, language, and elegance of bearing. If the country people in the neighbourhood of Cortona are noted for a peculiar pertness in reply, not unlike that of ancient poetical swains; if the natives of Siena, like those of Jaen in Spain, grate somewhat the ear by their guttural sounds, it is no less true, that in wandering about the hills and dales of Tuscany, or on entering its houses, the stranger, or Italian from any other state, is delighted by the peculiar civility and polished breeding of the poorest labourer, and by the elegance of phrase, and choice of words, which the straw-plaiting maiden at the cottage-door will use in her conversation. It is a rural population without any *boors*.

Nor was it pretended that this gentle sway was symptomatic of weakness; the internal improvements in the state exhibited remarkable vigour; and there was no country in Europe in which science had been more, or better, applied to the interests of agriculture. The wonderful system of correcting the inundations from rivers, and at the same time enriching the soil, by what are called *colmate*, and the regulating the course of running waters, are parts of practical science which belong peculiarly to Tuscany, which was also beforehand with Piedmont, in establishing railroads throughout its provinces. It was remarked, with no small praise of the fickle newspapers, that the Grand-Duke was almost the only sovereign of Europe who followed England heartily, in the principle of free-trade. And as to politics, no one heard of such a thing as a political prisoner, or a prosecution for opinions. Personal freedom was as secure, and liberty of action as complete, as in the most constitutional state: and seldom has a more practical proof been given than in Tuscany, that

"——nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub rege pio."——

Nay, after the first Italian revolutions of 1830, Tuscany

had to be remonstrated with, for the facility with which it gave shelter to the refugees of other states, and permitted itself to become, what Switzerland and England have lately been, or are, the hatching place of political plots, for the disturbance of others' peace. Who knows, but some of the cockatrice-eggs which were laid there, were left behind, and quickened, and produced for the addle-pated politicians who harboured them, the now hated brood of revolution and rebellion, which has ruined Tuscany? We believe, at any rate, as firmly as we do in any necessary connection of cause with effect, that the influx of exiles from other countries, of men whose first thought was the subversion of every throne, including in its blasphemous desires, that of God, and their mingling with every class of society, and freely expressing and inculcating their destructive principles of hostility to all regal rule, of socialism and communism, undermined the peace and happiness of this European Paraguay, soured the affections of its nobility, and excited the ambition of the professional class, which mainly plotted, and effected the revolution of 1848.

Be this as it may, we will remark: that if any one had asked a thorough-going Protestant statesman, or political economist, how Tuscany presented such a beautiful picture, admitted by all, of prosperity and happiness, he would probably have answered, that it was all due to the enlightened legislation of Joseph and Leopold, which, as we were told by Mr. Kinnaid, in introducing his motion on the Madiai case, anticipated the legal reforms of other countries, and gave them a pattern. This legislation we should have been told, suppressed religious orders, got rid of lazy monks; stripped the Church of its superfluous wealth, clipped effectually the wings of its ambition, resumed its usurped authority; suppressed ecclesiastical tribunals, all but fettered and cramped the Papal power even in the exercise of its most legitimate rights, and freely permitted the range of opinions through the extent of theology, to the very verge of heresy, and beyond it, if wearing only the Jansenistic mask. Only one unfortunate limit to this liberty did that liberal system contain;—it took orthodoxy for its basis, and forbade the propagation of any but the Catholic creed.

Let us now turn to another scene, requesting our readers to bear in mind what we have written thus far; as we shall have occasion to revert to it.

It could have been at best but a problem, which no sensible or principled man would have consented to solve by experiment, whether a subversion of the state of things just described in Tuscany, could in any way be the means of encreasing the prosperity of the country. "The greatest [true] happiness of the greatest number," has been often given as the real aim of all government. If so, what can justify the overthrow of a government which effectually makes all happy? We shall be immediately answered by a thousand voices; "the want in it of constitutional forms, and of their security to liberty." Now, we will not argue the soundness of this answer in the abstract—though we consider it delusive and unsound.

We indeed believe, and we are ready most publicly, and most loudly to profess, that a constitutional government is not only the best, but is necessary, for the condition, the tastes, the wants, the character, the traditions, the institutions, and the happiness of the British empire and people. After making this profession of our faith, we trust we may be allowed to reserve our opinion, as to the propriety of insisting on everybody else's having to be made happy by the same means, still more of their existing happiness having to be destroyed to give them a chance of it. We have heard of a person who ordered dinner in a coffee room; when, as soon as he had quietly settled down on his beef-steak, a gentleman, seated at the same table, with a tone between expostulation and command, exclaimed; "Mustard, sir," at the same time authoritatively pushing towards him that pungent condiment. No notice being taken of this civility, the insinuation was repeated with additional peremptoriness of tone, and elicited the reply of, "Thank you, sir, I never take mustard." With a look of indignation, and snatching up his plate, the assailant exclaimed: "Then, sir, I will never eat at the same table with one who does not take mustard with beef." We believe there is about as much greatness of soul, and high motive, as in the hero of this tale, in thousands who burn for the assimilation of every continental state to our own in government, or in those statesmen who profess themselves the champions of every effort to establish constitutions even by rebellions, while they take good care that India or the colonies shall have nothing of the sort.

But professing as we do, not to enter into the abstract

question, of a right anywhere existing to overthrow a government which diffuses prosperity and happiness, on a speculation in favour of a new system, we prefer at once proceeding by the way of facts. The spirit of revolution seized on Tuscany, and triumphed. First *emeutes*; then a successful change of government into a constitutional form, not understood nor valued; and when all was matured, a republic. The reigning family, so long beloved, as well as honoured by the nation, saw itself treated with contempt, abandoned,* and left to depart without an expression of regret. Whether Guerrazzi was a traitor to his sovereign, or, as he endeavoured to show in his trial, to the party which he headed, is matter of indifference. Certain it is, that under his sway, there was more poverty, more misery, more tyranny, more ruin inflicted on the Tuscans, than under the entire rule of the houses of Medici, and of Hapsburg. We have been assured by eye witnesses, or rather sufferers, that the most sanguine admirers of republican theories sighed in anguish at the wretchedness of their practical application, and owned that there was far more despotism and tyranny in a commonwealth than in the mild grand-ducal sway. Commerce stagnated, the finances were ruined, taxes doubled, an army had to be raised; and no one was benefited but the few adventurers who rose to the surface of the commotion, and took their place among the regenerators of Europe. The experiment was fully made; and we doubt if any worshipper of liberty who has really looked at facts, will venture to say, that the republican times of modern Tuscany were either halcyon days of prosperity, or gave promise of wise government, or increased happiness. But this experiment having failed, it was surely easy to return again to the peaceful and paternal rule of former days. Yes, about as easy as it is for one who, after years of healthy and moral life, dashes into every excess which can sap the constitution and pollute the soul, to return back to the vigour and cheerfulness of his youth. The spell was broken, the charm had fled. The old government returned

* When a letter from the Pope to the Grand Duke arrived in Florence, no one was found courageous enough to take it to the Grand Duke at Siena. Every one found an excuse, till a professor, since well-known in this country, carried it to him concealed in his boot. This we heard from himself.

under the shadow of the Austrian eagles, to find exhausted resources, and increased expense, mistrust and coldness, instead of confidence and affection. Loans have had to be contracted, the punishment of death is restored, and the gibbet is reinstated in its grim dominion over the region of justice. The cheerful aspect of many a noble house is clouded, by the absence of a dear member; society has lost that gay unanimity which the absence of political party, and of any stranger element imparted to it; political trials have ensued, and their consequent penalties; and the very disappearance of the tame and fearless pheasants from the Cascine, wantonly shot down when there was universal license of destruction, is emblematic of the departure of that geniality and ease which formed a charm of Florentine society, and of that kind protection which gave security to every Tuscan subject.

To regenerate, or rather to rebuild what it had taken ages to construct, and months to pull down, is now the duty of the reigning dynasty. The first evil to be counteracted is the demoralization which the late events have spread through the social system—the chief and only hope for this purpose is Religion. By the preservation of the Faith in its integrity, and by the influence of ecclesiastical teaching, is the restoration of sound moral principles necessarily expected to be attained. No Catholic can hope otherwise.

But one important coincidence could not fail to strike all who had an interest in the preservation of order in Italy. The moment revolution triumphed, in rushed by every breach which it had made, the Protestant Propaganda. As sure as the jackall attends a bolder beast of prey, as sure as the vulture follows the eastern army on its march to battle, that it may share the spoil, so sure did the preacher of heresy follow the rebel, and open his Bible beneath the shelter of his flag—tricoloured, if blood had not added a fourth tint to its stains. No sooner had the Republic established itself in Rome, than the Achillis and Saccarases flocked thither, and began at once the establishment of their conventicles. We wish to say as little as possible of these people. The late memorable trial has shown what manner of men were these apostles of Protestantism; but we may content ourselves with referring to the oft-republished memoir of the first of them, to prove that he, as well as his patron Sir Culling, disclaims most

energetically being connected with politics, and professes to have been there only as a preacher of his own creed. He tells us indeed that he was waiting for the passing of the act of universal toleration which was soon expected, to launch out more boldly ; but in the meantime he had begun to preach error, and to pervert as many as he could; and he even submitted to a marriage ceremony in the new Protestant meeting-house.

In Tuscany it was perhaps even worse. Instead of apostate friars and priests being employed as at Rome, English emissaries acted directly. It was boasted that more than one large edition of the Protestant Bible had been introduced and distributed. Officers in Her Majesty's service were well known to be most active in this work. Now let us look accurately at what this meant. It is clear that it was not intended to root the inhabitants of Tuscany more firmly in the faith which they have learnt, nor to make them more faithful to the Church that had taught them. It meant to act thus. Whatever may be our thoughts on the exuberance of scriptural proofs for Catholic doctrines, those who published bibles and distributed them wholesale in Tuscany, believed first, that every one who accepted a copy from them of a forbidden version, without notes, and without license thereby committed an act of rebellion against the Catholic Church; and every such sin is reckoned a gain to Protestantism. Secondly, they thought that the antagonism between Catholic and Protestant consisted in reading or not reading the bible; and therefore every Catholic who received a bible and exercised his own private judgment on it, thereby *ipso facto* admitted the Protestant principle, and virtually ceased to be a Catholic. Thirdly, they considered that should this spirit prevail, the Catholic Church would gradually be disorganized, and what is called Protestantism would either take its place, or share the country with it. We say what is called Protestantism, because no definite teaching was attempted or pretended. The bible was merely the symbol of that vague and indefinite generality, which embraces all possible shades of negation of Catholic doctrines, which brings Dr. Sumner and Mr. George Dawson into one category, which unites Dr. Cumming and Dr. Magee (a Scotch anti-prelatist and a churchman) upon the same platform, which joins Mr. Burgess and Dr. Bagessen in one "chair of predica-

tion." It was a lever for subverting, not a rule for building with; a crow-bar for breaking open with, not a key for keeping robbers out of the fold. It was not for a moment thought that the multitudes who might read the bible would come to one view of faith, or would form in any respect a unity. They would simply cease to be Catholics; that was enough. It was all that was wanted. Let this be then kept in view; that every government, that has passed through the fiery trial of a revolution, has seen what it considers (and who will say unnaturally?) rebellion, march hand in hand with Protestantism into its states; observes that the two have kept, and will keep up a fast alliance; that the professed advocates of the one acknowledge a common interest in the other; that while the boasted friends of civil liberty in Italy openly declare that they consider the destruction of the Catholic system necessary to obtain it, the avowed champions of Protestantism as plainly proclaim that their hopes for its propagation depend on the overthrow of present governments by successful revolution, or by what every government in its own case will call rebellion. And let us further consider, that two facts are inseparably united in the minds of all foreign powers whose order is disturbed; that the money for both purposes, revolution and proselytism, came from the same quarter, England. The "Bible Society," and the "Society of the friends of Italy," may be very different; and their funds may have nothing of a joint-stock nature; but they are to them only two prongs of the same fork, both firmly conjoined in the common base of English Protestantism.

But however the bible alone may be theoretically the Protestant rule of faith, and however the diffusion of it may be pretended to be the means looked to for conversion, the missionaries of that creed, when attempting the conversion of Catholics, take good care not to trust practically to the word of God by itself. They always see that it is accompanied by a commentary of tracts, such as Mr. Seeley's stores can supply, well seasoned tracts, all-hot, and spiced with the usual slanders, and virulence against popery, and now and then with a dash of blasphemy to give a relish. To these in reality is the work of conversion confided, and not to the Bible; which is merely intended to be a blind and excuse, ready in the pervert's hands, when the tracts have made him virtually an infidel.

The Tuscan proselytisers did not neglect this plan. So, with the Bible went forth a flood of villanous tracts against the Catholic Church, the Pope, and all that the people had till now believed as true, or venerated as holy. These were particularly disseminated among the poorest classes, and chiefly through the agricultural districts; so that quantities were delivered up to the rural clergy; by whom they were swept up in heaps, like dead locusts, baffled in their invasion of destruction. The government also seized great numbers of these libels on religion and morals, in Florence itself. One source whence this turbid stream issued was the Scotch church newly opened in Leghorn; and among the worst of these productions, we are given to understand, was the sermon preached by the Rev. Robert Stewart, on occasion of its opening.* Larger works of the same character also made their appearance, and were freely circulated. At Pisa was published by Nistri, the work of Aonio Pallario solemnly condemned by the Council of Trent. An edition of Merle d' Aubigné's History of the Reformation in the 16th century, first Italian version, was circulated in every direction. And besides, its Epistle dedicatory was separately printed, and sent by post to multitudes of people; the said epistle being neither more nor less than a plain invitation to the Italians, to embrace Protestantism. So was an issue made in numbers, in Florence, of an infamous work by Eurico Montazio, entitled, "Il Papa al cospetto della Società." In this work, teeming with blasphemy and heresy, the author avows that his purpose is, "the destruction of the *spiritual* papacy."

It is right to observe, that the publication of these libels on the religion of the entire people, was contrary not only to the ancient laws of Tuscany, but to the recent legislation of the liberal government. By the *Statuto fondamentale* of Feb. 15th, 1848, that is by the new Constitution, (Tit. i. Art. 5.) it is enacted, "that works which treat *ex professo* on religion, shall be subject to a previous revision." It is needless to say, that no such revision was asked, or obtained for the works and pamphlets in question. But further a law on "the press" was passed on the 17th of May, of the same year; whereby imprisonment of

* We are indebted for these facts to a Tuscan State-paper, not published, with a copy of which we have been favoured by a friend.

from fifteen days to a year, and a fine of from 100, to 500, *lire* are awarded to any "outrage to morality, committed in print, *every offence against the religion of the State, by ridiculing, or impugning its fundamental principles.*"

These laws were of course entirely disregarded, or rather openly violated, by strangers; who, presuming on the impunity of English crime on the continent, have continued to inundate the country with the same poisonous publications, only calculated to disturb and destroy the present faith of the people, without giving them even the miserable substitute of a sect. But what we have principally wished to do in this digression, is to remove any idea, that the proselytism, attempted conjointly with the revolution, consisted merely, of what Protestants generally might consider the innocent, or perhaps praiseworthy, diffusion of the Scriptures, among the people: but on the contrary, it embraced the dissemination of publications outrageous to the feelings and religious principles of the Government, and of the population, insulting to its religious ministers, subversive of established order, and violating the laws of the country. And with English Protestantism all this was clearly connected.

Nor let the case of the Stratfords be forgotten, which showed that in Leghorn, subjects of the same nation made use of the immunities conceded to British honour, for sheltering and concentrating the revolutionary projects, which went hand in hand with the religious schemes, concocted and executed in the same place.

But we must go somewhat more fully into proof of our statements; and show that the destruction of the Catholic religion, is considered an essential antecedent, concomitant, or sequel, of all successful revolution in Italy; and how it is kept steadily, though furtively, in view, by the "Society of the Friends of Italy," which collects subscriptions, disseminates false intelligence, publishes truthless tracts, and holds up Mazzini as its tutelar deity, and delights in the poniarding of Austrian soldiers, when quietly at their prayers in church.* We will go through their tracts, and see what light they give us, and of course Italian governments, upon the intentions of these "friends" of their country.

* "Poniards, and nothing but poniards, could begin such an affray."—Monthly Record, No. xix. Mar. 1853.

We will begin with the Monthly Records of the Society. The following appeal to the *religious* opinions of Protestants cannot be misunderstood.

"Its object is one in which all those who do not court religious and political servitude must sympathize. Its earnest desire, from the first, has been that the names of its Council should express the almost universal sympathy which the British public entertains for the cause of political and *religious* liberty in Italy. Every man who has faith in the political or *religious* future of humanity, is bound to desire the emancipation of Italy, *where a great future—political and religious—is struggling to burst forth from the prison-house and the tomb. But no one can have so many reasons for hailing the dawn of Italian emancipation as he, who having an earnest faith of his own, religious and political, believes also that liberty of human thought and action must lead to the conquest of truths essentially similar to those which command his own devotion.* The Society, therefore, continues earnestly to invite all such men to its ranks; the catholicity which it aims at requires that they should always take a prominent part in its councils."—No. ii. Oct. 1851.

In the same number is an address from a number of Roman ex-deputies, and ex-officers, and others, to this Society, in which occurs the following passage:

"Amid the evils which have for ages oppressed our nation, and the political and *religious slavery* which weighs upon us, we could not find better advocates for our cause than the inhabitants of a country which first led the way in the path of liberty amid European darkness, and which enjoys, as a reward, an *unfalsified interpretation of the word of God.*"

Finally, we will quote the commentary on this and on another similar address there given.

"The two documents, coming spontaneously at about the same time, from two such different sources, bear a striking similarity to each other. They both speak of Italian nationality in its widest sense; *they both protest against the incubus of Papal tyranny, not only as a political, but as a religious institution. They are both in perfect accordance with the original view in which this Society was founded—the religious as well as the political liberty of the Italian people; Italian nationality; the expulsion of the Pope; and the dawn of a new era of religious reformation taking its rise in Italy, but by no means stopping there.*"

In July, 1852, the Society put forth an "Appeal to Electors," containing questions which they were requested to put to candidates at the ensuing elections. We will quote the last, with its accompanying commentary.

"Do you disclaim the part which our Government acted in the affair of the Roman Republic, and will you do your utmost to make our Government indemnify to the Romans the wrong then done them, by protesting against the continued occupation of Rome by the French, and seizing every opportunity for bringing about the departure of these troops from the Roman soil, so that the Romans may again deal with the Secular Papacy at their own will and pleasure? Let Protestant Electors, in particular, remember, that the real field of battle against the Papacy is in Rome itself; and that, if we but give the Italian people the chance, they will, of their own accord, save us all farther trouble about the power of the Pope."

It is clear that although the question to be put refers to what is called "the secular Papacy," the real object in view is the spiritual Papacy; for that is the only form whose influence can reach England, as it certainly is the one which can best interest *Protestant Electors*.

In the following passage, though the "temporal" power only is mentioned, the spiritual power is contemplated under the form of "priestly power."

"Is it because the case of the Madiaris rouses Protestant feeling? Alas! they mistake who think to win religious freedom for Tuscany or for Italy by agitations for the release of individual victims. The freedom of Italy, and nothing less than that, is synonymous with the fall of the Papacy, and the overthrow of priestly power. Let those who have been roused by the case of the Madiaris extend their view so as to embrace the whole question of Italy, and they will gradually see that the only way to prevent a perpetual succession of such cases is to aid, as far as it can be done, the spontaneous efforts of the Italians to achieve their moral emancipation. One predetermined feature of that emancipation is the abolition—root and branch—of the temporal power of the Papacy."—No. xviii., February, 1853.

In a fly sheet entitled "*Italy and the Papacy*," we have the following passage, with the same distinction introduced at the end, in a manner that can blind nobody:

"II. There is no oppressed country whose freedom would be a greater boon to the world in general, and to Great Britain in particular, than that of Italy.

"And why? Because Italy is the seat of an institution whose baleful influence extends over the whole earth, and makes itself felt with special virulence in Great Britain. Italy is the seat of the Papacy. All, therefore, who regard this institution as a curse to human souls, as an obstacle to civilization, and as a thorn and thing of irritation in the policy of our own British empire, ought to desire the freedom of

Italy. For the freedom of Italy, and nothing short of that, is synonymous with the fall of the Papacy. People may talk as they like, but there is no other way of abolishing the Papacy than by making Italy politically free. The Papacy is an Italian tree ; it is only Italian hands that can wield the axe which is to destroy it. In 1848-9 the Italians destroyed the Papacy ; they separated the temporal from the spiritual sovereignty of the Popes. They are ready to do the same again ; and surely, when they do it, England will not a second time refuse the boon."

Further to corroborate what we have here said, we may remark that in the "Monthly Records" for March and May of last year, one of the topics employed to rouse the indignation of the English people against Italian despotism is, that "already the Bishop of Volterra has published a circular, charging his *curés*, and all good christians, to denounce to him those who blaspheme, and those who do not go to mass and confession." And further we are told :—

"Catholicism has not forgotten any of its old pretensions over the human conscience. In Rome, one might fancy oneself in the 10th century. In 1849, the Bishop of Gubbio re-established the edict of Paul IV. against blasphemy, and the Bishop of Ancona put it in force from the ecclesiastical tribunal, on the 25th of January, 1852. The accused, Giovanni Traversa, aged 50 years, was conducted by the police to the Church, where he had to remain on his knees during high mass, with a lighted wax taper in his hand, and with an inscription on his back, bearing these words in large characters, "Public Blasphemer." So much for his spiritual punishment ; for his temporal punishment, the same tribunal condemned him to a year of forced labour, side by side with Colonel Calandrelli, whose sentence is for 20 years."—No. vii. March, 1852.

From which we conclude, that one of the claims of conscience, and one of the liberties which this society wishes to conquer for the Italians, is the right to blaspheme God, just as each one may think proper.

We will close this first series of extracts by one rather longer, where the temporal power of the Pope is impugned, but in such a way as clearly to show, that the destruction of the Church is anticipated as a consequence.

"It is not for us, in this place, to discuss the manner in which, within the boundaries of England, the Papal policy should be met. Our feeling is that on no account should any desire to retaliate lead us to take a really retrograde step ; and that, if the Pope wishes to preach to us for our good, as doubtless he sincerely does, he should

have as free license to do so as our English laws allow. But there is another aspect of the question strictly within our scope. We may view this Papal policy with regard to England, as an element for determining what should be the counter-policy of England with regard to Italy. The Pope is two things—he is the Ecclesiastical head of Catholic Christendom; and he is the Temporal Despot of Central Italy. We regard him here only in the second capacity; and we say that at once the fairest, the easiest, and the severest counter policy we can devise against the Pope, if we seek to devise such at all, will be a policy having not England but Italy for its scene of operations. * * * Let us meet the Pope where he is weakest and will feel it most—in his own dominions. Let us make war—not a war of arms, but that kind of war which all acknowledge to be legitimate, a war of intellect, of sentiment, and of political action—on the Papal misgovernment of Central Italy. *Who knows what knots of spiritual error are bound round that temporal root? Who knows what new epoch of emancipation, moral, intellectual, and religious, might have dawned for the confederacy of European nations had that severance between the spiritual and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, which was spontaneously and unanimously decreed by the Roman People, who alone had the right to decree it, been allowed to take effect?* Here, without any effort of ours, but by a natural and legitimate course of events proper to Italy itself, a great Reformation, such as we Englishmen were supposed to have been praying for and longing for, was peacefully and harmoniously consummated. The thing was done to our hands; toleration, freedom of speech, religious and intellectual liberty, were let in where they had been before unknown; the worm eaten archives of the Inquisition were tossed into the light of the sun; and Rome, from a cage of priests, became a corporation of citizens.”—*Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy*, p. 8.

The following extract is from an Appeal, which, though written by a lady, is promulgated by the “Society,” which also receives all profits derived from its sale.

“About Italy, perhaps, less is generally known. But were the condition of that unhappy country more widely understood, we believe as deep a sympathy would be felt for her protracted efforts for independence from a foreign rule and the almost equally galling tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church, as for Hungary or unhappy Poland.”—*An appeal to the English People, on behalf of the Mazzini and Kossuth Fund. By an Englishwoman*, p. 6.

It might, however, be said, that all this comes from mere strangers, who, being Protestants themselves, have an ulterior view, beyond that of the Italian patriots, as they are called. Let us therefore hear Sig. Giuseppe Mazzini himself, him who openly declares himself to be the representa-

tive of Italian freedom, and who has lately given sufficient proof that he is implicitly obeyed by many, even when by an inflated proclamation he urges them on to hopeless aggression.

The first passage which we will quote at length, may be called Mazzini's profession of faith. It is part of a "Lecture delivered at the first *Conversazione* of the Friends of Italy, held on Wednesday, February 11th, 1852." It forms the fourth tract of the series put forth by that society. In the first part of the Lecture, the orator is telling his audience what he and his friends are *not* : but he is careful not to tell us what they are. They are not *Atheists*, it seems ; but perhaps our readers will come to the same conclusion as ourselves, after reading the following passage, that at any rate they are not Christians ; Christianity is not alluded to except on the same footing as Roman and Etruscan paganism. The religion professed seems to be some heathenish deification of abstract qualities, veiled in a hazy cloud of materialism.

"We are not Atheists, unbelievers, or sceptical. Atheism is despair ; scepticism weakness. And we are full of hope, faith, and energy, that nothing, time or events, will quench. Our whole life is an appeal, a protest against brute force. To whom, if not to God? Between God, the everlasting truth, and force—between providence and fatality—can you find an intermediate safe-ground for a struggling nation? *We believe in God, as we believe in the final triumph of justice on earth*; as we believe in an ideal of perfection to be pursued by mankind, in the mission of our country towards it ; in martyrdom, which has no sense for the godless ; in love, which is to me a bitter irony if not a promise—the bud of immortality. *The analysing, dissolving, dissecting, materialist doctrine of the eighteenth century may prove unavoidable, wherever and whenever you want to probe to ascertain the degree of rottenness that is in the state.* It cannot go beyond ; and we want to go beyond. *We want to accomplish an act of creation ; to elicit life—collective, progressive life—for the millions, through the millions.* Can we do that through anatomy? The cold, negative, destroying work of scepticism was being completed under French influence, was coming to a close with French influence in Italy some twenty-four years ago, when first I felt that life was "a battle and a march," and chose the way that I shall never desert. It had undermined and destroyed Papacy, though the form was left behind, still erect, weighing like an incubus on the heart of the nation, a gigantic corpse, aping life. But everybody in Italy knows that it is a corpse. And there it lies in its state robe, on its state coffin called a throne, with a death scroll in its hand signed 'Gaeta,' from which no glittering of French or Austrian bayonets

can dazzle our quick Italian eye away. What need have we now of the anatomist's knife ! Give us the light of God, the air of God—freedom ; the corpse will sink to dust and atoms. Thank God, we have in Italy no other corpse to bury. Aristocracy, royalty, have never been possessed, in our land of municipalities, of real active life. They have been cloud-like phantoms, brought across the history of the Italian element by foreign winds and storms. They will pass away, as soon as we shall be enabled to enjoy our own pure, radiant skies, and breathe unmixed the air that flows from our own Alps.

“ Materialism has never been a thing of pure Italian growth. It has sprung up as a reaction against Papacy, and from influences exercised at times when our genuine spontaneous life was lost, by foreign schools of philosophy. But it is a proud characteristic of the Italian mind—and history, when more earnestly and deeply sifted, will prove, I trust, the truth of what I say—that it naturally and continuously aims at the harmonising of what we call synthesis and analysis—*theory and practice*—or, as we ought to say, *heaven and earth*. It has a highly religious tendency—a *lofty instinctive aspiration towards the ideal, but coupled with a strong, irresistible feeling that we ought to realise as much as we can of that ideal in our terrestrial concerns* ; that every thought ought to be, as far as possible, embodied into action. *From our Etruscan towns built and ruled according to a certain heavenly scheme, down to our proclaiming Jesus sole King of Florence, in the 16th century*—from the deep religious idea with which the soldier of ancient Rome identified his duties towards the city, down to the religious symbol, the Carroccio, led in front of our national troops in the middle ages—from the Italian school of philosophy, founded in the south of the Peninsula by Pythagoras, a religious and a political society at once, down to our great philosophers of the 17th century, in each of whom you will find a scientific system, and a political Utopia—every manifestation of free, original, Italian genius, has been the transformation of the social earthly medium under the consecration of a religious belief. Our great Lombard league was planned in Pontida, in an old monastery, the sacred ruins of which are still extant. Our republican parliaments in the old Tuscan cities were often held in the temples of God.*

“ *We are the children and inheritors of that glorious tradition. We feel that the final solution of the great religious problem, emancipation of the soul, liberty of conscience, acknowledged throughout and for all mankind, is placed providentially in our hands ; that the world will never be free from organised imposture before a flag of religious liberty waves high from the top of the Vatican ; that in such a mission to be fulfilled lies the secret of our initiative, the claim we have on the*

* Note. Vide B. Varchi, Guicciardini, Sismondi. A similar circumstance is recorded of the Scotch Covenanters, in their time of persecution.

heart and sympathies of mankind. How should we wither our beautiful faith in the icy streams of atheism? We, whose life has been twice—never forget it—the unity of Europe, how should we, now that we are bent on a more complete national revolution, trample down that privilege under some fragmentary negative creed, spurning the parent thought, and leaving individuality to float in the vacuum of nothingness?”—p. 56.

If from this rigmarole, or rhodomontade, we have to deduce that Mr. Mazzini and his associates are not atheists nor sceptics, we must be allowed to yield to a yet stronger logical cogency, which compels us to conclude from it, that they do not believe in a Church, especially the “one, holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church;” that they do not believe in any power or jurisdiction emanating from the Pope, or in any possible grace that requires a priest (especially if a Jesuit,) to bestow it. Further, we think we can hardly hesitate to conclude, that these gentlemen consider the sweeping away of any such system as essential to the entire accomplishment of their objects.

But in the autumn or winter of 1852, Mr. Mazzini issued a circular relative to a petition proposed to be presented to Parliament, on Italian affairs, in which he speaks in the following unequivocal terms.

“Circulated in print or manuscript, in every locality, through the agency of liberal collective bodies or of influential individuals; signed in every popular association whose members look for the best support for their special agitation, in the general principle that man has been placed here to do *all* the good he can, in *every* direction; in *every* religious congregation where there lives abhorrence of the Lie now enthroned at Rome, and communing love for a people longing to proclaim liberty of conscience in the very seat of spiritual despotism; adopted by all believers in civil and religious liberty as the rightful law, not only for England, but for the world; and sent back to parliament through the representative of the town or province; it would rise to the importance of a great national document, it would embody a mighty thought of international justice, determine the first step of a political life more attuned to England’s mission and true interests than the now prevailing system of self-abdication, and record a noble protest against the schemes of absolutist reaction now unfolding on the continent, and threatening England’s shores.”—Monthly Record, No. XVI., Dec. 1852.

Now the hatred of Protestant congregations for the Pope, “as a Lie enthroned,” is a thorough *religious*, not a political hatred; and to this the Italian appeals. Could

any Catholic, by any possibility, have written those atrocious lines?

But if the great aim of the intended Italian revolution is to be the destruction of religion as now constituted, by the overthrow of the Papal power, what is to be its substitute? Mr. Mazzini has not left us in the dark on this important topic. At the second conversazione of this society, held March 24th, 1852, the patriot stood up to be catechised, and the following question was the first put to him, by the chairman. "How was it probable that the Italians would deal with the *entire institution of the Papacy*, supposing their efforts at revolution were successful, and their independence once secured?" We will give the account of his answer in the words of the "Monthly Record," for April, 1852. We must observe, that another question was put to him on another subject.

"M. Mazzini spoke at length, and in considerable detail, in answer to these two questions. What he said was most important; the importance, in particular of his reply to the first question, cannot be overrated. The question, 'What free Italy would do with the Papacy?' has never, we believe, been raised in this country before; but, vast as the question was, M. Mazzini was prepared with an answer, the simplicity and directness of which must strike every one, *while the actual tenor* (supposing, which is doubtless certain, that Mazzini spoke, on this point, what all popular Italy thinks,) *ought to send a thrill of joy through the hearts of all who call themselves sons of the Reformation.* We extract but one short passage—but a passage of weighty moment as regards the future.

"The Pope being gone, it would become a necessity for us, and for the whole of Italy, to do what I shall call, feel the pulse of humanity as to our religious question. As we should do in political, so should we do in religious matters,—ascertain the general opinion by a general assembly. We should summon, wherever the revolution extended, the clergy; not only the clergy, but all others—laymen, who have studied the religious question, and we should know from them the state of feeling and opinion. We should have a *Council* by the side of a *Constituent Assembly*. * * The verdict of the nation would be, as I said in the beginning, that the Papacy is a corpse; that there is no power of guidance in it; that we want to be guided by the wisest and the best; and that we find that the Pope is neither one nor the other.' "

We do not think that any declaration could be more explicit than this. A revolution being effected, and "the Pope, the emperor, and those ferocious or idiotic princes, now keeping our Italy dismembered into foreign vice-

royalties,"* being somehow disposed of, and Mazzini being the president of the "Republic one and indivisible" of Italy (no doubt including poor credulous Piedmont) there will be convoked a *council*, not of clergy, but of laymen also, to determine what is the popular wish as to religion. They are to be laymen, "who have studied the religious question," not the doctrines of the Church, not the decisions of Synods or of Pontiffs, but what is popularly known in modern times by that vague expression. The Pope has clearly to be altogether discarded as "a guide;" so a new form of religion has to be devised, not by theological discussion, not by research in divines, not by study of antiquity, or other fashionable modes of settling religious questions now-a-days, but by the novel, though we own rather unintelligible, mode, of "feeling the pulse of humanity." And what if the doctors disagree? What if a *bonâ fide*, and not a packed council be called, on the Constituent Assembly principle? what if the really virtuous, truly learned clergy, and not the Gavazzis and Achillis form the ecclesiastical element—the Pellicos and Manzonis, compose the lay alloy of this imaginary Synod; and what if having felt the pulse of the rude but fervent peasantry of the Abbruzzi, and of the Marche, of the thoroughly Catholic populations of Rome, Florence, Genoa, and Venice, they should vote that Italy will, in spite of Mazzini and the Society in Southampton Street, be Catholic, what if they shall say, the people's will is still to adhere to the See of Peter, still to honour God's Blessed Mother, still to go to confession? Are we to understand that such a decision is foredoomed, or that the range of deliberation and selection only runs from the freezing point of Deism (Mazzini has taken care not to deny this) to the boiling point of Mormonism or Jumperism?

However, having as much faith in the future existence of this infidel Council, as we have in Mr. Mazzini's orthodoxy, it is only waste of time to speculate upon its ideal results. We feel quite sure that they would not be the adoption of his refined nullities. Let us, therefore, conclude our exposition of the creed prepared for regenerated Italy, by one more extract. It is from the address of the "Italian National Committee" to the Friends of Italy, published in

* Mazzini's speech at first *Conversazione*, p. 6.

the "First Annual Report of the Society" drawn up in June, 1852. This Committee is a select body consisting of Mazzini, Saffi, and Montecchi. The passage is as follows:—

"You must, with unceasing care and work, unfold these views, which are yours too, to all your countrymen.

"You must tell your religious agitators that religion is nothing but a narrow, hypocritical, sectarian concern, unless it is a collective, all-binding, all harmonizing thought and action—everlasting action or good, wherever good can be done: *that whilst the idol is up, God, the God of truth and justice must veil his face, and cannot send his blessing spirit amongst the multitudes; that the Pope—the idol—is not to be overthrown at Maynooth or in Exeter-hall, but in his own seat in Rome; that to endeavour to spread Bibles without spreading liberty—the sole interpreter of the Bible—is to strive after the aim, and to renounce the means.*"—p. 15.

This, it will be owned, is pretty plain. It is not the Pope's temporal power which is upheld in Maynooth, or assailed in Exeter-hall: it is his spiritual authority which is a doctrine in the one, and a crime in the other. Now the overthrow of this power is the bait held out to English "religious agitators," that is, to Protestant-association, and Protestant-alliance men, to Exeter-hall fanatics, to itinerant anti-papal meeting-holders, if they will only join the Society, and help the cause of revolution in Italy. Again, to this same class of zealots is held out a further inducement to secure their co-operation, that when once Italy is totally in the hands of Mazzini, they will be able to spread bibles, that is, Protestantism, to their heart's content. This is *their aim*; his republicanism will be *their means*.

It is not difficult to find collateral evidence of the double purpose of Italian demagogues. F. Gavazzi, who in London used to walk arm in arm with Mazzini, certainly goes hand in hand with him in his religious politics. He indeed disavows being a Protestant, and has the insolence to call himself a Catholic: perhaps to give more pungency to his scurrilities, and more bitterness to his invectives; perhaps that he may have an excuse for wearing the dramatic habit of his order, and increasing by it what the Italians would call his *impostura*; perhaps because some lingering remains of conscience still prevent him from cutting away his moorings, in that harbour, wherein alone he believes there is safety, and repose, and in which he pro-

bably, in his heart, hopes one day to be laid up in ordinary, a good hulk of a friar, (we write as he would then be spoken of by his dupes) well lined with the cash out of which he has diddled Protestant pockets. But in spite of his protestations of Catholicity, his attacks, in his itinerant exhibitions, have been pretty equally divided between the political, and the religious state of Italy. He levels and fires both barrels of his gun, rebellion and infidelity, at the same time. At Bath last summer, after the splendid religious ceremony of the Place Louis XVI. he said openly, that he now understood why the French troops were so degenerate as to crush Italian liberty, when he saw them bend their knee to "a piece of bread!" However latterly he openly advocated the Protestant principle of the diffusion of the vernacular bible, among the people of Italy; and if we mistake not his very parting address at Liverpool, a few days ago, dwelt emphatically upon this very point. Indeed it is impossible to have followed this wretched man's course of slander and money-making, without being satisfied, that, whether sincerely or not is another thing, he has assailed the religion, as much as the government of Italy, and has used the full extent of Protestant prejudice as the means of exciting interest in favour of revolution.

Now let us briefly consider the view which must be taken of all this subject by a government in Italy. It sees, one clear and simple fact, a conspiracy between the Protestantism of England and the liberalism of Italy, to wage a joint war against the peace of its states, for the overthrow at once of the throne and the altar. There is no disguise, the fact is patent and the principle avowed. "Come to the rescue of Italy," exclaims the Society of its so-called friends, to the fanaticism of the country, "from the tyranny of the papacy, the priesthood, Jesuitism, and the Inquisition. Pour into it your bibles, and your preachers. But if you desire to do this, you must help Mazzini and his fellow patriots to raise rebellion, or, in gentler terms, revolution through all the country, and to subvert all its existing governments." "Join my ranks," cries out Mr. Mazzini, "and I promise to you as your reward, the destruction of papal authority, and the full liberty to preach, teach, and distribute bibles." And while this compact is openly made, while it is proclaimed that revolution and Protestantism in Italy are co-relatives; while the revolutionary Society boasts, that among its members it reckons

"clergymen of all denominations ;"* while in its council alone there are, at least, twenty-six bearing the title of Reverend ; the government sees two distinct actions, corresponding to the two leagued powers, simultaneously going on. While Mazzini boasts, in his speeches, that there is a secret press at work in Tuscany, for the publication of incendiary placards, and writings, and a post so organized that revolutionary intelligence can be conveyed as safely from town to town, as letters are in any other country, by the ordinary post, a similar secret and stealthy activity is endeavouring to propagate Protestantism, by its own favourite, and avowed plan of smuggling in, and spreading, bibles. At a meeting held lately at Brighton, Captain Trotter, one of the Madiai deputation to Florence, entertained his audience with an account of the progress of "the Gospel" in Tuscany, and told a wonderful story of how bibles were smuggled into, we believe, Pistoja, by a saintly porter who carried in two at a time, and how at last being obliged to carry more, they were seized to the extent of six copies ; and all the little church in the town sat up all night in prayer, expecting death(!) or other grievous punishment, and yet nothing befell them : for it had so happened, that there were just six custom-house officers, and six bibles ; so instead of doing their duty to the laws, they kept the impounded property, read the book, and were transformed instantaneously into six sound Protestants. Whether the Tuscan government will hear of the anecdote, and continue such faithful servants in its pay ; or whether the gallant orator's praises may cost those six unfortunates their places ; or, which is more probable, the government will know the whole to be what we believe it, a cock-and-a-bull story, in true Exeter-hall style, we really cannot decide. But we take it, like many other similar ones, as evidences of the fact, that there is not only no more scruple about smuggling chests of bibles into Tuscany, than there was of similarly introducing chests of opium into China, but that it is made an open boast by pious Protestants, that what Mazzini does for politics they are doing for religion. There is a secret depot, or press for unauthorised bibles, and there are organized means for carrying them through the country, and disseminating them.

In addition to these considerations, palpable to the Tus-

* First Annual Report, p. 3.

can government, there are others, which to it must be of paramount consideration. For example, if as we have seen, it must naturally, or rather necessarily, look to religion for healing the wounds, which the morality or faith of the country has suffered, it can only be to the Church, alone existing, alone recognised, and alone believed in, that it turn its thoughts. Now we ask any reasonable man, can it regard with indifference a systematic attempt to undermine that Church, and to disturb the faith of the people in its doctrines, and not consider the underhand plotting of strangers, for this purpose, as an interference with the welfare of the nation, and the stability of the government, as based upon religious convictions?

Again, putting aside the abstract consideration of the claims of truth, it is obvious, that in Tuscany, or any other exclusively Catholic country, there is, from habit, from education, from conviction (to go no higher) no other form of Christianity known; and a Catholic and a Christian are synonymous. We do not wish to give offence; we speak to a mere fact. Both government and people have no legal cognizance, and no practical consciousness of any other form of religion. To attack the Catholic religion, and, avowing at a distance a determination to destroy it, to endeavour by covert arts, and secret practices to undermine it at home, is to both neither more nor less, than to attempt the subversion of the whole Christian system, with its moral influence. No Christian state could regard such an attempt with indifference; but it is only where there is, and always has been, unity with a dogmatic religion, that the identity of it with Christianity can be held as a public principle. In Tuscany this has always been the case; and though there has been full toleration for strangers, there has been no separation of the natives into sects. Thus Catholicity has been the only Christianity known in the country, the only form of it recognized by the laws. Whatever crime therefore it may be considered in other countries, to endeavour to sap and destroy religion and morality, that in its full extent would be there held the estimate of an attempt to deal similarly with Catholicity. And perhaps a person, accustomed from his infancy to see Christianity broken up into innumerable fractions, all claiming to be right, and all treated, more or less, by those holding contradictory opinions, with the respect due only to truth, cannot invest himself with the

feelings of one, who has not only ever understood that truth is but one, but has never *seen* competing sentiments, where truth *must* be but one. There is a strong repugnance in him to seize the idea, of equal claims in conflicting principles, or that where truth must be everything there should be no other feeling towards it, than what error may equally claim. Yet this is the elementary principle into which religious toleration first naturally resolves itself.

Returning however to our former topic, the avowed league between proselytism and revolution, to act in concert, and share the spoil, and the similarity of methods by which they respectively act, is it surprising, that the Tuscan government should have kept an equally jealous eye on the movements of both hostile powers, and been determined to take the first opportunity of repressing either? Let us suppose that a family had been discovered, in which meetings were held, for the purpose of enrolling others in the secular conspiracy against the state, by reading to them Mazzinian documents, and procuring their assent, if not to their words, to their principle; who would have said that the government would not have been fully justified in applying the law to the extent of vigour which it permitted, to the punishment of the individuals implicated? Who would not allow that in this punishment not so much the individual case would have been contemplated, as the whole system, of which it was the first detected and proved application, and the necessity of repressing it?

It so happened that the first discovery fell upon the religious branch of the conspiracy; the first case of which proof was obtained was that of the unfortunate MADIAT.

There was nothing in the character, rank, education, or other circumstances of these people, to lead to their being singled out for peculiar hardship, or even observation. They were merely the first to be caught. Francesco Madiat had been a courier, Rosa a lady's maid, in English families. Whether they ever openly embraced Protestantism, or where and when they learnt it, we know not, nor is it material. They seem to have been quiet, inoffensive people, as far as we know, and we have not the least wish to raise an insinuation against their character. We may be permitted simply to observe, that they were exactly the people to become the tools of the scheme for proselytising, and Protestantising Tuscany. Acquainted with the Eng-

lish language, and known to many English people, at the same time natives of the country, and settled there, they would be the persons to do most effectually the work of go-betweens, for the pullulating Protestant Church, and those whose gold and whose zeal were nursing it. They turned their house into a conventicle, and endeavoured to bring others to join them.

We have seen that the simultaneous action of the two combined agencies was similar. It could no more be expected that the proselytising party would attempt to open a public conventicle for Protestantism in Florence, than that the civil revolutionists should convene a meeting in the Town-hall, for passing resolutions to overthrow the Grand-Ducal government. Secret meetings formed the instrumentality of both; and it was only by preventing these, and punishing cases of individual and isolated seduction, that wholesale mischief could be prevented. The house of the Madiai was one of these rallying-points, where a few met, and tried silently to add to their number. Such was the crime, such the accusation, for such the conviction, and the punishment of these people.

Two popular calumnies have been diligently spread through England on the subject, by newspapers, pamphlets, noblemen's letters, and platform speeches. First, that they were condemned and sentenced for reading their bibles merely. Secondly, that it was priestly influence, if not ecclesiastical authority, that persecuted them.

The first of these charges has been fully confuted by Dr. Cahill, in his powerful letter to Lord Carlisle, from the indictment and sentence itself; and we do not think it necessary, therefore, to go over the same ground again. We will only make two or three brief remarks. Even the Society's Record for October, 1852, is obliged to own that the Madiai had been condemned "for the crime of reading the Bible, and entertaining *and teaching Protestant opinions*." As the sentence is for the last only, we must put the rest to the score of that moral impossibility under which Protestantism seems to labour, of ever speaking the truth about Catholics. It is plain that the "entertaining opinions" is not an overt act of which any tribunal could take cognizance, but the "teaching opinions" is; and such was the distinction drawn by the tribunal. For, it acquitted another person brought into the same indictment, on the ground of there being no evidence of prose-

lytising or teaching others, though there was equal evidence of joining in the conventicle. The distinction established in the sentence was, that the Madiais had been proved to attempt the propagation of Protestantism. And so there was evidence of that other person's having read the Bible as well as the Madiais, yet no conviction ensued. Surely, then, we are justified in concluding that *this* was no more the crime on which they were sentenced, than the former, of "*entertaining* opinions." Such is the Society's way of trying to smother the truth, though told, in a tissue, of untruths. The legal crime, therefore, of Francesca and Rosa Madiai was, "*propagating Protestantism.*"

If further proof were wanting that this was the sole ground of conviction, we have it in the fact openly avowed by the gentlemen of the Quixotic expedition to Florence, who visited the Madiai in prison, that the man and his wife were allowed the full use of their bibles, and moreover received the ministrations of a Swiss Protestant preacher. This contradicts the two additions to the truth in the Record's statement, about bible-reading, and entertainment of Protestant opinions; leaving the "*teaching*" of those opinions as the ground of legal conviction.

We believe that many are impressed with the idea that the condemnation of the Madiai has been an affair of the Inquisition, or of some clerical jurisdiction. The Cavans and Trotters, *et hoc genus omne*, have so unscrupulously declaimed on the matter, as a pure exhibition of Popish bigotry; the newspapers have so recklessly described it as an instance of ecclesiastical intolerance, and religious persecution; all parties have so shut out from the public eye the connection between the attempts at civil and at religious revolution in Tuscany, all have so carefully handled the Madiai case as a personal one, and not one of principle, that we are not surprised at its having become a worthy sequel to the "*Papal Aggression*" agitation, and a most welcome—we cannot say, "*Godsend*," and we dare not coin an equivalent, to express whence lies and slanders come—but a most welcome hot-blast, to puff up again into a blaze the still glowing embers of anti-Catholic bigotry. Let the reader, therefore, now recal to mind what we requested him to bear there, that by the Leopoldine code, a code which Mr. Kinnaird openly praised in his speech of Thursday, the 17th of February, as a wise

code of legislation; a code which Lord John Russell, in replying to a deputation on this absorbing topic, called a legislation of "enlightened times," all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was suppressed, and episcopal tribunals annihilated. It was, therefore, only as a civil offence that the Madiais' transgression was considered, only as such was it tried and sentenced. And it was by this very code that their sentence was awarded. Can more be wanting to prove that it was for a crime against the state, its safety and its morality, that they were condemned, and not for an ecclesiastical or religious sin? Let it also be remembered, as we have proved above, that the very constitutional laws of the late republic protected "the religion of the state" from all attempts to overthrow it.

But, we may ask any impartial reader, is it just, or commonly fair, first to praise to the skies the Leopoldine code, because antagonistic to the Church, and all churchmen's power, because it prevented Priests and Bishops from meddling in civil causes, and withdrew even ecclesiastical ones from them to the temporal courts; and then to attribute the pressure and operation of that very code, to that very Church, and that very Clergy? Nay, more than this, the Leopoldine code has been highly precious in Protestant eyes, because so anti-papal, and so much, restraining the sovereign ecclesiastical power; and yet we Catholics of England must forsooth be told that it is the Pope who can, and ought to, undo the action of this code, and that we ought to apply to him for this purpose. Our reply is simply—"take the code as it has pleased you till now. You clapped your hands, and roared with delight, at the affliction it caused the holy Pontiff, who ruled the Church, when it was framed, and at the semi-Protestant crushing which you thought it gave our religion. And now that the small lingering amount of protection which it left the faith has proved useful, in checking the attempt to introduce infidelity, with rebellion and anarchy, into the country, do you really expect us to assist in completing the work, over which you rejoiced at our expense; and is it not more than insolent, to ask us not merely for sympathy at *your* distress, but cooperation in removing it?"

Let it, therefore, be well understood, that in the tribune which sentenced the Madiai, there was not the smallest ecclesiastical element; nor was there reference to any ecclesiastical code; nor is there proof, nor any ground beyond

Protestant insinuation, for asserting that any ecclesiastical influence was exercised, to bias the judges.

And now comes what we consider a most important enquiry. Granted that a league can be established between English Protestantism and Italian revolutionism, to overthrow at once the governments and the religion of Italy; granted that its rulers are warranted in taking the most vigorous precautions against the joint attack, and to defeat the conspiracy in either of its branches; granted, if you please, moreover, that the attempt to undermine the only existing faith of the state, may be considered by the laws as the sapping of the foundation of all religion and morality, and as such punishable by them, there seems to have been no direct proof, that the Madiai formed part of this conspiracy, or contemplated coming under the grasp of a law almost forgotten. And besides they are allowed to have been inoffensive people, of good conduct, though probably not very wise.

Some of these pleas may indeed be admitted if urged in mitigation of punishment, but England is the last country on earth where they can be made, as a ground to arrest judgment.

For as to proof of complicity in a conspiracy, we believe that few jurisprudences require slighter proofs than our own. A conspiracy, according to Blackstone, is "a combination or agreement between several, to carry into effect a purpose *hurtful to the public at large*." And the same authority informs us, that "the effect of the law is to render a purpose criminal when concerted by several, which would not be of that character, if entertained merely by an individual; a distinction which rests on solid grounds."* To see what is sufficient to bring a person within the meshes of a conspiracy, as thus contemplated by our law, we may take the case of *Regina v. Shellard*, one of the Welsh prisoners in 1840, who was convicted of conspiracy to raise unlawful assemblies, though it was not proved that *he* had done any act *per se* unlawful; but only things held to connect him with those who had.† We are not of course applying this doctrine legally; but we wish to show how easy it is in English law to implicate persons in complicity, where similarity of acts, circumstances of connection, place, time, &c., show a common purpose. And therefore, we conclude

* Vol iv., B. vi., ch. 9.

† 9. Carrington and Payne.

that the offence of the Madiai has not to be considered as their mere individual acts, but as part of the conspiracy to subvert the established and legal order of things. And we must not be surprised that the Tuscan government have so considered it, and dealt with it accordingly.

As to ignorance of the law, nobody, we believe, has formally pretended that these two Tuscan subjects did not know they were transgressing the law, and held their secret proselytising meetings at the risk of its perils. But, at any rate, it is probable that very few of our readers can have forgotten a memorable epistle, written by a certain liberal Prime Minister, to a northern dignitary of the Anglican Establishment, on occasion of the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy, in which he stated, that enquiry would be made to see, how far the law, as it stood, could be made to apply to the case, and if not sufficient, new legislation would be made, to provide for it. Now here, really nobody had knowingly committed an illegal act; for in fact, the noble Lord's ignorance, and the result of the eager researches of the law officers of the Crown, proved that nothing had been done contrary to law. Yet, that liberal nobleman had no hesitation in publicly avowing, that if he, or the said officers, with the Lord Chancellor at their head, could possibly bring any unnoticed law to reach the imaginary offence, although it was clear that no violation of such law could have been contemplated, (for how could Bishops know of a law still hidden to the lynx-eyed lawyers?) he should not scruple to apply it, that is, punish by it an offence committed in ignorance of it. Such a declaration could only be the result of a reasoning of this sort: "if a person has done something unpleasant to government, regard is not to be had to his moral guilt, or his intention to violate law; but if we can possibly bring his action within the long range of some mouldy statute, we are justified in its application, and so punishing severely, what nobody knew to be so punishable." We should be sorry indeed to justify the government of Tuscany, by the course thus followed against Catholics in England, so short a time ago. But, as a second epistle to our minister at Florence, in much as bad a taste, and as undignified as the Durham letter, has followed that celebrated document, we think ourselves justified in showing how little that plea of ignorance of the law, if made, ought to prevail in England, where bare legality carries all before it, and where every-

body is treated in a court of justice, as if he had read through the twenty volumes of the Statutes at large.

But the personal character of the condemned has been the principal means employed, to individualize their sentence to the public, make them appear the victims of personal religion, and shut out from men's eyes all the connections of their conviction with the political and religious condition of the country, and the necessity of protecting this from the combined attacks of irreligion and revolution. In making a few remarks on this subject, we trust they may be found referable to the other objections also which we have stated. And they shall be in the form of appeals to that most irrefragable of authorities to the English mind, the decisions of our own infallible tribunals, and the opinions of liberal British statesmen.

On the 19th of March, 1834, six labourers were committed at Dorchester, for administering unlawful oaths. This was the celebrated case of the Dorsetshire labourers, who we believe, some years after, were allowed to return from transportation. There was no doubt, that four of these unfortunate men were merely the dupes of the two others, and hardly, if at all, knew the crime they were committing. Accordingly petition was made for remission of punishment, to the House of Commons, and a debate took place on it, June 25th, 1835. It was argued that the conviction was of doubtful legality; but further, it was urged, that "the men were ignorant, well-behaved, and *moral*, including even the two more guilty ones."

Upon this, Lord John Russell said: "There are some cases which deserve punishment on account of the *moral* guilt that attaches to them, *while others require to be punished for the sake of public example. In the latter case, the persons offending might have good views as to the end and object of their proceeding*, while they were committing a crime against the well-being of society. The latter species of guilt applied to the present case."* His Lordship further said: "*However innocent or good the objects or views of persons thus offending might be, it was the duty of the government to see, that by the operation of the laws, the peace and interests of society are preserved.*"† Again: "As to the *law, the opinion of the legal tribunals of the country*, was the only guide he

* Hansard, vol. xxviii. p. 1251.

† Ibid.

could have." * The question then was, *how far they had infringed the general policy of the country.*† " *Their purpose was no doubt innocent in their minds; but that it was innocent in its effects, he denied.*"‡

Lord Howick (now Lord Grey) said: "If the principle were admitted, that there is no guilt, when persons think they are acting for the good of society, it would go far to justify every crime. When persons are convicted of an attempt to destroy one form of Government, and establish another, they no doubt believe they are acting for the good of society, *but they are aware that they are violating the law of the land.* The unfortunate men who were executed on the occasion of the last two great rebellions, 1745, &c., *were men of high and honourable feelings.* The same may be said of *societies in various parts of Europe*, which attempt to overthrow the existing state of society."§

Now here we have several principles laid down, not inapplicable to our case. A person may in soul be innocent, and in his mind really believe that he is doing good by his action, yet if that action be contrary to law, and the government consider that it is opposed to the well-being of society, it is its duty to set the law in operation, and punish those well-meaning persons, for the sake of public example. And as to the rightful application of the law in the case, the tribunals of the country are the only guides which we ought to follow. We know of course, that this is all just only for England, and that there is some principle in the fitness of things which gives Englishmen a right to deny, that what is true or proper in the Saxon can be so in the Italian. But as we hope our readers can raise themselves above these national views, we will presume to conclude, that the personal goodness of the Madiai, and their innocent intentions, (all of which we will assume) has nothing to do with their case, if they violated law; especially in a matter which the local Government (whose judgment we would as soon trust as a Whig administration's at least,) consider as affecting the peace and interests of society, and connected with those "*societies in various parts of Europe*," to which Lord Grey alludes; and which the "*tribunals of the country*" (whose fairness we would rather rely on, than an Achilli jury's) decide to be contrary to law.

* Ibid, p. 1252.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, p. 1253.

§ Ibid, p. 1258.

In 1840, took place at York the well-known chartist trials. There could be no doubt, that the prisoners were not the principals, nor the ringleaders, but poor ignorant dupes and tools of more designing men; but when their counsel, Mr. Sergeant Wilkins, to whose warm zeal and genuine eloquence in Dr. Newman's case, we feel we owe a debt of gratitude, attempted to urge this topic, Lord Chief Justice Denman sternly rebuked him, saying; that it was a topic irrelevant to the question of guilty or not guilty; that the prisoners were charged with the guilt of breaking the law, and that other people's conduct was not before the court.

The severity used towards these poor wretches was evidently proportioned, not to any extent of their individual guilt, but to the danger of an increasing system, considered perilous to the state and to society. They happened to be the ones caught, and open to conviction; and, therefore, on Lord John Russell's principle, for example's sake, they must be well punished. This severity, however, was discussed in Parliament. Lord Brougham expressed himself on the subject to this effect: "I am astonished to find these crimes palliated as political." (Read *religious* in our case.) "If it be said, 'why punish men for conspiracy merely,' the answer is—it is obvious, if the attempt were successful, the offender would be secure of impunity. Therefore, the law justly considers the offence the more grievous, and whatever leads to its commission not the less heinous. *Whoever shall lead men to look for alteration in the established constitution of the country, &c.*, is the proximate cause of the breach of the peace that may follow, though *he* may withdraw from the combat *he* may have excited, and keep himself safe from the perils into which *he* has cheated, duped, and seduced or drawn his followers...With regard to the offenders who may not have escaped, (that is the less guilty) justice has been administered to them on its true principles."*

Mr. Disraeli, however, did not take quite the same view of how justice had been administered. For in the debate on the "punishment of political offences," in the House of Commons, July 10th, 1840, he declared that the treatment of these poor men had surpassed the severities of the

* Annual Register, 1840, p. 6.

Star Chamber, that there was no place in Europe—not Siberia—where such punishment had been inflicted.”*

Let us here remark, *en passant*, that the plots, the attempts, or the mischief of the chartists in England could never be put into comparison with those of the organised conspiracies, which have been disturbing the peace of Italy and other continental countries for years; every now and then, producing frightful scenes of bloodshed, such as happened on February 6th last. The object of those miserable creatures, with their points of the charter, was to make “an alteration in the established constitution of the country,” not indeed by assassination of officers and troops, but by constitutional means, pushed indeed to the very verge of legality—huge petitions, and monster meetings. Now a noble lord is astonished that this should be considered a *political* offence: and thereby screened from that punishment which Englishmen so much abhor when inflicted by Austria or Rome. But to attempt alterations in an existing constitution, by preaching “war to the knife,” and by waging it, is a mere political crime, for which no punishment ought to be inflicted. No severity of chastisement is deemed too great for the unfortunate chartists, merely because it was necessary to crush an annoying system of political agitation, then increasing; and clearly their punishment was made referable to that system, not to their individual guilt: but opposite rules must be followed when the scene is transferred to Italy.

Another instance has lately occurred, exhibiting the same principle of conduct. Three or four soldiers were shot lately at Corfù, for striking their officers. It appears that the practice had become common, from a desire on the part of the men, to get transported to the Hesperides of Australia. This must, therefore, have been the usual punishment awarded, certainly that expected. But it was deemed necessary to check the evil, and make an example, by “putting the law into operation;” and therefore three men were shot, not because of their special moral guilt, but to check a system with which their offence was connected, and which seriously threatened military subordination.

We trust that our readers will have been able sufficiently to follow our reasoning, without rendering a recapitulation necessary. It will be clear, that we consider the case of

* Hansard, vol. LV. p. 628.

the Madiai as inadequately represented, when treated as an isolated fact, or a question of merely personal guilt. It must be viewed in connection with a systematic attempt to seduce the people of Tuscany from their religion, by means contrary to law ; and further, by this means to facilitate the overthrow of the government, there legitimately constituted.

For while we have dwelt much upon the political aims of those who are striving to arouse Protestant feelings, as auxiliaries to a revolutionary movement, we have never lost sight of the purely religious side of the question, which happens to be also its legal side. The Tuscan government expelled a British subject, we believe Captain Pakenham, for his violent proselytism ; and a correspondence took place in consequence, between the authorities in Florence, and the Foreign Office. We have been assured, that Lord Palmerston's final letter, upon its appearing that the person in question's conduct was illegal, declined supporting him, on the ground, that whatever might be thought of the goodness or the badness of the law, it must be respected, and obeyed. In the case of Baron Rothschild, if we remember right, Lord John Russell last year maintained the same principle, that even though the law might be bad, and illiberal, it must be observed ; and he acted accordingly. Now let each one have his opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of the law, which in Tuscany secures to the people unity of faith, and immunity from religious dissensions, and security against intruders into their religious concerns ; but such a law there is, and the Grand-Duke, we have no doubt, considers it his solemn and sacred duty to maintain it. Nay, we can hardly imagine any one to suppose, he can have become so enamoured of our thousand sects, as to think it would be better to have a Babel of religions substituted for the one Church in his state ; more conducive to the welfare of his subjects to have Ebenezers, and Salems, and Shilohs rising up in every village, beside the parish church, and a levy of Macbriars or Stigginses marched into the country, to animate their pulpits, in tearing opposition to the parish priests, and to one another ; or more likely to lead his people to heaven, to beat down the one old trodden path of their fathers, and open five hundred new ones, diverging towards every point of the compass, but furnished with finger-posts to assure travellers, that they all lead the same way. Indeed, it has

taken us three hundred years to get accustomed to all this, and we own we have not yet fallen in love, with the men or the thing. How the Government of Tuscany can be expected to have done so, we cannot imagine. Even supposing that it has taken pains to make itself thoroughly acquainted with the recent developments of Protestantism; to have mastered the distinctive theories of High and Low Church, or the gown and surplice question, and to have threaded the mazes of the Gorham controversy and judgment; allowing it to have possibly unravelled the disputes in the Kirk, and decided on the respective merits of the Free, and the State, branches, and the numerous secessions from them; granting that it may have investigated the case of the expelled Wesleyan ministers, and the splits, and rents, and cracks in that hundred year old denomination, and the preference due to Primitive, Arminian, Calvinistic, or old Wesleyan, or New Connection Methodists; admitting it to have decided which class of Friends is right, the wet, the dry, or the white; in fine, assuming that it has diligently enquired into, and understood, the peculiar tenets of "Aitkin's Christian Instruction Society, Baxterians, the Bethel Union Society, Bible Christians, Bryanites, Chartist Religionists, Children of Sion, the Christian Bond Society, Christian Pilgrims, Christian Revivalists, the Countess of Huntingdon's Persuasion, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Unionists, Followers of Peace, Free-thinking Christians, the Friendly Society, the Holy and Apostolic Church, Huntingtonians, Independent Bible-Christians, Independent Millenarians, Mormonites, New Jerusalemites, Peculiar Calvinists, Philadelphians, Plymouth Brethren, Primitive Christian Dissenters, the Providence Union Society, Ranters, Rational Religionists, the Revivalist Community, Sandemanians, Shilohites, Sons of Sion, Southcottians, and Universalists;"* still, with all this extensive knowledge of the doctrines, state, and results of Protestantism, we cannot believe that government, or its head, to have been smitten with such affection for this *embarras de richesses* in

* We have *abridged* this list, from a parliamentary paper just published, on Mr. Bright's motion, entitled, "Dissenters' Places of worship," p. 25. These are some of the "specified denominations," returned to the Registrar General. There seems to be no end of "unspecified denominations."

spirituals, as that they should prefer it of a sudden to that unity, which they have been accustomed to consider as at once characteristic of truth, and a mark of the Church. Yet opening the door to proselytism, was of course at once pronouncing, that any gentleman representing any of the above fashions of religious thought, might walk in, and welcome, and do his best to puzzle, bewilder, and uncatholicize as many Tuscans, as he chose. For no one, we presume, imagines that the Grand-Duke ought to grant licenses only for particular doctrines, or limit the liberty of prophecy to Anglicans, and some other specific sects; especially considering the polypus tendency of these, to divide into an unlimited number of independent vitalities.

Besides, there is another, and a more delicate, aspect of the religious question. It may quite happen that the Grand-Duke has a conscience on the subject; that, for example, he considers it a sin to deny publicly the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, to impugn openly the mystery of the adorable Trinity, to blaspheme the Most Holy, to use foul language against the Blessed Virgin, to jeer at St. Zenobio and all other saints, to denounce all his Clergy as impostors and hypocrites, and himself and his family as idolaters. All which would be the necessary consequence of admitting the free preaching of English Protestantism into his dominions, now so much called for. And this conscience may go further and fare worse. He may be one of those (no doubt weak-minded) men, who believe in a judgment to come, beyond the tribunal of public opinion; he may think that an account will be demanded of him, why these attacks and blasphemies directed against what he considered true and holy, nay against God himself, were for the first time permitted by him, they having been unknown before; and it may strike him, that at the judgment-seat of Christ, it will little avail him, to put in a copy of the *Times*, or *Daily News*, which praised him to the skies as a most liberal monarch, for allowing any impious nonsense to be freely preached; or a leader of the *Chronicle* exulting in his having contrived to make another Church like "our own Apostolic branch," calling itself that is Catholic, but eaten up with dissent. He may therefore feel, that so long as he is invested with the responsibility of governing, and has to render an account of his stewardship, one day, it is his duty to pre-

serve his people and his sovereignty "in the unity of the spirit, in the bond of faith," wherein he found it.

Under any view, however, it is clear that it was, and is, a question of principle. To have once sanctioned the principle of permitting proselytism, was to open an entrance to every form of churchism or dissent:

"Qua data porta ruunt, et terras turbine perfiant:
Una Euræusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus."

The entrance was at once placed beyond control. And once grant this universal license, and you must permit the Unitarian, the Freethinker, and the Mormonite, to impugn, not only particular doctrines, but fundamental dogmas of Christianity.

The religious principle, then, involved in condemning, or pardoning the Madiai, was, had general permission to be given to all that pleased, to Protestantize the country. If the Government was not prepared to grant such leave, it had no alternative but to assert its principles by "putting the law in operation," and punishing the first case, which brought the principle to a test. Had it acted otherwise, it would have virtually renounced its principle, and issued a general leave for every sect that pleased, to send its discordant missionaries into Tuscany.

In addition, therefore, to the league between sedition and proselytism, which naturally and necessarily make the Tuscan government severe upon the latter, as the ally of the former, we can see a strong ground for resisting and preventing attempts to destroy the recognized religion of the country, the only one *de facto* existing in it.

Although we have a good deal yet to say, especially in the line of argument pursued by Mr. Lucas in the House of Commons, we must withhold it, and content ourselves with replying briefly to one of many anticipated objections to what we have said.

This, no doubt, will be a very popular one. "What claim have you Catholics to toleration from us Protestants, and to the right of openly preaching your faith, which we deem as erroneous, as the Grand-Duke of Tuscany can consider ours, if you do not hold him equally bound to tolerate, and permit the preaching of Protestantism?"

We apprehend every one will agree, that there is a great

difference between rights possessed, and rights demanded and contested. Many who resisted Catholic emancipation, tooth and nail, now that it is a legal possession, would deprecate all attempts at its disturbance. Many of these, at the present time, are equally opposing the removal of Jewish disabilities; but will fully recognise it, when once it passes by law. Up to the time of concession, there is liberty of opinion as to the rights, expediency, and propriety of its being made; once given, all are ready to acquiesce. Now the very difference of opinion on this latter subject, shows that there may be great latitude of sentiment on religious toleration, without incurring the reproach of bigotry. No one calls Sir F. Thesiger, a narrow-minded illiberal man, because, having made up his mind that Jewish emancipation would *unchristianize* the constitution, he resists it. Should theirs become vested rights by law, he no doubt will accept the constitution in its new modification. If therefore a person considered that the introduction of Protestantism into an exclusively Catholic state would as much alter the religious character of its people, as the admission of the Jewish element would, in Sir Frederick's opinion, the British constitution, if he believed that to *uncatholicize* it, was to deprive it of truth, of religious life, of the one faith in fine, he surely might, as consistently as that learned statesman, be opposed to its admission into that state, and to its participation in a liberty which could only be exercised to destruction. But that person might, with perfect consistency, hold, that where there was already a Protestant population existing, they should enjoy not merely toleration, but perfect equality of rights.

England acts upon this principle. Wherever she finds rights existing, she at least tolerates them. In the East she recognises the religious freedom, and protects the worship of Mohammedans, Hindoos, Parsees, and Buddhists; and when the Burmese are conquered, their talapoins will still flourish in British toleration. But were these various systems to send missionaries to England, and wish to erect temples and hideous idols, and worship them, and claim admission into the legislature, upon taking their oath to Mahomed and Termagaunt, we should probably find that a good distinction exists between toleration and full rights where they exist, and where they are claimed.

Or if this example appear a little *outré*, take the case

of Canada, or Malta, where the Catholic religion was found by us established, and at once was recognised in its full extent, while to Catholics at home were denied the common rights of citizens. The principle was clearly recognised, that there was great difference between rights in existence, and rights claimed; and that the one formed no rule for the other.

Further, let us observe that we are not a new body, nor an intrusive system. To say the least, the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, are co-existent with their Protestants; they certainly had once equal rights with those who *became* Protestants, till these took them from them, by the right of the strong, and kept them from them for some hundreds of years; and what is called their emancipation, was only a repeal of unjust and oppressive laws, and a restoration to rights once possessed, and unrighteously violated. But there is nothing parallel to this in Tuscany. And it does indeed seem something monstrous, to make the claims to equal rights, of seven or eight millions of citizens, (without the colonies), whose broad shoulders bear their share of public burthens, whose brawny arms till the soil, and whose strong hands wield the sword for their country, rest upon the same foundation as the rights of English Protestants, to disturb the religion of an Italian state. Yet to something very like this was my Lord Carlisle's appeal reducible. We were to be deemed to forfeit all claim to respect for tolerant opinions, unless we co-operated with Exeter-hall, in obtaining a sanction, through the Pope, from the Grand-Duke, for the introduction of Protestantism into Tuscany, where it did not exist.

It is time, however, that we conclude, by remarking that the Madiai case was only one part of our proposed theme. But it has carried us so far beyond our original intentions, that we must make up our minds either to suppress, or to reserve for another occasion, much that we have still to say.

While our paper has been going through the press, intelligence has reached this country, and has been officially communicated, by its leader to the House of Commons, that the "blessed" Madiai, as we believe a noble Earl calls them at meetings, have been set free, and were expected at Marseilles, no doubt on their way to England. We sincerely rejoiced on receiving this news. We could

not but pity the poor victims of others' malice, though legally convicted. The principle had been asserted, and that suffices, and a gracious act of that mercy which is doubly blessed, is in strict harmony with the character of the prince who has here exercised it. We are glad that it was not performed under the pressure of an impertinent interference, the most inconsistent on record; although probably the delay, caused by the necessity of not yielding to it, has prolonged the sufferings of its objects. For this they must thank their friends.

It now remains to be seen what will be the last act in the drama. Will good taste and good sense for once prevail in the counsels of Exeter-hall, and will these poor people be allowed to remain quiet, to enjoy the calm approval of their own consciences? Or do tea-parties, and prayer-meetings, and a round of visits through the country, to be exhibited on platforms, await them? We do not know. But there seems to be such a natural instinct in Protestantism, to spoil the best possible martyrdom, by showing it off, and what is worse, by taking care that it has its reward here, that we incline to the latter opinion. One curious speculation remains, which may, in the end cool the first enthusiasm of their reception. They have become Protestants; they will now have to choose their particular denomination. "What will they be?" is a question which many perhaps are already asking, and which, when answered by fact, may lead to many a conclusion, that their choice proves them not to have read their Bible profitably. For our own part, we have only one good wish and one prayer for them:—may God bring back their wandering steps to the right path, and by a sincere repentance, enable them to repair the sin and scandal of their apostacy!

ART. VIII.—*Finlason's Report of the Trial in the Queen v. Newman.*
London: Dolman.

IT was in our pages that the statements originally appeared, the republication of which by Dr. Newman,

led to the prosecution recently concluded. It cannot, therefore, but be expected that we should advert to a case which was virtually our own, and in which morally, if not legally, we were concerned: and we are prepared on the one hand to vindicate the moral necessity for the course we in common with Dr. Newman pursued; and on the other hand, to impeach the legal justice and expose the moral wickedness of the prosecution, which, had it not been wicked in its object and its aim, would assuredly have been instituted, not against Dr. Newman, but ourselves.

The simple fact that the charges, for republishing which Dr. Newman was prosecuted, had been published in our pages nearly a year and a half before, indicates the "moral" with which we design to "point our tale." On one occasion in the course of the prosecution, Mr. Justice Coleridge, in his zeal for—we were going to say his *client*—eagerly seized an opportunity to do away with the force of this damning fact. "Oh, (said his lordship,) many circumstances may prevent a man from instituting legal proceedings on the first publication; for instance, anonymousness, want of means," &c., &c., &c. The ingenuity of Mr. Justice Coleridge could invent no better excuses for so significant a *laches*; and our reader will appreciate them. As to *anonymousness*, a libel in a Quarterly Review is little less likely to be read than one in any publication with a name attached to it; and only the other day a general officer applied for an information against one of our contemporaries. It is idle to urge *that* as the reason, more especially, as we shall see, Achilli knew who the author of that article of ours was, and publicly alluded to it. Then as to want of means, it is equally idle: who found the funds for the prosecution when it *was* instituted? Who sat on the Bench during the trial, indicating (we might almost say) by "nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles," his lively interest in the proceeding, and his anticipation of a conclusion sufficiently penal for the illustrious controversialist under whose sarcasm he had so often writhed? Was it not the gentleman to whom Achilli so lovingly and touchingly alludes in his book, as his dear friend in the Lord, Sir Culling Smith? Ah, Sir Culling Smith is a man of much wealth, and more hatred of Popery, and of course has some friends of the same character, perhaps comprising Mr. Kinnaird, who has

lately exhibited in Parliament his sympathies with the Italian proselytisers of Protestant propagandism.* Were these worthies less wealthy in July, 1850, than in November, 1851? Was their bigotry less bitter, or their hatred against Popery less violent? Why were they then so silent on the former occasion, so rampant on the last? We will explain the enigma; one little allusion will be enough,—*Papal Aggression*. In 1851, the agitation against Popery raged, and then, and not till then, Achilli's patrons ventured to take him before a jury to "vindicate his character." In more respects than one it is important to look to the antecedents of the prosecution, and also to the antecedents of the publication. It is equally essential, in order to appreciate the moral necessity for the one, and the moral iniquity of the other. To estimate either, it is requisite to consider the account Achilli gave of his past career in the Church, and above all, to direct attention to the character of his book, which had not been published when we wrote our article in July, 1850, and of which a *second edition* had appeared shortly before the publication of Dr. Newman's Lectures in November, 1851. And farther, it is necessary to know the extent to which the calumnies in that book were accredited and accepted, among all classes of the Protestant community of this country.

This is the more requisite because we suppose few Catholics have condescended to read the wretched work; and that the few who may have done so can scarcely suspect the extent to which its impositions were eagerly swallowed by the greedy credulity of our incredulous brethren of the various Protestant "persuasions." And of course *without* being acquainted with this it would be impossible to understand the necessity for its practical refutation, by the publication of a correct account of the character and career of its unhappy author. And in-

* Is it a coincidence merely, that Lyons, Barnes, and Ellis—attornies for the prosecution—are the private attornies of Lord Lonsdale: the president of the council under Lord Derby, whose law officers, Sir F. Thesiger and Sir F. Kelly, were retained for the prosecutor? As it is notorious that Achilli did not find the means, this is surely significant, especially considering that Lord Derby's was essentially an anti-catholic administration, and that its organ was the *Herald*, also the organ of the Exeter Hall school,

directly this will at once exhibit an insight into the real causes of his erratic course, and also into the true reason of the degree in which he was patronized and defended, not only by Puritans but Anglicans, not merely in Exeter Hall but Westminster Hall, not only by Sir Culling and Lord Campbell but by Mr. Justice Coleridge.

These railers against their brethren who are for ever seeking to prove the sincerity of their Protestantism, by the malignity of their calumny, and who are constantly heaping upon the Catholic Church the most monstrous accusations; are for ever doomed to exemplify in their own actions this truth, that the quality of their morality is in proportion to the deficiency in charity; and they are constantly exhibiting in their own characters the very errors which they so cruelly impute to others. Thus, those anti-Catholic zealots who rave against the Holy Catholic Church as countenancing the diabolical maxim that "the end justifies the means," and with practically carrying it out by allowing of any crime but heresy, and excusing any enormity of immorality, for the sake of energy of orthodoxy, these unhappy persons have, ever since the Reformation, been perpetually presenting, on their own parts, the realization of their own accusations. Thus it was in the case of the Popish plot. Thus it was in the case of Titus Oates. Thus it was even in the case of Achilli. They have eagerly laid hold of *any* instrument to assail that Church which is the object of their insane hatred; and of any agency to inflame their animosity against Catholicism, which they mistake for Christianity. And in this frantic eagerness they have been utterly indifferent to the antecedents of their tools. They have stopped not to inquire, and even if they have *heard* cared not to reflect, but have recklessly employed any apostate who would assist them in their fell purpose of pandering to the fierce passions of a people perfectly *possessed* by the spirit of prejudice, against the Church which founded their Constitution and their Crown.

The more monstrous the calumnies which are volunteered, the more eagerly their convert is welcomed; and they seem to measure the sincerity of his conversion by the depth of his malignity. Yet the book itself would have aroused suspicion in the minds of any whose perceptions were not blinded by bigotry, and clouded by the heat of hatred. For what is his own account of his character and

career? Let us look at his picture, painted by his own hand, and read his history, written in his own words. Throughout, one trait will be clearly apparent, an overweening opinion of himself. He thus describes the commencement of his eventful career: "At the age of sixteen I had completed not only the courses of natural philosophy, of mathematics, natural history, and experimental philosophy, but also those of civil and criminal law. All this was before I entered the monastery of the Dominicans; they were rather proud of me." "At the age of *thirty* I was a maestro, to which high rank no one had ever before attained so early." Now this was about the year 1830, and the interval between the ages of sixteen and thirty he leaves in some obscurity, which is the more remarkable, since he discloses that *something* disagreeable had taken place; for he speaks of "evil reports" at this time, says Spaletti, the Vicar-General, "calumniated" him, and adds: "At the close of 1833, I was forced to surrender my professorship and leave Viterbo." What had taken place in that eventful interval?—Elsewhere he drops what may enlighten us. "While holding the head professorship of theology at Viterbo, and teaching with great zeal the Romish doctrine.....I was no longer a Papist, for I had long ceased to believe in many doctrines which are matters of faith in the Romish Church." Yet he says: "I am a sworn enemy to hypocrisy.....I had ceased to believe in the Mass. I was *like Luther* and many others, who no longer believed the Mass, and still continued to celebrate it." "*Like Luther!*" The parallel will be perceived in many points, and was recognized by the patrons of Achilli, in and out of the Court of Queen's Bench, from Sir Culling up to Lord Chief Justice Campbell.

It is curious to observe the moral blindness of the man. "I continued to celebrate mass with the show of devotion. I was perfectly persuaded of its imposture." Then soon after he says: "To me friars and priests savoured of imposture: and the more I advanced in spiritual light, the more I felt myself adverse to *such hypocrisy*." Spiritual light! "Why do you seldom attend choir?" asked one of the friars one day. "The rumour got abroad that I allowed every body to eat meat." "A confession of sins makes one melancholy." "Confession had at length become so odious to me, that I could no longer bear it myself, nor endure the practice of it in others. My understanding

began to be illuminated about that time; I began to be aware that we are not saved by our own merits, but by the merits of Christ, and that these merits are not imputed to us by the efficacy of the sacraments, but the virtue of faith." That is to say, the "spiritual light" he rejoiced in arose at the time he abandoned the sacraments, and disbelieved in the adorable sacrifice. We have two things to point out, particularly in his own confessions, as to the close of his career at Viterbo. First, that on his own acknowledgment, it could not have been for heresy, he was forced at the end of 1833 to leave that place, (for he says that he was openly teaching the Catholic faith with the greatest zeal,) and next, that it was about this period the crimes, of which he afterwards was accused, are alleged to have occurred: that is, exactly at the time when he discontinued the frequenting of the sacraments, and adopted the doctrine of justification by faith. Thus, then, at the end of 1833 he was "forced to surrender my professorship and leave Viterbo." Well, he went to Rome; and received what was plainly good and kind advice. "Cardinal Poledon said to me, 'May the Lord grant you much *humility*.'" He did not stay long at Rome; soon after he says: "In 1834 I preached the Lent Sermons at Monte Frasconi, whither the worthy Cardinal Velzi had invited me." Almost immediately another change occurs. He says it was proposed that he should visit various houses of the order in another part of Italy. "I accept the charge (he replied) willingly, to *serve the order*, and to do what is agreeable to you, Father General, and to my good friend the Provincial Brochetti, whom I revere as a father." Just before he had said: "Every day I felt my soul *further alienated* from the monks and their system." And a little after, he says of himself: "I am a severe *enemy to hypocrisy*." Why he felt his "soul alienated from the monks and their system," may be conceived from what he afterwards drops. Of "the good Brochetti," he thus speaks; "the good old man was daily at his prayers. He prayed even during the night. Whenever I found him in his room he was always repeating the Rosary. He was a firm upholder of the doctrine of St. Paul, that we are justified by grace through faith. He often read the Bible, and recommended others to read it. But one day finding me reading the New Testament, translated by Martin, he took it from me, smiling, and said, 'Let us make an ex-

change;' at the same time giving me a Latin version of the Vulgate." Such was a specimen of the men from whose system his soul felt alienated. We can easily believe it; and can imagine the anxious and affectionate solicitude with which the saintly old man regarded his scornful and self-sufficient coadjutor.

"My visitation (he says) kept me employed from the summer of 1834 until the February in the next year." Let it be recollected he had only left Viterbo at the end of 1833. To observe his *dates* is very instructive.

In Lent 1835 he is at Capua: "I was the guest of Cardinal Serra. He had invited me to preach the Lent Sermons." When he leaves, he says he was about to request from the Pope letters of secularization. "I wish to quit the order. I can no longer live among such people. So I left Capua. Cardinal Serra, on my taking leave of him, favoured me with two appointments;—one to confess *in perpetuo* in the whole of his diocese;" a curious appointment for a man about to leave the said diocese. From Capua he goes to Naples. Here he passes six years, among a people whom he characterized as monsters of depravity.

There in 1839 he was secularized, and seems by his own confession, to have lived a life certainly sufficiently the reverse of ascetic. He himself says, "I never had been really a monk. I occupied a handsome house; enjoying a little world of my own, and *living solely for myself*." *How* he was living, may be imagined; but he does not describe his life more particularly. In 1841 he is arrested by the Inquisition. We barely pause to point out a curious coincidence—that as he was forced to leave Viterbo soon after the cases of Valente and Rosa de Alessandris are alleged to have occurred, so he is arrested at Naples, just after the case of Principe, most certainly, upon his own admission, came before the Neapolitan police. After being liberated, he escapes to Corfù, and thence to Malta.

Here we stop to state that he was at once eagerly, and without enquiry, patronised by the proselytising class of Protestants, who would "compass sea and land" to make a convert, whether in Ireland or Italy; or rather to receive an apostate—without waiting to satisfy themselves whether he is a convert or only a renegade. No sooner had Achilli landed, than the Papal Consul claimed him (he alleged).

as guilty of enormous crimes. One would have thought this might have put his Protestant patrons on the scent and caused some enquiries. But no. He had strong statements to make against the Catholic Church. That was enough. Soon after he is installed as president of a Protestant college at Malta.

Of his character *there* let his Protestant patrons speak. They were compelled to dismiss him about the year 1847, and they shall give the continuation of his history. In 1848 appeared statements upon their part of which the following are extracts. They were willing enough ("for the credit of the Protestant religion," as Lord Shaftesbury afterwards said,) to let the conduct of their *protégé* be buried in oblivion. But he would not allow of it; and actually had the impudence to accuse them of harshness and want of zeal for the cause of Italian evangelization. This was too much for the charity of the Committee, and in their own defence they put forward these statements.

"Whilst they could not conceal from themselves that he had placed himself in a most equivocal position, by resisting investigation into the charges affecting his Italian friends, at the same time that he was himself the object of many grave personal accusations, yet now that the connexion was dissolved, the Committee would gladly have buried the past in oblivion; charitably making allowance for the demoralizing and tortuous influence of a Monastic Education, and hoping that wherein he had really erred, Dr. Achilli might be forgiven, and that his future circumspection might be sufficient to blot out the memory of alleged delinquencies. After Dr. Achilli's appointment, various unpleasant statements were made to the Committee as to his past history, which were submitted to him; but, as they were denied by him, and were not supported by any sufficient evidence, they were rejected by the Committee. It was not until he interposed to quash the investigation into charges affecting the moral character of several priests, by sending his friend Saccares into Italy, that the Committee resolved to have no connexion with him. Such a step was felt by the Committee to be an act requiring, apart from the consideration of any statement affecting his own character, his immediate removal from so responsible a situation."

Probably, our readers will consider it would have been far better had they made due enquiries before they placed him in such a position. There are now more reasons than one, however, for our requesting our readers to pay attention to these statements. The Committee continued;—

"It therefore becomes a matter, not of choice, but of necessity, to deal with Dr. Achilli's assertions without that reserve by which the council were influenced in their former statement, and to pronounce him, on evidence which cannot be gainsaid, a man guilty of advancing and repeating untruths: first, in regard to the cause of his dismissal, and next in regard to his services in the Malta College."

Let our readers carefully remark that all this was published (to the religious world, at least; i.e. the little religious world of the Italian Protestant proselytizers), as long ago as 1848: and was published by noblemen and gentlemen of the highest character.

"The Council feel assured that it will be impossible for unprejudiced enquirers to reconcile such double dealing with any regard to truth; Dr. Achilli had a full right to dispute the justice of the reason assigned in writing for his dismissal, although that reason has been since more than confirmed by his subsequent conduct. But at one time, by the suppression of the true reason and the substitution of a false one; at another time by shifting his ground and pleading total ignorance of this realm, he forfeited his character for truth."

"It will be seen therefore from the above statement that not one of the reasons put forth by Dr. Achilli as the true reason for his dismissal, has any foundation in fact; and that the true reasons are to be found in conduct, which they could not consider to be consistent with moral rectitude."

This Report was signed by Lord Ashley, M. P., Chairman, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl Waldgrave, G. A. Hamilton, Esq., M. P., and seven other Clergymen and Gentlemen of distinction in the Church of England. It was *not* signed, however, by Sir Culling Smith, who clung to Achilli with greater tenacity, of either bigotry or charity. The continuation of Achilli's history, about this time, is best told in his own words:

"It was about the end of the year 1848, whilst I was still in London, doubtful whether or not I should return to Italy, when the news arrived that Pope Pius had fled from Rome. I discerned a connection between a political event, known to every body, and a religious one, which was apparent to myself alone. The times were serious; they occasioned me to fall into profound meditation; and led me to offer up more fervent prayers to the Lord. I went about consulting my friends, and among others one whom I hold in the highest esteem and regard, Sir Culling Eardley Smith. I passed a day with him at his seat, Belvedere, near Erith. We were

both silent some minutes, considering whether it would be prudent for me to return to Rome. 'Oh, yes,' I exclaimed, 'the present is the very moment when it would be best for me to go. The Lord shall be my guide in all that I do.'—'Well, then go,' exclaimed my friend, after a pause; 'in order to obtain that guidance it must be the subject of prayer.' Upon which we both knelt down, &c. We both derived comfort from our prayers, and we felt it to be the will of Heaven that I should go to Rome. I made some further remarks on the subject, particularly that I considered it a providential circumstance that I was *not impeded by any arrangement with the Malta College, but was free in every respect.*"

Our readers will be perfectly able to appreciate the consummate coolness of all this, considering the mode in which he had been "freed" from "any arrangement with the Malta College; and the charges the Committee had published against him at this very time, and from which neither Achilli, nor his patron, Sir Culling, thought it in the least prudent that he should vindicate himself by any public proceeding. We do not dispute the *prudence* of these proceedings, but what are we to think of their sincerity? At the very moment when, according to Achilli's account, he and Sir Culling engaged in prayer for the Divine guidance preparatory to his being sent on an *evangelizing mission*, grave and serious charges were publicly and openly made against the moral character of Achilli by men like Lord Shaftesbury; and charges as to which neither Sir Culling nor Achilli deemed it prudent to take any effectual or judicial proceeding! Comment is needless! Such is Exeter Hall morality!

Well, in 1849 Achilli went to Rome on his evangelizing errand, on a mission derived from Sir Culling, and, we are happy to say, that in December, 1849, Achilli was again arrested by the Inquisition. In the January following he escaped by the connivance of the French, and came to London, where he commenced a course of lecturing and public speaking against the Catholic Church, her Prelates, and her Clergy, whose characters he everywhere assailed with the grossest and vilest invective. It was now that we felt it our duty to interpose; and it was in July of that year, 1850, our article was published.

It was, we repeat, in July, 1850, our article on Dr. Achilli was published. He ventured not to take any legal steps to vindicate his character. In an edition of his book, published in the same year, he *alluded* to it indeed as

written by Cardinal Wiseman, but no further notice was taken of it. It was reprinted in a separate form, and had a large circulation, still no notice was taken of it.

We have heard, from private sources, that Dr. Achilli was called upon by his patrons to *disprove* these charges; but that he declined to do more than *deny* them, which was a very different thing indeed, as nothing is more easy than *denial*, especially of what is alleged to have occurred abroad. He had, or if his conduct had been correct, ought to have had, friends at Capua, Naples, and Corfù; and certainly had relatives at Viterbo; and could surely have adduced some sort of "evidence to character," as it is called. So, we understood, thought the more honourable of his patrons, who were not at all satisfied, under such circumstances, with bare *denial*.

After the publication of our article in July, 1850, over he went to France, but there he was rapidly disposed of. M. de Corcelles, member of the National Assembly, published an article against him, which effectually exposed him; and as it appears the French law of libel is not quite so iniquitous as ours, Achilli did not venture to appeal to it, but betook himself back to England, whither he was the more encouraged to return, because, at the close of the year, the publication of the Papal Brief, reestablishing our hierarchy, had roused the whole country into an anti-Catholic agitation. Under cover of this excitement Achilli ventured once more to appear; and in December in that year wrote his book, "*Dealings with the Inquisition; or Papal Rome, her Priests and Jesuits.*" The very title betrayed the scope and secret object of the book; to fan the flames of vulgar prejudice and popular passion against the Church; and by means of this to prepare the way for revenging himself upon those who had come forward to exhibit him in his true colours to their countrymen.

The most violent feelings of rage, and the most vehement longings for revenge, breathe throughout the book; and the author exhausts every epithet of vituperation against all those whom he knew to have had any hand in setting forth his past character and career, and avail himself of every means to excite to the utmost prejudice or enmity against the Catholic Prelates, the Jesuits, and especially the court of Inquisition. Of course he took care to make the best of the prevailing epidemic, and pan-

dered to the passing passions of the period with great craft. Speaking of the hierarchy he said :

“ Could a greater insult be offered, or a mark of more supreme contempt? By it the Pope has turned the English Government into ridicule, ignored the Anglican Church, and declared that he alone is the spiritual head of the country ; and that he will govern it accordingly.”

Writing to the late Pope, the wretched man wrote in this strain of ribaldry :—

“ You deceive the people, when you, so avaricious, preach disinterestedness ; you so impure, chastity ; you, so vindictive, forgiveness ; you so insubordinate, submission ; you so turbulent, peace ; you so self-indulgent, temperance ; you so indolent, industry ; you so immoral, holiness.”

We ask pardon of our readers for transcribing this wicked trash ; but it is a necessary duty. It is hardly worth while to notice that the Pontiff thus spoken of as vindictive, is the same who *liberated* the wretched man from his deserved imprisonment ; and who, by his own showing, revealed in his regard all the benignity and charity of his character. What inconsistencies, however, would be observed by those who eagerly and greedily gulped down all his hideous accusations against “ Papal Rome, her Priests, and Jesuits?” The contradictions and absurdities of the book are “ gross and palpable.” For instance, he represents a Jesuit as minutely describing the machinations and artifices of his order, and gives a very detailed account of what passed at secret conclaves of the Inquisition. But his enmity was as marked as his inconsistency.

Considering the fever of excitement which there prevails, it is scarcely surprising that, by the early part of the next year, a second edition of this production should have been called for. All the organs of all classes and sects of Protestants were delighted with it ; they *ignored* all the antecedents of Achilli, and rivalled each other in the greediness of their credulity, and the cordiality of their approval. *Bell's Messenger*, speaking for the coarser sections of the middle classes, said :—

“ Dr. Achilli's most valuable book, which, independently of the most important information it contains, breathes a spirit of fervent piety and devotion, which no one but a man thoroughly convinced

of the truths of Christianity, as set forth in the only infallible Word of Truth, could have used."

And the *Standard of Freedom*, another weekly paper of the same stamp, said:—

"As illustrating the fearful course of popery, Dr. Achilli's book is very valuable. At the present crisis it deserves an extensive circulation."

The more philosophical and reflective *Spectator* said with sagacious sententiousness:—

"The book contains internal evidence of truth."

The liberal *Daily News*—liberal in everything but as respects religion, declared:—

"It is difficult to say what is most interesting—the history of his earlier doubts and misgivings, or of his conversions, imprisonments, and escapes in later years."

The *Atlas* was more elaborately eulogistical:—

"Among the many volumes which the recent Roman Catholic movement has called into existence, this work of Dr. Achilli's is likely to obtain the most permanent popularity. As an able and lucid digest against Popery, as a graphic description of many of the practices of the Romish Church, and as the record of the experience of a vigorous and enlightened mind, the work is one of the most valuable which the subject has called forth. There is in the generalities of our author's account a truthfulness, knowledge, and mastery of the subject, and opportunity of observation, which will go far to make his volume a standard work in defence of the principles of Protestantism."

These, however, were the criticisms of the merely secular organs of public opinion. It is more important to note what was said by its spiritual censors. The *Evangelical Magazine*, with characteristic mixture of cant and cunning, called it:—

"This valuable and seasonable volume."

The sturdy *Banner* pronounced more emphatically:—

"Dr. Achilli has done admirable service to the cause of ecclesiastical reformation by the illumination of a darkened world on this terrible subject."

The *Watchman*—the chosen champion of Wesleyan Methodism—with judicious caution, and wise reserve, said it was—

"Worthy on many accounts, and especially at this time, of our attention : and, we believe, also worthy of our trust."

The organ of the uncompromising nonconformists—the *Patriot*—let out the real secret of their delight with Achilli:—

"He comes as behind the scenes of Italian ecclesiastical life, retails its gossip, and reveals its weaknesses."

A more correct description of the whole spirit of that Protestantism—hating and hateful—dealing in calumny and accusation, and delighting in scandal and slander, could not be conceived. These, however, were the organs of the heterodox sections. The climax is to be discerned in the acknowledged organ of the orthodox Church of Englandism, equally clear from Puseyism and Puritanism. The *Church and State Gazette* thus delivered itself:—

"As a contribution to contemporary ecclesiastical history, we are disposed to recommend it most cordially."

"Rome endeavoured to dispose of her captive to the outer world by accusing him of pretty well every possible crime. The emissaries of Rome in this country have well seconded the bidding sent them from Italy : and one individual among us is said to have earned a dignity he enjoys by his unscrupulous dealing on baseless accusation against the reforming Dominican."

This, of course, refers to the article in our pages in July, 1850 ; and the passage has more bearings than one. It illustrates the spirit of the age and century in which it was written. It shows that the organs of the religious public were well aware of the charges against Achilli, and cared not to enquire into them, because he brought such horrible accusations against the Catholic Church. But something else is extremely remarkable in this book ; and that is the crafty and cunning way in which it attempted by anticipation to discredit and do away with the effect of the Judgment of the Inquisition, which the unhappy man,—expecting that there would be a republication of the accusations against him, and that then his patrons would institute a prosecution—foresaw would assuredly one day be adduced in evidence against him. Accordingly, it is the one great end of his book to excite odium against the Inquisition, its very title being "*Dealings with the Inquisition.*" Truly he had little need to do this ; for in his own language, true enough as to this country :—

"So universal is the present detestation of the Inquisition, that
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its *name* alone is sufficient to excite in the minds of all rational (query—irrational?) beings a sentiment of horror and repugnance little inferior to what Christians experience with respect to hell itself."

But he exerts his utmost ingenuity to excite this horror to the utmost.

"An actual hell seems to be at the command of the Church; and it may be known by the name of the Inquisition. With this difference, that with the idea of hell, however terrible, is associated that of eternal justice, which *punishes only sin*; while the Inquisition, based on extreme wickedness, strives to persecute virtue, and to *punish good actions*."

The secret object of all this will be perceived when the reader is reminded that, by the judgment of the Inquisition, he appeared to have been deprived for immorality; and he at the trial set up that it was for heresy.

"The Inquisition is truly a hell invented by priests. To unmask and destroy their infernal work is *the main object I have before me*."

No doubt this was true enough so far, that to destroy the credit of this damning document, the sentence of deprivation and perpetual suspension for shocking immorality, was the main object he had before him. Poor man! He knew one day it would speak trumpet-tongued against him; and we can conceive how earnestly he would labour to destroy it.

"This sacrilegious system teaches, that neither human reason nor divine authority, ought to stand in the way of its ends; that *if they are but faithful to the system it has formed, all imaginable sins will be pardoned*: but if they express an opinion adverse to this priestly sect, every species of malediction will be showered upon their heads."

The object of all this is transparent. Its meaning was, "Never mind if some day a judgment of this tribunal should be produced against me, reciting my confession of foul crimes. Don't believe it! The Inquisition tolerates every crime but heresy; and deems no depravity equal to that of unbelief; and discredit and discard it—treat it as a fiction a falsehood, and a fraud." We shall see how well he was seconded, and in what a servile spirit of imitation he was followed, not merely by the Journalists, but the Judges of the land! Again, in nothing is Achilli so anxious, as to raise suspicion against an alleged confession.

He affects to cite a book of practices of the Inquisition, thus:—

“The judge should do all in his power to induce the culprit to confess, since confession tends to the glory of God. And the respect due to the glory of God requires, that no attempt be omitted, *so the judge is bound to use force; and the choice of the most befitting means of torture is left to the judge.*”

He omits no opportunity of casting obloquy on the Inquisition.

“Would an honest man do for an Inquisitor? for dealing immoral acts, immoral agents are necessary. Does not an Inquisitor require to be one whose heart is hardened against every gentle and social feeling, so that he may not hesitate to commit barbarities which are unknown among the most savage nations? Are the torments which are employed at the present day at the Inquisition, all a fiction? I have heard these evil-minded persons lament, that their victims were treated with too much lenity. ‘What is your desire?’ I enquired of the Inquisitor of Spoleto. ‘Death to all heretics,’ answered he. Hand one to me of these people, a person however respectable, he must either deny his faith, or be burned alive. Is not this the spirit that *invariably actuates* the Inquisitors?”

But to one passage we particularly request attention, it so plainly betokens a “foregone conclusion,” as to the probable republication of the charges against him, and the prosecution which was intended:—

“See now the work of the Inquisition. It says to its coadjutor, You shall have a cardinal’s hat if you raise an outcry, right or wrong, against the heretic Achilli. But you must not call him heretic, because that term in England would not avail you; no, you must assert that he believes in nothing whatever; above all, you must say that he is an immoral man, addicted to all sorts of licentious habits, (a common case you well know, in such as take the oath of celibacy.) Say of him, whatever evil comes into your head; no matter about time or place. Say a great deal, that a part at least, may be believed. Relate suppositions or facts, and comment on your own statements. Cry out loudly, raise reports and give them publicity. Stick at nothing, hazard whatever may tend to destroy your adversary. What can he do to vindicate himself? Does he bring you into court? Shall you have to pay a fine?—double the amount will be raised to pay it. Are you thrown into prison?—call to mind the martyr of Turin.” (p. 88.)

It is quite clear, that Achilli and his patrons now eagerly awaited the opportunity for a prosecution. Towards the year 1851, the scene had changed, and circumstances

arose, which worked wonderfully in favour of Dr. Achilli. The "papal aggression" occurred, and we need not describe the anti-papal agitation which ensued. It amounted to a popular delirium; and the frenzy raged all through the following year, during which the "Titles' Bill" was passing through Parliament. In this state of things, anything that served to increase the excitement against Popery, was eagerly laid hold of by the press, and by the end of the year, all the vulgar prejudices against the Catholic Church, had been aroused into fiercest action.

A continuation of circumstances occurred to exasperate it. The case of Mr. Mather, at Florence; the case of Mr. Murray, at Rome; the case of the Madiai, in Tuscany; the establishment of the Catholic University, under the Presidency of Dr. Newman; and his unanswerable Lectures against Protestantism.

In November, this illustrious man published his Lectures, on the "*Difficulties of Protestantism.*" In one of them, he held up to scorn, with all his unrivalled power, and with well-merited severity, not so much merely the character and career of Achilli, as the conduct of his Protestant patrons.

The whole scope of the Lectures, and the context of the particular passage, equally showed that the illustrious controversialist was dealing with *Protestantism*; and the memorable passage which constituted the alleged libel, was an attack on Protestantism. It commenced thus:—"In the midst of outrages such as these, wiping its mouth, and turning up its eyes, and clasping its hands, it trudges to the Town Hall, to hear Dr. Achilli expose the Inquisition. The Protestant world flocks to hear him, because he has something to tell of the Catholic Church. It is his presence, which is the triumph of Protestantism."

All circumstances were favourable to the success of the conspiracy. The popular feeling was so excited, that they foresaw, whatever the evidence adduced against their protégé, he would be certain of a verdict. So now they ventured to what, in 1850, they durst not attempt. On the 4th Nov. 1851, Sir F. Thesiger moved for a conditional rule, for a criminal information. It was granted at once; the Lord Chief Justice eagerly evincing his anxiety to be impartial, by speaking of the composition of one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, as "*ribaldry.*" It is plain that the scope of the alleged libel, was

scorn for Protestantism, not ignorant, innocent, well-intentioned Protestantism; but bigotted, hypocritical, pharisaical, uncharitable Protestantism; the Protestantism of Exeter Hall; the Protestantism of *the patrons* of Achilli. They felt that its sting was for *them*. They *writhed* under it. They resolved on *revenge*. They took counsel with the lawyers. And they learnt that they might, by the English law of libel, very likely put Dr. Newman in prison, for publishing what he might not be able to prove.

Still there was something to go through first, and something which to ordinary persons would have appeared formidable. In order to obtain a rule for a criminal information for an alleged libel, it is requisite that the applicant shall make an affidavit, not only denying in the most explicit terms every crime charged against him, but likewise entering into such a truthful account of the transactions which led to the publication of the libel, as may show the Court that he is a fit subject for its extraordinary interposition, that, to use the expressive language of the law, "he came into court with clean hands," has a character to vindicate, and is resorting to this course for the purpose of vindicating it.

This affidavit was drawn by some able pleader; doubtless by Mr. Ellis, who had the high honour of being junior counsel to Achilli, and of prescribing the form in which he should swear to his innocence. It is to be presumed, of course, that there were laid before the learned gentleman, whoever he was, the Book of Achilli, and the publications of the Malta College Committee, as necessary portions of his instructions. In that book Achilli acknowledges that in 1833 he was forced to surrender his professorship, and to leave Viterbo. Yet the affidavit was drawn with this allegation, "that he hath never been deprived of his faculty to lecture!"

Again, the committee of the Malta College had, in 1848, published a Report, in which appeared the statements we have already cited, in which they had spoken of him as having been the object of "grave personal accusations as regarded his own conduct, as well as respected his frustrating an investigation into the immoralities imputed to Saccares," and his other brother apostates at the College. Their papers must have been before the pleader as part of his "Instructions;" for he sets out, in his affi-

davit, half of one of the passages we have cited, (the part referring to Saccares,) *suppressing the other part*, in which the conduct of Achilli himself is spoken of. These reports, we repeat, were *before the pleader*. Yet Achilli was allowed to swear in his affidavit that "it was not, to his knowledge, ever alleged that he was dismissed for any offence affecting his moral character, except so far as sending away Signor Saccares may be considered such an offence.

Again, in one of the letters of Achilli to the Committee, he speaks of his having sent Saccares away into Sicily. (I have need of Saccares on a mission, and he starts immediately.) Yet in the affidavit his pleader inserted this paragraph, "He hath always denied, and it is not true, that he sent away Saccares; but that he left voluntarily."

Once more; in the book it is plainly implied that he was suspended, yet in the affidavit he was made to swear that "he hath never been prohibited from preaching, or hearing confession." The gentleman who drew this affidavit, afterwards had the incredible audacity to cast suspicion on Dr. Newman's; and to insinuate that "a man who had passed his life in tracking his way through tortuous paths of subtle controversy," was likely to palter with his oath. The "tortuous paths of subtlety," in *special pleading*, appear to have been equally capable of perverting the perceptions.

Now Dr. Newman could most easily have disposed of the application for the rule, upon this affidavit alone, without at all entering into the merits of the case. There were several distinct grounds on which he could have reversed the application, according to the settled rules of the Court, in exercising its jurisdiction, in cases of criminal information for libel, without entering into the truth or falsehood of the charges. One of these grounds might have been that the charges were *stale*. They had been made a year and a half before, and published and republished, and with the full knowledge of Achilli.

This of itself has always been held an answer to an application for a criminal information, for the reason that it is an extraordinary remedy, obviously unnecessary when the applicant has lain by a long time.

Again: it is a rule that the applicant must disclose the whole truth, and that his application must be refused and dismissed, if his affidavit *suppress* very material facts.

Now, the applicant omitted all mention of the previous publication in the *Dublin Review*, expressly referred to in Dr. Newman's Lecture, and part and parcel of the alleged libel, set out in the affidavit.

Again: it is another invariable rule that the applicant must come with clean hands, and be himself without reproach in the controversy. Hence it had been held repeatedly that the conduct of the applicant must be looked to, and that the use of indecent language on his part, tending to provoke or irritate the defendant, deprived him of the right to the extraordinary remedy by criminal information.

Once more and above all, it is of course imperative that the applicant should state nothing falsely in his affidavit; for, of course, a person capable of perjury, or even of careless swearing, could not be a worthy subject for the extraordinary interposition of the Court, in order to protect his character. It is true that Dr. Newman was not in a condition (as Achilli well knew) to make or produce any affidavit supporting any of the charges by direct testimony; but there was his own book, which was inconsistent with one very important statement in the affidavit, and the publications of the Malta Committee inconsistent with another. These might have been verified by affidavits on the part of Dr. Newman; and if any one of these grounds might have been fatal to the application, assuredly the *combination* of them *must* have been so; and thus Dr. Newman would have been relieved from all liability to prove any of his charges. But Dr. Newman magnanimously determined not to get rid of the case in this way. He had not made the charges without believing them true; if they were true, he thought they were proveable; and if they were proveable, he thought that, for the sake of truth, they ought to be proved.

He ran a fearful risk here, however; a risk of which he was unconscious, as even his legal advisers were. In answer to a rule for a criminal information affidavits were admissible: on the *trial* everything must be proved by *witnesses*. Now, affidavits could be obtained obviously where witnesses could not. And his witnesses must, for the most part, be foreigners and females, who, of course, would be reluctant to take a long journey to testify against their own shame. Everything depended, therefore, upon his answering the application. If he failed there, it was morally impossible

but that he must finally fail—so far, at least, as legal liability was concerned.

Let us here look a little into the policy of the prosecution in resorting to criminal information instead of action or indictment. We shall see that the policy was crafty, cruel, and cowardly—contrasting strongly with the magnanimous conduct of Dr. Newman. In an *action*, Dr. Newman would have pleaded the truth—and *obtained a commission to examine witnesses abroad*, which, of course, could get over his every difficulty; and even if he failed, he could only be subjected to payment of damages; whereas, on indictment or information, he could be *imprisoned*. Then again, although on an indictment the truth could not be pleaded, it could be shown by *affidavit*, in mitigation of punishment; whereas, on an *information*, it could *not* be shown in mitigation—*because* it might be shown in answer to the *application* for it: and it is a rule in court that matter of *defence* cannot be shown in mitigation, nor on the other hand, matter of mitigation by way of defence. The prosecutors perceived, therefore, that if they could persuade the Court to refuse time to answer the application by *affidavit*, Dr. Newman must be defeated at the *trial* (as it was impossible to prove all his charges by *witnesses*) and then, upon being brought up in judgment, he could not, as he might, in regard to the application, if he had time to do so, show that the charges were *true*. Dr. Newman might easily have evaded the truth by swearing that he had taken the charges from another publication, and *believed* them true. But he desired to try the question of truth, provided only he had the opportunity of doing so. His magnanimous conduct was met in a spirit most malignant and mean. His application for time to answer the rule by affidavit was opposed with the utmost virulence, and refused upon the vilest grounds. He made an *affidavit* to the effect that he could not possibly answer the application without time,—but that he believed with *time* he *could*.

On the 20th of November, 1851, the *Morning Herald* published an article in the following terms:—

“ Our readers will have perceived a proceeding of Dr. Achilli to *vindicate his character* against certain alleged calumnies uttered of him by Dr. Newman. This reverend Divine—the well known John Henry Newman—thought fit to describe Dr. Achilli in the *grossest* and most contumelious terms. Dr. Achilli had *no sooner seen these*

attacks, than measures were taken (not saying by him) for appealing to the laws, in defence of his character, and he has solemnly declared the falsehood of their imputations, and has put his calumniators to the proof of their assertions."

No great evidence this of conscious innocence, since persons easily can "put to the proof" what they knew it is impossible to prove, and yet may be perfectly true, as the sequel will show. Achilli shrank from any attempt to *disprove* them by any other means than his own bare denial. The article proceeded thus:—

"Dr. Newman acted in what, in sporting phrase, is called *dung-hill style*."

Probably our readers will conceive this choice sentence as no unapt illustration of the peculiar species of "style" thus chastely referred to. However the article went on to something far more deadly.

"Dr. Newman's object is to *gain time*. He is sending, he says, to Rome, Capua, Corfu, and Malta. He expects affidavits from all these places to prove guilt of Dr. Achilli. *It may be that under the circumstances the Court will feel itself bound to grant the extension. We are not going to insinuate that Dr. Newman will be guilty of subornation of perjury.*

"In the original attack he was but the mouthpiece of Dr. Wiseman; and Dr. Wiseman will no doubt set the necessary engines to work in Italy, to accumulate the needful evidence for Dr. Achilli's discomfiture. Whether the sham Archbishop of Westminster will concern himself in the details, or will merely transfer the whole affair to one of his Italian correspondents, we cannot predict. *But of this we have a very strong conviction that there are in Italy and Genoa very many monks and priests who, for the Church's good, and to put down a heretic, would, without scruple, testify to any fact whatever that might have so desirable a tendency. And in this they would only be acting out the plain injunctions of many learned divines of their own Church.*"

Such was the language of the organ of ultra-Protestantism, the organ of Exeter Hall, the organ of Dr. Newman's prosecutors—such the scope and spirit of their instructions to counsel. And these instructions were followed with servile fidelity, not merely by the counsel, but the court. Sir F. Thesiger said, "considering who the parties were, and that one of them had turned *from*, and the other had turned *to*, the Church of Rome, affidavits could easily be procured in Italy from persons into whose character and conduct there would be no means of making enquiry." And Mr. Ellis, the gentleman who assisted Achilli with

all his acumen in drawing this affidavit already alluded to, surpassed his leader in insolence of insinuation; for he said, "Dr. Newman (who swore that he believed he should be able to obtain evidence of the truth of the charges,) did not swear that he believed them to be true! and he thought a different rule of construction of words and expressions must be applied where used by men who had passed their whole lives in tracking their way through tortuous paths of subtle controversy"—that is to say, in plain English—an eminent convert to Catholicism must be suspected of a disposition to prevaricate on oath, and of an inclination to suborn perjury for his own exculpation! and that when he swears that he believes he can obtain evidence of the truth of certain charges, it is to be supposed that he may mean false evidence! If it appear almost incredible that in an English court such indecency should have been tolerated, how much more incredible will it appear that it should actually have been upheld and approved by the court? The Lord Chief Justice said, "The affidavit comes to this, that Dr. Newman may have brought these charges, without any reason to believe that he had the means of proving them, and now he is to find some persons who will make affidavits in support of them." It will be perceived how precisely the Lord Chief Justice copies the ideas, almost the very expressions of the *Morning Herald*. Need more be said! But the Court went beyond the *Herald*.

The next day an article appeared on Dr. Newman's case.

"When we last wrote we feared that the precedents were in favour of Dr. Newman's application for time to send a roving commission to Italy, Corsica, &c. It turns out that there was no rule or precedent binding the Court, &c. Dr. Newman charged these crimes, it now appears, not on proof already in his possession, but on *supposition* that such proofs could be found."

It is plain from this passage that the *Herald* had been so satisfied of the reasonableness of the application of Dr. Newman, that it had expected it would be acceded to. It could hardly have been otherwise. Not long before, an information had been applied for against the proprietor of the *Herald* for a libel on M. Pacifico, purporting to be a letter from its correspondent in Greece, and the Court had given time to procure affidavits from Greece in answer to the

application. Now the case of Dr. Newman was not only precisely parallel to this, but even *stronger* in favour of a similar application; for the libel referred to the *Dublin Review* as his authority; and from the nature of the charges, they could only have been brought upon the authority of parties in Italy. It was apparent upon inspection of the libel that it must have been so; and, therefore, all that Dr. Newman could possibly depose to was, that he believed he could answer the application, if he had time to procure affidavits from Italy, just as the proprietor of the *Herald* had sworn that he believed he could obtain affidavits from Greece. In neither case could the parties have been the *original* authors of the libel—in neither case could they *personally* swear to the truth. The case of the *Herald*, therefore, was precisely in point, and we repeat, well might the *Herald* have anticipated that Dr. Newman's application would have been granted. But the Court out-Heroded the *Herald*! and they refused to permit Dr. Newman to procure affidavits in answer to the application. Of course they knew quite well that this decision virtually deprived him of all power of defence.

On the same day Sir F. Thesiger moved to make the rule for a criminal information absolute. Sir A. Cockburn said that after the refusal of the rule for time to answer the application, it was in vain to attempt to resist it. On the very same day the injunction issued in Chancery against the Redemptorists to restrain the ringing of their bells at Clapham.

On the same day, the 21st of November, an article appeared in the *Herald*, commencing thus:

"The struggle between Rome and England becomes daily more keen and deadly: the impunity which has been conceded to the Papal emissaries has stimulated their efforts and increased their audacity. Wiseman and Cullen have reached the *height of insolence and arrogance, &c.*"

Another article in the same number contained most inflammatory statements respecting the arrest of the Madiari, and others in Italy; and it went on thus:

"The worst case of all, however, is that of Cacce. His own wife betrayed him in the confessional, stating to her priest that he read the Bible. Such is the system which is now prevalent in Italy, and which we trust have in this country of Paul and Nicholas had their way."

Alluding to the case of Dr. Newman, the *Herald* ends thus:

"This is clear, that in bespattering Dr. Achilli with mud, the Romish advocates cannot avoid throwing some of it on their own Church. For it is not disputed that *long after the time when, according to Dr. Newman and Dr. Wiseman, he became steeped in many of the foulest crimes—he was promoted to high office in the Romish Church.* Could they prove, therefore, that these present charges are well-founded, they could at the same time establish the fact that a man may be promoted, honoured, and placed in posts of trust and confidence in that Church, who is all the while a *notorious* offender against all the laws of God and man. Such will be the result of their success should they succeed in blackening Dr. Achilli's character. But should they fail, they are then impaled on the other horn of the dilemma. It will then be seen, that men so highly trusted and honoured as Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Newman have been, have dared to stoop, for the purpose of injuring an opponent by the use of the foulest slanders that one man *ever* cast upon another. Their only apology will be ignorance of the facts, and that 'the end justifies the means,' What the British public and a British Court of law will say to their pleas, *remains to be seen.*"

The whole tone and spirit of this betokened in the prosecutors their sure confidence in an easy victory, and also betrays the *animus* and the motive of the prosecution, which was not the vindication of Achilli, but vengeance on his assailant; and that it was not so much the revenge of the protégé as of the patrons which was to be gratified. The reader will have remarked the *dilemma* in which they flattered themselves the prosecution would place the Church: whether Achilli were found guilty or acquitted they cared not, so far as he was concerned—what they cared for was to obtain revenge, and to cast odium on the Church, and they hoped that this would be the result in either event. It is palpable that they would never have considered Achilli's character worth their money; but they took counsel thus, with the subtle craft of the Pharisees of old: "If we get a verdict, we imprison our illustrious opponent, and brand the Catholic witnesses with perjury: if we fail as to the verdict, we shall yet succeed as to the result, by showing what iniquity is allowed to exist in the Church, even among her priests and religious. Either way we win, so win we must."

The confidence on the part of the prosecutors was quite

supported by the position of the case. When the Court refused Dr. Newman time to answer the rule for an information by affidavit, they knew that he could do so in that way, and in that way alone. Within a short time after the application was refused, and the information issued, he was in possession of affidavits, credibly attested, supporting the charges he had made, and proof of any one or more of the more serious charges, would have sufficed to discharge the rule. But at the trial no affidavits would be admissible, and everything would have to be proved by *witnesses*, and by the chicanery of special pleading the prosecutors hoped to compel him to prove *everything*. The Court sought to excuse the injustice of refusing him time to answer the rule by affidavit by saying that he might prove the truth of the libel at the trial—yes, if he could ; and it was perfectly clear that he could *not*. Supposing that all the charges were true, no one for a moment imagined that *all* the females unfortunately concerned would come forward and publish their shame. Probably the prosecutors and the Court fancied that *no one* would do so ; and every care was taken to impose upon the defendant the greatest possible burden of proof, and every possible difficulty of proof.

The libel comprised some sixteen separate charges, several at Viterbo, and one or two at Capua, at Naples, at Corfû, and in London. It was insisted by the prosecution that the defendant should state with the most precise certainty each specific case, not merely with place and time, but *name* ; (as if the name of a victim could matter !) and so vexatious and captious were the objections made to the pleas, that though first delivered in December, they were not finally completed until the 9th of February. The trial was expected to come on after the 16th of February, and Dr. Newman's witnesses had arrived. The prosecutors then resorted to every artifice, first to protract the pleadings, and next to postpone the trial, in the hope that the witnesses would not be able to wait ; or that Dr. Newman would not be able to find friends for the heavy expenses of their support. Thus, the trial not only was not brought on upon the 16th of February, but when Dr. Newman's attorneys applied to have it tried at Kingston, in March, the prosecutors refused ; and it did not ultimately come on until the end of June. During the interval, the prosecutors were employed in endeavouring to discover Dr. Newman's witnesses, and to induce them to withdraw.

To some degree they were successful, and several of the witnesses disappeared. A little incident afterwards sworn to as occurring in the interval, may serve to show the spirit of Achilli and his patrons, and how he was employed. He said to one of the witnesses, "Dr. Newman is a bad man, and *I hope to have him put in prison.*" And about the same time the *Globe* put forth a most malignant article, gloating on the prospect of the "*President of the Catholic University,*" (those were the words used) being immured in gaol! Such were the auspices under which the case was preparing for trial, slowly progressing through the "tortuous paths" of special pleading in which Mr. Badely was engaged in "subtle controversy" with Mr. Ellis. To have a clear idea of the case as it actually was tried, and of the grounds on which it was ultimately decided, it is necessary to observe the effect of the pleadings as finally settled.

The information alleged that a certain person, "the Coroner and Attorney of the Queen, who prosecutes for our said Lady the Queen, gave the court to understand the rejoined: that John Henry Newman, Doctor of Divinity, contriving, and wickedly and maliciously intending to injure and vilify one Giovanne Giacinto Achilli, and to bring him into great contempt, infamy, and disgrace, did falsely and maliciously compose and publish a certain scandalous and defamatory libel setting it forth." Now the gist of the information was as in all cases, either of information or action, that the defendant maliciously published a defamatory statement: such being the legal definition of a libel. Consequently the plea of not guilty (the general issue) denied these two ingredients of the alleged offence; malice and defamation: and although ordinarily the malice is *prima facie* implied from the defamatory character of the libel, yet it is open to defendant under that plea to go into evidence to rebut this presumption, and repel the inference of malice. It is not for the plaintiff or prosecutor to prove, but it is open to the defendant to disprove the malice; without which, neither action nor prosecution can be sustained. We are the more anxious to draw attention to the issue and the question it raised—as it was altogether ignored at the trial.

Next there was the special plea of justification. Now here it is necessary to note, that the passage which formed the subject of complaint, contained many separate and

distinct allegations, each one of which was a distinct and separate libel. It is essential to observe this; for on this, the whole question, ultimately, will be found to turn. And as the Court treated the passage as one entire libel, instead of several distinct and separate libels, let us look at the law of the subject, as clearly and plainly laid down some years ago, in the Court of Common Pleas, in a case very similar, in this respect, to the present. The "*Times*" had alleged of a proctor, that he had been thrice suspended, once by Sir J. Nicholl, and twice by Lord Stowell.* The defendant, the publisher of the paper, pleaded separately as to one charge of suspension, that the plaintiff *had* been suspended by Sir J. Nicholl, at a time stated. The plaintiff objected to this, that it was no answer to the charge, which was *three* suspensions. The imputation (it was said) consisted of a single assertion, which was indivisible. But the Court said, this was not so, and the late lamented Lord Chief Justice Tindal, thus stated the law, and the common sense of the subject: "The charge is *severable*; and defendant may prove a *part* of it true. When it is *not* so, the defendant must prove the full extent of the charge. On a charge of murder for instance, it would be no plea to allege, that manslaughter had been committed. But when the defendant says, that the plaintiff was suspended three times, it is no more than saying he was suspended once on such a day—once on such another day—and once on a third day; and there can be no doubt, he may confine his justification, to *one* of those days." So Mr. Justice Park said:—"The imputation complained of, has in effect, *three dates*: for as Lord Stowell and Sir J. Nicholl do not sit in the same Court, the alleged suspension must have taken place at *different times*: and so in the case of a man being charged with stealing three horses, he may justify as to one." So Mr. Justice Bosanquet said:—"The suspensions must have been in themselves *separate acts*." The same principle was recognised in the same court some years afterwards, when Lord Chief Justice Tindal stated the rule thus: "There can be no doubt that a defendant may justify part only of a libel containing *several distinct charges*."† And the principle has since been affirmed in

* Clarkson v. Lauson, 6, Bingham's Reports.

† Clark v. Taylor, 2, Bingham's New cases.

the Court of Exchequer,* having been already admitted in the Court of Queen's Bench, in these terms: "That where an alleged libel is *divisible*, one part may be justified separately from the rest."† All this applied plainly to the present case; for the passage complained of was obviously "*divisible*," and contained several "*distinct charges*," accusing Achilli of "*separate acts*" committed at "*different times*." Every test laid down by the Courts in the cases cited, shows that there were "*distinct charges*," each of which could be *separately justified*, so that if the defendant could prove a part of them, he would succeed as to so much, and be answerable only as to the rest.

There were several cases, each alleged with a specific time, as having occurred at Viterbo, and the neighbourhood. There were two cases alleged at Capua, and one at Naples. There was also a charge as to an alleged police report at Naples. There was a case alleged at Corfù, and also a charge as to a proceeding in a court of justice there. There was then a charge as to Malta; and there were general charges which let in evidence, of cases occurring anywhere. Lastly, there were two charges of suspension or deprivation—one as to lectureship; the other as to the priesthood; in this latter respect the case being precisely parallel to that of the proctor already alluded to, of whom it was alleged that he had been thrice suspended; a statement held to involve as many distinct charges. ‡

* M'Gregor v Gregory, 11, Meason and Welsby.

† Mountney v. Walter, 2, Barn. & Adolphus.

‡ It has always been settled law, that where there are distinct or *divisible* charges in the declaration, and distinct or *divisible* defences and a general denial thereof, there are distinct issues raised, and upon which distinct verdicts are to be entered, whether there be one plea or more. In the reign of Elizabeth it was held that in an action charging defendant with entering plaintiff's fields, there being a single plea justifying the entries into all, the justification was so divisible, and so much a distinct answer to each charge, that there could be a separate reply to each (Prettyman, v. Lawrence, Croke's Reports, temp. Eliz.) And from even an earlier period it has been the common course to plead one plea to such a declaration, and to reply one replication, (in the precise form used in Dr. Newman's case,) a general denial, and upon this a *separate issue* has been always held to be raised on every separate "*close*," so that if defendant proves his plea as to some, and not as to the others, he had a verdict as to the former and not as to the latter.

This being the nature of the libel, or rather the series of libels—set forth in the information the defendant pleaded, what in point of form was one plea (just as in point of form the libel was one libel), but in substance and effect was a

It was so long ago as the reign of James, laid down by Chief Baron Rolle, one of our most learned lawyers, that in an action of trespass, the declaration complaining that defendant entered the plaintiff's land with horses and dogs, a single plea to the whole giving a distinct answer as to each charge, and justifying the entry with horses on one ground and with dogs on another, was as if so many *several pleas* were pleaded. (*Rolle's Abridgment*, title, "Judgment.") And many years ago the court of common pleas decided that where an action was brought for trespasses on divers days and times, there might be a single plea of justification, which would nevertheless be so much a distinct plea as to each charge that there might be separate replies to each part of it. (*Taylor, v. Smith*, 7 Taunton, 156.)

Within the last twenty years it has been held in the Court of Queen's Bench, that in an action for taking several articles at one time, exactly analogous to that of publishing several libellous charges at one time, a *single* plea justifying the taking *enures as a several plea in respect of each article*, the replication being exactly in the form of that used in Dr. Newman's case, a general denial, *Vivian, v. Jenkins*, 3 Adolphus and Ellis's Reports, 741. And see *Chatty on Pleading*, vol. i. p. 680, Seventh Edition.

Further, it has been held very lately, that even on a single charge of entering a *single* field, and a general plea as to the whole, with a general reply denying it, if the defendant prove it as to *part* of the field, provided it be the part in which the trespass was committed, the verdict is to be for him. (*Smith, v. Royston*, 8 Meeson and Welsby, 381.) In a later case, where the plaintiff declared on two bills, and the defendant, in *one* plea, pleaded that they were obtained by fraud, and the plaintiff replied, generally denying this, the defendant was allowed to have a verdict as to one, as proving his plea thereto. (*Wood, v. Peyton*, 12 Meeson and Welsby's Reports.)

The only case in which the least colour has been given to a contrary doctrine, is that in which to distinct trespasses the defendant pleaded one plea of license, alleging that he did this "with the leave of the plaintiff," on which—the replication being the same as in the present case—the court felt it was necessary to prove the license of all the trespasses. (*Barnes, v. Hunt*, 11 East's Reports, 456.) But there the court expressly based their decision on the ground that *the license was an entire defence*, and it was afterwards laid down that the case was *only an authority in the case of a plea of license*. Per Littledale, J., (*Bowen, v. Jenken*, 6, Adolphus and Ellis's

series of pleas—justifying each charge by a separate and distinct justification: as, that at Viterbo at such a time Achilli had committed such an act: at Capua another: at Naples, another, and so forth; each answer being necessarily as separate and distinct as the charge to which it was pleaded: and then the prosecutor in reply denied each and all of these answers to be true, and put all of them in issue.*

It is necessary here to note that the names were not given on the libel: and of course must be immaterial: except for the purpose of affording information to the prosecutor of the specific cases that were to be brought forward: and of course the defendant was only bound to give the information to the extent to which he himself possessed it. Hence, in more than one instance, Dr. Newman did, and in all might (if the fact had been so) aver that the name

Reports.) More lately it was said, "The case is *full of fallacies*, and it is doubtful whether it can stand." Per Patteson, J., (*Bracegirdle v. Peacock*, 15, Law Journal Reports, Q. B. 76.) And more recently still, the same learned judge said, speaking of a similar plea, "It sets out a general affirmative justification of all the acts done at different times, *not* by way of alleging one *single fact*, which could be an answer to them all, but by a general allegation, which *may* mean *either one license*, extending to all the acts, or *several licenses*, each confined to one or more of those acts. *The plea, therefore, is, in its nature, divisible.* Per Patteson, J., (*Adams v. Andrews*, 20, Law Journal (Q. B.) Reports.) So that the case never was an authority on the general principle, as to which it appears to have been overruled, and upon a reasoning quite confirming the doctrine here contended for, that on a single plea setting up distinct defences to a divisible declaration containing distinct charges, a general denial of the plea raises as many distinct issues as there are distinct defences to distinct charges, on each of which issues a separate verdict ought to be entered.

* It was settled centuries ago, and is laid down as "common learning" in all the books on pleading, that the form of replication adopted in Dr. Newman's case, can be replied even to several distinct pleas, and raises on each a separate and distinct issue, (*English v. Pellitory*, Croke's Reports, temp. Eliz.) and that it only raised a *single* issue where it denied a *single* answer, or cause of justification to a *single* charge. (*Crogate's case*, 8, Coke's Reports, 67.) It is *common practice* to reply it to several pleas, or to one plea, stating distinct defences, and in either case it is notorious that it raises divisible and distributive issues on which distinct verdicts are taken.

of the parties were to him unknown: and in the instances in which he inserted a name in the plea, the name was not the essence of the charge: and it would suffice to prove the same case, although the name might not be the same. It will be found of importance to observe this.

It was not until February the pleadings were completed, and the procrastinating artifices of Mr. Ellis exhausted. The trial might still have been brought on before the end of March at Kingston, where many London causes are tried, for the purpose of avoiding the delay arising from a postponement till the next term sittings. Dr. Newman's attorneys wrote to the prosecutors, proposing to try at Kingston, but they *declined doing so*. Their policy was still delay: as Dr. Newman had to support his witnesses, and the difficulty of inducing them to stay increased each day that passed. Meanwhile his attorneys had to write to the prosecutors, complaining of attempts to tamper with the witnesses for the defence.

On the 14th April, 1852, Sir A. Cockburn moved that an early day might be appointed for the trial. The application being supported by the opponent of Dr. Newman and of four of the witnesses, showing that "the witnesses were suffering serious losses by the delay of the trial, and the losses which would be increased by the delay mentioned; and that some of them would be compelled to return home, unless the cause were speedily heard, and that he should be deprived of his just defence." This, however, of course, so far from being a reason why the Court or the prosecutors should *accelerate* the trial, was just the reason why they should desire to delay it further. They declined to assist Dr. Newman to a speedy trial: the cause was delayed, and some of the witnesses had to leave.

In the meantime, concurrently with all these secret and private efforts, more open and public influence were at work to create prejudice against the defendant. For instance, in May, the following paragraph appeared in the organ of the prosecutors—the Herald:

"THE PERVERT NEWMAN.

"Father Newman, another "Saxon importation," delivered his first lecture on university education yesterday in the Rotunda.

His reverence, you are aware, is to be president of the proposed Roman Catholic University ; and his discourse yesterday was a kind of rehearsal to show his auditory how well qualified he is for the position which Primate Cullen has assigned him."

Nor was this all. Exeter Hall was once more invoked, and echoed and re-echoed all the vile and vulgar calumnies against the Catholic religion which malignity had ever invented. Here is a specimen, at a public meeting ; Mr. O'Malley, a Queen's Counsel, thus spoke :—

"He should not say much on the subject of convents ; he would merely say that he went a little further than his friend who had just spoken, because he doubted much whether conventual establishments were at all consistent with the spirit and principles of the constitution of England (loud and protracted cheering). He very much doubted whether any precautions in the way of inspection and examination could prevail to secure the liberty of the inmates of these convents, when he recollected that the persons who ruled over them, from the highest to the lowest, were persons who believed that, for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Church, falsehood and fraud were not only lawful but praiseworthy."

When these words were uttered and published, the case of Dr. Newman was expected to come on every day ; and it *did*, in fact, come on in a fortnight after. It is just possible that the Queen's Counsel, who put forward these shameless statements *had this in his mind at the time*. At all events he must have been well aware that the inevitable effect must have been to arouse the utmost prejudice against any Catholic evidence that might be adduced, and to create a disposition, upon the part of the public, to prejudge such evidence, upon the assumption that it would be perjured. In taking this course, Mr. O'Malley only took his cue from Lord Campbell, who, it will be recollected, had thrown out an insinuation that perchance Dr. Newman had brought forward charges he did not believe to be true, and was now about to attempt to maintain. There was a Christian charity in these pious attempts to prejudice the ear and pervert the jury by poisoning their words with the most malignant insinuations, which our readers will perfectly appreciate. All along we are most anxious to exhibit the spirit of Achilli's patrons and of the promoters of the prosecution ; and to show that the same spirit pervaded, not only the more immediate promoters and patrons, but the whole body of the haters of Popery.

On the 21st June, 1852, the case came on for trial, four

months after the time when it *ought* to have been tried and *could* have been tried ; but that the delay was designed to deprive the defence (as it did) of some of the witnesses ; and the management of the case, on the part of the prosecution, *in* court was perfectly of a piece with its management *out* of court. Sir F. Thesiger and Sir F. Kelly, the Attorney General and Solicitor General of Lord Derby's anti-Catholic government, the law officers, who drew the proclamation against the Catholic clergy (precisely on the model of the decree pronounced in France during the Reign of Terror, by an assembly of atheists and assassins),*—these gentlemen—both “good anti-Popery men”—were, appropriately enough, retained to conduct the prosecution : and on the bench—close to the Lord Chief Justice, who was trying the case—sat the real prosecutor, Sir Culling Smith: from time to time casting looks on the jury, as suggestive as he could make them. It was curious to observe how Sir Frederic described his client : as a person of great *self reliance*,—of a strong and determined will, “which makes him occasionally unwilling to submit to authority.” The counsel seem to have stumbled on a conclusion as to Achilli's character, not wholly unlike that which his pious preceptor had reached many years before, and expressed repeatedly in exhortations to humility. With admirable candour Sir Frederick kept wholly out of sight the previous publication of the charges, describing Dr. Newman as having published them the first time : and Dr. Achilli as in utter uncertainty as to the mode in which the charges were to be proved. He had shrewd suspicion that it was utterly *impossible* to prove them all ; except out of the mouth of Achilli himself : seeing that they must on a *trial* be proved by *witnesses* : and it was morally impossible that on *all* the charges *witnesses* could be producible. He therefore resolved to keep Achilli out of the witness box, until Dr. Newman had closed his case. This was contrary to the invariable practice in case of criminal information ; in which, even before Lord Campbell's Act allowed the defendant to plead and prove at the trial the truth of the charges ; and when therefore the *truth* was not legally in issue, the prosecutor was always put into the box by his counsel, to challenge cross examination and court the closest investi-

* See *Adolphus's History of England*, where the precedent may be seen.

gation. This obviously was the natural course to be pursued by a man who came into court to *clear his character*. Accordingly, it had always been pursued even under the old system of criminal information, when the truth of the charges was not the question. Now, however, it *was* the question: and Achilli's counsel shrunk from putting him into the box for examination, until they had seen how far Dr. Newman had evidence of witnesses to prove the charges. If Achilli were innocent of course it could not matter *when* he was examined: if, however, guilty of all or any of the charges, and he were examined before he knew what evidence Dr Newman had to prove them, he could not venture to deny them. His counsel, of course, acted according to their own convictions and suspicions, and their course was dictated, no doubt, by due considerations of prudence. It indicated that they had no confidence in their client's innocence; or otherwise they would not have taken a course which deprived the trial of any value as a test of *character*: for, as Achilli strictly put his accuser to the proof by witnesses, all that the result could show, was not what was true, but what was proveable, and proveable in a particular way: viz. by witnesses and by word of mouth. For, be it borne in mind, that ever since the close of 1851, Dr. Newman had been and was in possession of affidavits from all the witnesses who could not or would not come,—completing every part of his case. It was only, however, what he could prove by witnesses which was now receivable: and this Achilli and his counsel well knew.

The first witness called, the Rev. Mr. Giotte, (Father Vincent of the Broadway, Westminster,) was most important, not so much for any direct evidence he himself afforded, but because of his accounting for there not being more oral evidence, and showing how and why witnesses kept back. He has been at Viterbo; he had seen Rosa de Alessandris; he had asked her to come; she had declined; why? because she was *enceinte*. We beg attention to this. If she knew nothing of Achilli she would have said so; and asked, why should she come? Dr. Newman had her affidavit, but it was useless. Mr. Giotte further proved that there were charges against Achilli in the Bishop's Court, and that he had left suddenly. This was in 1833. It will be seen that it tallies with Achilli's own account, with the dates of the accusa-

tions as to Viterbo, and likewise with his own evidence at the trial.

Next came Valente, whose case occurred at Viterbo in 1830, and 1831. Sir F. Thesiger subjected her to a most severe cross-examination for *two hours*, yet not only did he not shake her in a single circumstance, but the universal opinion in court was, that her evidence was set up and strengthened by it. There was a curious confirmation of her story. She laid the scene at the house of a Madame Gentili, near Viterbo, at which she said Achilli was on a visit, in the month of October, 1830; and he was obliged to admit it, though he at first denied that *he was there at that time*. Let it be observed this was twenty-two years ago! And as Mr. Bramwell powerfully urged, how was it possible for her to have invented that coincidence after such a lapse of time!

He made much, however, of two points, that she had told her story only to her confessor, and that when asked to come and tell it in a public court, and she was naturally repugnant to testify her shame, the Priest said it was for the honour of the Church, and the glory of God, that she should do so; i. e., should speak the truth, although to her shame. It seems incredible that prejudice itself should see in this an incentive to perjury; but so it was, and the miserable insinuation was afterwards sanctioned by an English Judge!

This was all the oral evidence as to Viterbo, or the neighbourhood; and there was none as to Capua except Achilli's own admissions, afterwards elicited from a cross-examination. But the judgment, reciting his own confession, stated several cases at Viterbo, and the neighbourhood, and then at Capua, without names, but in number supporting the allegation in the libel.

Next came the case of Principe, at Naples, and there were there remarkable confirmation of her story; first, that she produced a certificate of admission to a confraternity at Viterbo, the registry of which was kept at the sacristy in question by Achilli himself; and who was obliged to admit this and that—the handwriting was his. Next the case had been brought before the police at Naples in 1840, shortly before Achilli was arrested by the Inquisition. Her story was also confirmed by her mother, and afterwards by Achilli. They were terribly cross-examined; the first by Sir Frederick, the mother by Sir

Fitzroy; but nothing could be done with them. Sir F. Kelly, however, laid a trap for the old woman. He asked her how old she was? She said 59. How old were you when your daughter was born? *Venta-trenta*, (35) answered the poor woman in a bad Neapolitan *patois*; but the interpreter mistook her to say *venta cinqua*, (25.) This was enough for Sir Fitzroy; he took care not to call attention to it, and changed the subject, and it escaped observation. Had it been observed, Sir A. Cockburn would at once have asked the woman the question again, and cleared it up, (if necessary,) by producing the girl's baptismal certificate, which he had in his possession, but did not think it necessary to put in. The girl had stated that she was about fifteen in 1840, when the event occurred; if the old woman's answers were taken as thirty-five, this would be correct; if as twenty-five, it would be incorrect. Without allowing any opportunity for explanation, Sir Frederick put this down, and afterwards put it to the jury as a palpable proof of perjury.

While at Naples Achilli had been arrested by the Inquisition; and the judgment was put in, regularly proved, reciting his own confession of the cases at Viterbo, and Capua, and the one at Naples; and sentencing him to perpetual deprivation and suspension. Then a report of the police was proffered; but according to the rules of the law of England, it was not strictly proved by the evidence of the police officer, and it was rejected.

Next, the scene shifted to Corfù. Signor Bocchiampo stated that he saw Achilli, in 1841, at Ancona; (this was after he had escaped from the Inquisition, who arrested him after the affair at Naples,) and that as the latter had no passport, he asked to be allowed to insert his name in the witness's. The witness added that Achilli had not enough to pay his passage. He had afterwards seen Achilli at Corfù, and Coribini's wife was living in his house. Patriciani, a jeweller at Corfù, had seen Achilli there, and knew Coribini's wife was a woman of bad character; he had also seen Achilli come out of Garramone's house at night when the husband was not at home.

Barga, a respectable armourer at Corfù, recollected Achilli coming there as a Catholic Priest. "But a few days after he appeared as a Protestant." He confirmed

the testimony of the other witnesses as to Coribini's wife. Then an honest sailor of Corfù, named Russo, gave evidence as to Garramone's wife; and the proceedings in the case were proved, and put in, as inserted in our article of July, 1850.

Next the scene changed to Zante, and Mr. Reynolds, the Protestant gentleman who had been for twenty-five years in the service of the British Crown, with a young lady, also a Protestant, who had lived in his family as a nursery governess, carried on the evidence as to Coribini's wife, who, it had already been proved, had left Corfù about the same time as Achilli, and appeared in Zante soon after he came there. No one will ever forget the scene, as described by Sir A. Cockburn, of Achilli's acting as Protestant parson, Coribini as the clerk, and his wife as doorkeeper.

Now the scene shifted once more to Malta; and there the difficulty was to prove that Achilli was dismissed for something more than the Committee had chosen to declare. The Earl of Shaftesbury stated the case thus: "The reasons that governed the Committee (in dismissing Achilli,) were these. We felt that if the whole matter were to become public, so great a scandal would be brought upon the College, that we felt, for the sake of the institution itself, for the sake of morality, and for the credit of the Protestant religion, there was nothing left for us but to break up the concern, get rid of the whole transaction, and wash our hands of so foul a business." This, of course, sufficiently showed that there had been something behind which was kept back; but the Earl either would not, or, by reason of Lord Campbell's repeated interruptions, could not distinctly disclose what this was; so that its nature was not positively proved; but its existence was; and that was what the libel alleged, that there was something which the Committee could not get themselves to describe. Lastly, the scene changed to London, of which we will not speak, further than to say that there were four witnesses, three Protestants and one Catholic; and of the former, *two* were confirmed, one by an aunt, and another by a sister, both most respectable women.

Such was the case against Achilli, on the plea of justification; and on the plea of not guilty, to disprove the malice, the *Dublin Review* was offered in evidence, but

was rejected by Lord Campbell without a moment's hesitation, although obviously admissible, according to the law, as laid down by himself forty years ago in his Reports; and as cited by himself only a few years ago, when arguing as Attorney-General in that very Court. Achilli's book, however, was put in; but by some unfortunate oversight, none of the numerous confirmations it afforded were read to the jury; so that virtually it went for nothing.

And now, after having waited to see what could be proved by witnesses against him—and having had their evidence carefully taken down in short-hand, and every night written out, so as to be read in the morning, Achilli now came into Court to be examined. Sir Frederic Thesiger first elicited from him, with great pomp, all the appointments he had received at Viterbo prior to 1833; but no appointment there appeared of a date subsequent to that fatal year; and though he carefully stated that he had returned to Viterbo in 1834; he also added that it was only for a few days, (as the dates already given from his book show,) and from that year, on his own showing, he had been continually changing his residence down to the still more fatal year of 1841. Confronted with Valente and Principe, he declared he had never seen them! Those who witnessed will never forget the scene! It made an indelible impression on all who were present. Asked if he had passed a month, in 1831, at the house of a Gentili, he declared he had not. Asked if he had known Rosa de Alessandris, he said, "I know *one*—a *nun*—she is older than I am." Even Sir Frederic could not stand this, and said somewhat sharply, "That is no answer." He replied again, "With her I could not commit sin, for she is shut up in a nunnery." Lord Campbell now was indignant, and said, "Answer the question." Not until thus pressed did he swear distinctly to a denial. And we need hardly remind our readers, that by the evidence of Mr. Giotte, it already had appeared that there were *two* Rosas; one being now a married woman.

Again, asked as to Principe—he denied having seen her; but when asked if he had been before the police on the subject of his charge, he said, "No; the Dominicans spread charges against me: I made no account of this, as is my custom. My friends, irritated at such proceedings,

tried to destroy the charges." As to Garramone's wife, he denied the charge, but admitted having been caught by the husband, speaking to the wife at eleven at night. As to Coriboni and his wife, he admitted having them in his service; and also that Reynolds had warned him of their character. As to Malta, he distinctly denied being implicated in any charges of criminality; so he is directly at issue with the Committee on that point. With regard to the judgment, he swore not only that there was no charge of immorality made against him before the Inquisition, but that it could not entertain such a charge!—a point on which he flatly contradicted the Bishop of Southwark, whose evidence completely satisfied Lord Campbell upon it. It is worthy of observation that Sir Frederic couched his questions carefully thus, "Were you ever to your face charged with criminal conduct?" as if a charge could not be made in writing. Asked if he had not confessed, he answered evasively, "Perhaps they might have asked me if I were content to throw myself upon their mercy, upon which supposition I should have answered, Yes." So it seems he was before the Inquisition on some charge. He distinctly swore that the charges were only as to his teaching; and that there were no charges of immorality; and that there was no sentence or judgment; a point on which the jury afterwards found flatly against him, as we shall see. Cross-examined by Sir A. Cockburn, he was compelled to admit that in the month of October, 1831—the very month named by Valenti, he had been visiting at the house of a Madame Gentili, who had married a Christopholi: but according to the Italian custom retained her own name. Then as to leaving Viterbo, he did not deny that there were charges against him by the Bishop's Vicar. As to Principe, he had to admit that his friends told him that she had made a charge against him, and that the case came before the police: but he still alleged that he had never seen her! and that he had never gone before the police to confront her!

The chief feature, however, of the cross-examination was this. Sir A. Cockburn asked Achilli as to Viterbo whether he had sinned in other cases than those specified; Sir Frederic objected, and Lord Campbell ruled that he was not bound to answer; on which he declined doing so. This, however, was not all. The question as to Capua and Naples, was put in another form; and was not as to

other women than those specified ; but as to "any women," or "several women ;"—he still declined to answer: and the Lord Chief Justice allowed him to decline. Yet the privilege did not at all apply to the question in that form ; for *non constat*, but that they were the very women mentioned in the plea : as to whom, of course, Achilli was bound to answer. However, answer he did not ; and when the question in this form was put even as to London : which was, of course, long after his marriage, still he declined to answer, and availed himself of his privilege.

Achilli produced several witnesses. One was a Dr. Pogge, another converted priest, who is now principal in a Protestant educational establishment, at Seacombe, near Liverpool. He was, he said, at Viterbo from 1831, to June, 1833, and was in the convent in which Achilli was : but though he knew he was "universally esteemed," he was obliged to add that he heard things against him, and that the bishop did not like him. The witness created considerable amusement, and supplied a significant test as to the value of these "conversions," by declining to answer as to when he "left the Church of Rome." Poor Lord Campbell said, "I cannot conceive what objection you can have to answer that." No ; but the witness could ; and we can. The next witness, another converted friar from Viterbo, could merely say that he knew nothing against Achilli. This poor man had a most miserable aspect, and said he came over here originally, "engaged by a society to evangelize foreigners during the great exhibition," and that at present he was private secretary to Father Gavazzi ! Poor man ! Then came Garramone's wife, a tawdry looking creature, with white kid gloves and mincing manners ; who flatly contradicted Achilli himself in the most flagrant way. It is not worth saying anything more of her ; nor anything of poor Mrs. Achilli, except that she was asked by Sir F. Thesiger, if Sarah Wood, one of the London witnesses, was a Catholic, and answered : "I think she was : she would not eat meat on Wednesday or Friday." One of the finest points in Sir A. Cockburn's eloquent address was on this : "Good heavens ! (he exclaimed with generous indignation) is it because a girl has a book with a cross on it that she is not to be believed upon her oath ?" Sir F. Thesiger, however, unabashed by this indignant rebuke, deliberately embodied his insinuation in these words in his address to the jury : "It is plain how these

charges have been got up. Get the servants of every house one has been in : if Catholic all the better !” Yes, but they were not Catholics. Three out of the four servants were Protestants ; poor Sarah Wood was a Puseyite, and had been mistaken by her mistress for a Papist ; she had been at an asylum near Windsor, conducted by a very pious and charitably disposed lady of tractarian persuasions. The prosecutor’s counsel were puzzled to devise a theory on which all the evidence against him was to be got rid of. Of course the Italian witnesses were easily disposed of before a “ British jury.” “ They are Italians,” said Sir Frederic with a killing sneer, who even if they have failed in the truth for the honour of the Church, and the glory of God, are likely to obtain from their tender-hearted confessors a very easy absolution.” Sir Frederick had studied the speeches of Exeter-hall, and imbibed their spirit. As to the judgment of the Inquisition, he maintained it was a “ scandalous fabrication,” and that it had been “ got up to suit the charges at the trial.” Now its seal was attested by Cardinal Antonelli, a copy had been procured through Monsignor Talbot : and the Cardinals who composed the court are venerated through Christendom, and characterized even by Lord Campbell (who is rather proud of having been at Rome) as eminent for learning and piety. There are the parties whom Sir Frederic Thesiger was allowed to accuse of a conspiracy to commit forgery and suborn perjury !

Now let us come to the charge. Before doing so, let us notice that the Lord Chief Justice had settled this beforehand ; that the charges in the libel were so far separate and distinct, that he could easily direct the jury to sever them for the purpose of pronouncing an opinion upon the proof given as to each.

We will now endeavour to do justice to this celebrated charge, and to exhibit clearly the conduct of Lord Campbell at the outset.

1. He told the jury this, that Dr. Newman had “ acted rashly and recklessly in asserting a number of things of which he could have no personal knowledge.” A very admirable observation this to a jury already obviously prejudiced ; an observation actually prejudging the whole question at issue, which was whether the charges were not only true, but proved to be true. And the principle laid down by the Lord Chief Justice was the most extraor-

dinary ever heard of. A man is acting rashly in asserting anything of which he can have no personal knowledge! Dr. Newman did not see the crimes committed, and so could not be warranted in asserting them to have been committed! Why on such a principle great crimes could never be proved; for, as Lord Coke says, "the nature of crime is secret." How many of the cases in which Lord Campbell has convicted prisoners were proved on personal testimony! Why his principle destroys the whole foundation of testimony! The Court of Inquisition had to act on testimony; could not Dr. Newman take theirs? The Court of Corfù had to act on testimony; could not Dr. Newman take theirs? So of the Maltese Committee; the judgment of the Inquisition; the proceedings at the Court at Corfù; the publication of the Malta College Committee; all these were known to Dr. Newman when he republished the statement which had been originally published in our own pages; why was he not entitled to credit them? Nay, the charges had been published and republished a year and a half before *he* republished them, and no proceedings taken to refute them; was not *that* in itself reasonable evidence for believing them? yet, after all this, the Lord Chief Justice said it was rash and reckless, because he could have no personal knowledge. Anything more rash and reckless never was said by a judge and it was sufficient to prevent any possibility of an impartial consideration of the case.

2. Lord Campbell, after having refused to receive the previous publication in evidence to disprove malice, now laid it down that the only question under the general issue was, whether the publication was *defamatory*; altogether ignoring the other element of malice.*

* It was long ago decided that an action could not lie for words innocently read as a story out of a book, however false and defamatory they may be. Thus where a clergyman in a sermon recited a story out of "Fox's Martyrology," that one Greenwood being a perjured person and great persecutor, had great plagues inflicted upon him, and was killed by the hand of God, whereas in truth he never was so plagued, and was himself actually present at that discourse. The words being delivered only as matter of history, and not with any intention to slander, it was adjudged for the defendant, the evidence of the prior publication having arisen *under the general issue of not guilty*. Greenwood's case cited by Coke in *Montague's* case, (Croke's Reports, temp. James, and in Campbell's Reports.)

3. As to the charges as to which there was no witness produced, he told the jury they might take it there was no evidence: although the judgment of the Inquisition recited a confession, and although the judgment was conclusive as to what it recited.

So in the reign of James I. it was solemnly resolved by all the judges of England, that "if A. *publish* he had heard B. say that C. was a thief or traitor, if the truth were so, that is, that B. did say so, A. could justify."* The same doctrine was held in the reign of Charles II.† There the plaintiff complained that defendant had declared some one had said so, and told him, and there the court held the action lay not, for that the plaintiff ought to have alleged that in fact no one had told the defendant so, and that the defendant might have pleaded that the other had told him so, which would have been a defence.

This law was recognised in the reign of Charles II., when it was held that under the general issue the defendant may show that the words were spoken through sorrow or concern, and not maliciously, and that the plaintiff thereupon shall be nonsuited. And the principle is cited as law by Mr. Justice Butler, in his great work on the law of *Nisi Prius*. Moreover, it is cited as law by John Campbell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in his "Reports," published in 1808, with these words; "It is settled that in such cases the evidence may be given, under the general issue, not guilty."

It is true that all these cases were cases of slander and not of libel, that is, not printed and published, but on principle no distinction is to be drawn between words spoken and words written, any more than between words written and words printed, as to which it was ruled so long ago as the reign of Charles II., that printing is nothing more than as if the party employed a clerk to write as many copies as he printed.‡ Hence Lord Coke uses the word "published." The difference is only in degree of malice; and though it has in modern times been said that printing involves greater deliberation, still if the circumstances should rebut the *prima facie* inferences of malice, the principle equally applies. What is more important to observe in these cases is, that the circumstances negatived actual malice, and of course they could be no authority for the malicious republication of scandalous matter. It is important to observe this, because the more modern cases are cases in which the republication has been admitted to be malicious, and without observing the distinction, it might be easily but erroneously imagined that the old law was overruled. At the close of the last cen-

* Lord Northampton's case, 12 Coke's Report.

† *Crauford, v. Middleton*, 1 Levinz, 82.

‡ *Lake, v. King*, Saunders' Reports.

4. As to Valente, he said her evidence was *unconfirmed*; though it *was* confirmed in the most remarkable manner by Achilli's original denial that he had visited, at the time and place she stated, a Madame Gentili, and by his subse-

tury a case occurred in which the defence was pleaded, admitting the malice, and the court held it of course bad, but quite supporting the principle of the law, for Lord Kenyon said, "The Earl of Northampton's case is in point. If a person say that such a person (naming him) told him certain slander, and that man did in fact tell him so, it is a good defence to an action to be brought by the person of whom the slander was spoken."* It is true that Lord Kenyon does not expressly put his decision on the distinction between admission and denial of the malice, but that is clearly the right reason, and relied on in later cases.

The principle had never been impeached until the commencement of the present century, and no attempt had been made to disturb it. Thus in a case in which the defendant admitted that he had published the slander maliciously, and knowing the falsehood,† this of course made all the difference in the world, and the court carefully abstained from overruling the old doctrine; and Lord Ellenborough laid it down distinctly, that "to maintain an action for libel there must be malice in the defendant," which in that case was apparent.

Some time after it was recognized that it was a very different thing to assert a fact as in the party's own knowledge, and to say that another whom he names has told him so, and that it raised a different defence.‡ It was not until about a quarter of a century ago that the Court of Common Pleas, then presided over by the late Lord Wynford, took upon itself to unsettle the settled law, as laid down by Coke, or to refine it away, by drawing a distinction between writing and speaking, which Coke does not draw, using the general word "publish." The court, however, there held only that the republication of a libel cannot be justified by merely showing it was a republication: and as we shall see, went no further than that. Some years afterwards the question was distinctly mooted in the Court of Queen's Bench: as to the republication of written slander. It was an action against the *Times* for copying a paragraph from a country paper: and the court held the pleas bad on this very ground, that it was not denied that the republication was malicious. Lord Tenterden said, "The defence is no answer to the charge of malice: which may exist in the case of repetition as well of invention. But if it be given in evidence under the general

* *Downes, v. Lewis*, 1 Term Reports.

† *Maitland, v. Goldney*, 2 East, 436.

‡ *Bell, v. Byrne*, 13 East.

quent admission on cross-examination that he *was* visiting a Madame Gentili at the precise period and the very place stated.

5. As to Rosa de Alessandris, he said, "Mr. Giotte

issue" (which denies the malice, whereas a special plea admits it)—"then the question whether it were repeated maliciously and from a design to slander, or not—would be left to the jury, who might then find their verdict upon it."*

So Mr. Justice Holroyd thus explained the distinction. "In actions for slander the truth may be pleaded as a defence. But that plea admits the malice, and notwithstanding this, justifies the publication. It is, however, a very different thing to justify the repetition of slander, by alleging as a plea in bar," (i. e. admitting the malice,) "that some other person originally was the author of it. For it does not follow that because a defendant may justify slander if true, he may also justify the repetition of slanderous words which are not true, if," (e. i. *merely because*,) "he has heard them from another person." Unless we go the length of holding that such a repetition would be justifiable, *even when spoken from a bad motive*, we cannot support the present pleas. In the case of the Earl of Northampton, Lord Coke does not say that it is lawful to repeat slander in all circumstances, but only that it may be justified under certain circumstances. If, for instance, he repeat it not with intention to defame, that may be so; but it is not laid down that a defendant may maliciously do so, and taking the whole altogether, it seems to me therefore that the proper way is to read the passage thus: "If I. S. publish on a *fair and justifiable occasion* that he hath heard J. W. say that J. G. was a traitor or thief, he can, if the truth be so," (i. e. that E. W. said so,) "justify." Mr. Justice Best agreed, adding that he was not prepared to say that the doctrine extended to written slander at all. The Lord Chief Justice, however, expressly abstained from determining *that*, and the other two judges do not advert to it, and put their decision entirely on the ground of malice.

A few years after, another case came before the Court of Common Pleas, over which Mr. Justice Best then presided. The question there again arose as to the republication of slanderous matter, but it was of matter which had never been previously written at all, and had been for the first time written and published by the defendant, who moreover admitted that it was done maliciously, of which, indeed, the very fact first stated was, under the circumstances, overwhelming evidence. The Lord Chief Justice presses this most powerfully as the reason of his judgment against the defence. "In the case of oral slander, (he says,) what has

* *Lewis v. Walter*, 4, Barnewall and Alderson's Reports.

stated he saw her and told her to come, but she would not," suppressing the reason she assigned; that she was enceinte. Comment upon this would be superfluous.

6. As to Principe, Lord Campbell never called attention

(only) been said, is known only to a few persons, but if the report be spread over the world by the means of the press, it may make an impression it may be impossible to erase;" an argument of course inapplicable, where all this has been done already, by a previous publication in print. And the Chief Justice evidently relies also, (as he must have done on a plea admitting the malice,) on the ground of the republication being malicious. "There is no allegation that defendant believed the statement to be true. If without any allegation that its contents were true, or that the publisher had any reason to believe them to be true, we were to hold that these pleas were a justification, we should establish a mode by which men may indulge themselves in ruining the characters of any persons they may be disposed to calumniate." With amusing inconsistency, the Lord Chief Justice goes on to show that this may, after all, be legally done, for he says, "If defendant could have proved that what he published was true, he might have put the truth of the libel on the record as his justification." However maliciously he might have published the libel, and however ruinous it might be to the plaintiff. This, however, we are not concerned with here, except as a passing compliment to the morality of English law. What we point out is, that the judgment in this case was rested mainly on the fact that the defendant was the first publisher of the libel in print, and did it maliciously.

The Chief Justice said, "Because one man does an unlawful act to any person—another is not to be permitted to do a similar act to the same person. Wrong is not to be justified by wrong." This was assuming that the second publication was wrongful: which, if malicious as well as defamatory, of course it would be: and the plea of justification admitted this.

"It can never be a justification, nor can the previous publication be even set up in mitigation of damages, without proof that the author believed it true, and had some reasonable cause for publishing it. What is our moral duty if we hear anything injurious to the reputation of another? If what we have been told does not concern the public—or the administration of justice—we are to lock it up in our own breast." That is—if it does "concern the public" and the republisher believes it to be true—he will have "some reasonable cause for publishing it:"* and so would not be liable to an action or information, which requires that there shall have been malicious defamation. Such is clearly the conclusion to

* *De Crespigny v. Wellesby*. 6, Bingham.

to the remarkable confirmation afforded by the fact that the girl produced a printed form of her admission into a confraternity of which Achilli kept the register, the handwriting in the certificate being his.

7. Lord Campbell did not direct attention to the still more remarkable fact, that although Achilli admitted that his friends had told him of the charge made by the girl before the police, he nevertheless alleged that he never saw her; and according to her own account, never ventured to confront her!

8. In the case of Garramone's wife at Corfù, Lord Campbell never remarked on the utter discrepancy between the account Achilli gave of the transaction, and the statement of his own witness, the woman herself!

9. As to the case of Coribini's wife, he never adverted to the evidence of Bocchiampo, Borga, and Patriciani; and while commenting somewhat severely on the evidence of Reynolds, never remarked that it was confirmed by those three witnesses, and still more by the governess, on whose testimony no imputation was cast.

10. Lord Campbell told the jury that the judgment of the supreme court of criminal jurisdiction of a sovereign

which this last case conducts us;—a very reasonable conclusion, in conformity with all the previous cases. And coupled with those cases—it seems to show that it is held, that the republication of a libel already in print, and not proved or admitted to have been malicious, is not actionable.

Here, however, the defendant did not deny that the republication was malicious, and moreover he was the first person who printed it: it having been previously in manuscript. And the Lord Chief Justice says, "The republication cannot be a justification without proof that the party believed it true, and had some reasonable ground for publishing it," implying that if this were proved, there could be an excuse. He went on to say, "Before printing it, he should have satisfied himself that it was true; and if he could have proved that what he published was true, he might have pleaded the truth as his justification." It may be observed that it is here admitted that if he happened to be able to prove its truth, however malicious might be his motive, he could justify the publication: which renders the reasoning not very consistent, for the decision was that, if defendant admitted the publication to be malicious, he could not justify it as a republication. That, however, is all that the case decided: and it has never been held that a republication of a libel previously printed, and without malice, is actionable. So that the old law in that respect is in full force.

and independent state was only strong evidence of such a judgment of deprivation having taken place, and not evidence of the grounds on which it was expressly declared to be founded, although it is settled law that such a judgment is conclusive, not only as to the fact of the sentence, but also of the grounds which it sets forth, and which cannot be controverted.*

* By our common law, where, upon an indictment, the party *confessed* his guilt, the confession was evidence in a civil proceeding, (27 Book of Assize, 7,) the reason being, that "a confession is stronger than a verdict." (*per* Shard, 7.) And in the time of Littleton it was laid down, that if a person indicted for an offence pleaded guilty to the charge, the record would be *conclusive* against him in an action of damages for the offence. (Year-book, 9 Henry VI. 60. 11 Henry IV. 65) And it was a principle of the law, that if an inferior court recorded as the reason of its decision a certain fact, that was not allowed to be controverted, provided the matter appeared to have been within the cognizance of the court. (27 Book of Assize, 19.) On this principle the judgments of the spiritual courts have always been held *conclusive* on matters within their jurisdiction. (Year-book, 34 Henry VI. 14. 11 Henry VII. 9.)

In the time of Lord Coke the law was thus laid down as to judgments of ecclesiastical courts: It was adjudged that a sentence in the Ecclesiastical court, annulling a marriage, was good and binding; and forasmuch as the consueance of the right of marriage belongs to the ecclesiastical court, and has given sentence in the case, the judges of our law ought (although it is against the reason of our law) to give faith and credit to their proceedings and sentences." (*Bunting's case*, IV. Coke's Reports, 29.) That there was no difference in this respect between the sentences of English and foreign ecclesiastical courts, appears from a remarkable case, *temp.* Charles II., of an appeal to Parliament against a sentence of the Court of Delegates in a matrimonial cause, wherein they had adjudged that Signora Angelina Margarita Gallina, a very lewd woman, was the appellant's lawful wife; the ground of the appeal being, that she had another husband living at Turin, and that though she had been divorced from him by a sentence of the Archbishop of Turin, that sentence was invalid. Lord Nottingham, however, stated his opinion that the sentence was not examinable in this country, and that the Court of Delegates had acted rightly in holding it conclusive. (*Ex parte Cottingham*, cited 2 Swanston's Reports, *in notis*, 326 from Lord Nottingham's MSS.)

This decision was afterwards recognized and affirmed by Lord Hardwicke, (*Boucher v. Laurence*, Cases *temp.* Hardw. 9.) and again in another case, in which the learned Judge said: "As to the fact of the marriage, it has been argued that it is valid, from its being

11. Lord Campbell allowed Achilli to controvert that judgment even on his own unsupported testimony, without even calling attention to the fact that it was the oath of the party accused !

established by the sentence of a court in France having proper jurisdiction ; and it is true that (if this be so) it is conclusive, whether in a foreign court or not." *Roach v. Garvan*, 1 Vesey Senior, 159. So where the defendant was proved, by a sentence in the ecclesiastical court, to have committed bigamy, the court refused to permit him to show that the sentence had been fraudulently obtained. *Prudham v. Phillipps*, Ambler's Reports, 763.

So in the time of Lord Holt it was decided, that what judges of a court of competent jurisdiction have decided cannot be controverted. Per Holt, C. J. *Groenvelt v. Burnell*, Salkeld's Reports, 396, and that on a common conviction it is enough if it appear on its face that an offence has been committed, and that there has been an adjudication of sentence by a court of competent jurisdiction. Bethel's case, Salkeld's reports. This eminent judge held a sentence of deprivation to be conclusive ; a decision ever afterwards upheld. *Phillips v. Bury*, 2 Term Reports. So on the other hand it was held, that a person who had been tried and acquitted in Spain on a charge of murder, might plead the acquittal here in bar. Hutchinson's case cited, 1 Shower's Reports, 6. On the same principle a conviction by a magistrate has always been held to be conclusive as to the facts it sets forth. *King v. Monkhouse*, Strange's Reports, 1184. So that they cannot be controverted. *Shepherd v. King*, 7 Term Reports, and a party is confined, even upon the question of jurisdiction, to the objections appearing on the face of the conviction. *Grey v. Cookson*, 16 East's Reports, upon which the sole question will be, whether the magistrate had jurisdiction ; *Wilson v. Weller*, 1 Broderip and Bingham's Reports, 13, and it was there held (for example), that it was no objection that an examination on oath did not appear. "It cannot be necessary in all cases to examine the parties on oath ; as for instance, where they agree on a statement of the facts," (per Richardson J., *ibid.* 13.) a distinction which obviously applies in the case of a confession. And the doctrine was recently recognized in the Court of Queen's Bench. *Re Hammond*, Law Journal Reports, Q. B. 1846.

On these principles it has long ago been settled, that sentences in foreign courts of admiralty are conclusive and incontrovertible on all matters they distinctly affirm. Per Mansfield C. J., *Bernardi v. Motteux*, Douglas' Reports, 577, Per Ellenborough, C. J., *Fisher v. Ogle*, 1 Campbell's Reports. And this doctrine was solemnly laid down in the House of Lords, half a century ago, *Lothian v. Henderson*, 3 Bosanquet and Puller's Reports, 516, where it was even carried further, and extended not only to what was specifically

12. Lord Campbell never called attention to the fact that, as the judgment recited a confession, and Achilli admitted a confession of some offence, and if it were heresy, the sentence could scarcely have been—after confession

stated, but what could be clearly collected. Per Laurence, J., *ibid.* p. 515. And it was distinctly decided that any fact alleged by the court as the reason of the judgment, must be taken to have existed; a decision affirmed by two such judges as Lord Ellenborough and Lord Eldon. (*ibid.*) The doctrine has again very recently been solemnly affirmed by the House of Lords, that the decision of a foreign court having competent jurisdiction, is conclusive as to the events. *Ricardo v. Garcias*, 12 Clarke and Finerty's Reports, 368. And it has been over and over again settled in recent cases, that the utmost our courts can do is to admit evidence not to re-open the merits, but to show that the sentence was obtained improperly, behind the back of the party, and in violation of natural justice, (*Reynolds v. Fenton*, 3 Common Bench Reports. *Henderson v. Henderson*, 6 Queen's Bench Reports,) which it has been held does not require any particular course of procedure: so that on the one hand it is not contrary to natural justice that a man who has agreed to receive a particular notice of a legal proceeding should be bound by a judgment in a cause where that particular mode of notification has been duly performed, even although he had not had actual notice of it. Per Alderson, J. *Veller v. Dumergue*, 9 Law Journal Reports (Exchequer), 1849. And on the other hand, "There is nothing in the absence of process contrary to natural justice, if there have been some kind of notice, as verbal notice; and whether a man be bound by the law of a foreign country is matter of law here and everywhere." Per Maule, J., *Bank of Australasia v. Harding*, 20 Law Journal Reports (Common Pleas), 1850. In a still more recent case, decided shortly before Dr. Newman's case came into court, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench laid the law down thus: in a case, (be it observed) in which, as in the other of the latter cases cited, the judgment was not of the same conclusive character as those which have before been referred to, but was only evidence of a cause of action which our courts were called upon to enforce. "It does not appear that it has ever been decided whether in a common action upon a foreign judgment, the merits of the case on which the foreign court has regularly adjudicated may be put in issue. Doubtless it is open to the party to show that the foreign court had not jurisdiction, or that he never was summoned to answer, and had no opportunity of making his defence, or that the judgment was fraudulently obtained. It is enough to say that the dicta against retrying the case are as strong as those in favour of it; and it must now be taken to have been decided in due manner against the defendant. How far it would be permitted to a defend-

and submission—a sentence of perpetual deprivation—there was serious inconsistency in his account of the transaction.

13. Lord Campbell made many observations in favour

ant to impeach the competence or integrity of a foreign court from which there is no appeal, it is unnecessary here to enquire. The documents by which the case was established in a distant quarter of the globe, may be lost or not forthcoming, and the witnesses who truly swore to it may be absent or dead, if the judgment given by a court in a foreign country leaving the cause to be tried here." Per Lord Campbell, C. J., *Bank of Australasia v. Nias*, Law Journal Reports, 20, Q. B. The force of this will be the more appreciated when it is recollected that it is applied to a judgment *not* of the class which has ever been held conclusive (i. e. *in rem*), and which was not merely given in evidence to show that a court decided a fact, but sued upon as a cause of action to be enforced by our judicature. The applicability of Lord Campbell's words, *à fortiori*, to the case of Dr. Newman, is apparent, and can require no further observation.

The same doctrine which is thus deduced from the cases decided is laid down in all our text books. Thus in one of the most ancient it is said, "Wherever a matter comes to be tried in a collateral way, the decree, sentence, or judgment of *any* court, ecclesiastical or civil, having competent jurisdiction, is conclusive evidence of such matter, and in the case the decree is final, it will be conclusive in any court." Buller's *Nisi Prius*, 244. So in one of the most recent, the law is thus stated, "A judgment *in rem*, i. e. an adjudication pronounced upon the *status* of some subject matter, by a court having competent authority, is *conclusive*: an adjudication on the *status* of a *person* is entitled to the conclusive effect of a judgment *in rem*; and the principal examples of such judgments occur in the admiralty and ecclesiastical courts, on which latter a sentence of deprivation is *in rem* and conclusive." Smith's *Leading Cases*, vol. ii. Notes to *Duchess of Kingston's Case*.

So another great authority says, "A judgment in a criminal proceeding is in the nature of a judgment *in rem*, and is, (with some exceptions,) conclusive as to all its consequences; and on this principle, all legal and authorized adjudications, as for instance, sentences of deprivation, are so. And the principle applies as much to foreign judgments, otherwise the sentences of foreign courts of admiralty could not be (as they are) conclusive here, for they are not courts of record. The principle is, that the fact has already been decided, and this equally extends to foreign judgments." (Starkie's *Evidence*, vol. i. pp. 231, 238, 239.) So another modern authority says, "The sentence of any foreign court of competent jurisdiction, directly deciding a question which was properly cognizable by the law of the country, seems to be conclusive here if the same

of Achilli—all of them fallacious or unfounded, but did not notice any of the numerous and serious matters of observation against him.

14. Especially Lord Campbell commented on Achilli's declining to deny having sinned in some cases at the various places, as to which he was asked the question, as a confirmation of his credit; without either observing that these cases might have been the cases charged, or remarking on Achilli's admission of having celebrated mass for years after being perfectly persuaded of its imposture.

15. Lord Campbell, by implication, sanctioned the monstrous theory of fraud, perjury, and forgery, set up by the prosecutor's counsel, and their wholesale insinuations against Catholics (whether lay or clerical) as being ready to commit perjury for the sake of the Church; for not only did he forbear to rebuke them, but expressly and emphatically declared his approbation of the conduct of counsel on both sides, as "worthy of the brightest days of the English bar!"

16. Lord Campbell never observed on the confirmation afforded in the evidence of independent and unconnected witnesses; such, for instance, as Dr. Bonavia and Mr. Reynolds—both of whom deposed to conversations with Achilli (one at Malta, the other at Zante) of a similar character.

17. Lord Campbell never alluded to the confirmations afforded to the evidence of two of the English witnesses by

question arose. So on a criminal charge—as for murder—committed in a foreign country, an acquittal in that country might be pleaded here to an indictment for the same offence. (Philipps on Evidence, p. 270.) This being so, Achilli, if he had been acquitted by the Court of Inquisition, could have pleaded the judgment in bar to a prosecution in this country; and of course in an action for libel, accusing him of the crime. Is not the converse equally clear, that having been convicted of the offence, he would be barred by the judgment from disputing the conviction recited to be on his own confession? If this be not so, in what position is an alleged libeller placed? If he cannot rely on the sentence of a court of competent jurisdiction—reciting a confession—what can be relied upon as reasonable evidence of an offence having been committed by the party accused? It is asserted as the result of this careful consideration of the cases, that no proposition of law could be more clearly proved, than that the judgment of the Court of Inquisition was conclusive and incontrovertible as to the facts it set forth.

the testimony of a respectable relative in each instance, while he carefully commented on each circumstance to their discredit.

18. Lord Campbell never called attention to the improbability of so many witnesses from different parts of the world—of various countries and opposite creeds—of all ranks and classes—combining together to make so many accusations against a particular individual.

19. Lord Campbell never observed on the moral impossibility of witnesses, inventing so many minute circumstances, as having occurred so many as ten or twenty years ago, in which they were not only not contradicted, but confirmed.

20. Lord Campbell never noticed the remarkable circumstance, that Achilli, although it had been proved that he had relatives at Viterbo, and means of communicating with Italy, and that he had actually “caused the movements of Dr. Newman’s friends to be watched;” had brought no witnesses except two fellow-apostates (one of whom said nothing, and the other confirmed the evidence against him) and one of the women, as to whom he was charged (who contradicted him flatly) and further, that he had brought no evidence to discredit either of the two Italian witnesses, though one of them lived in Viterbo, and the other in Naples all their lives.

21. In short, Lord Campbell made every conceivable observation, fair or unfair, in favour of Achilli, but not one fairly in favour of Dr. Newman; on the contrary, more than one most unfairly against him.

Such are some of the grounds of complaint against the Lord Chief justice of England on this occasion. He misrepresented the facts and the law; he neither stated the former fairly, nor the latter truly. Giving proper effect to what he said, it was impossible for the jury to find any other verdict than what they did, except perhaps that the evidence as to the case of Principe was too overpowering even for Lord Campbell, and he plainly told them that it was impossible that this could have been invented; implying, however, that the others probably were, or at least might have been. Coupling the suggestions carefully thrown out by Lord Campbell, on the granting of the rule, that Dr. Newman had made statements he did not believe, and had then fished for evidence to support them, with his present assertion that Dr. Newman had acted

rashly and recklessly in asserting things of which he could have no personal knowledge, and also with his declaration to the jury, that they might, if they pleased, reject the reasons recited by the judgment of the Court of Inquisition (that is to say, believe they were forgeries and interpolations, to suit the purpose of the defence) there was no substantial difference between the charge of Lord Campbell, and the speech of Sir Frederic Thesiger, any more than between the speech of the latter, and the speech of Mr. O'Malley at Exeter Hall, on the articles in the "*Herald*." In fact, there was a substantial identity between the charges of the Lord Campbell and the diatribes of the Rev. Mr. Cumming. The most bitter and most bigoted of Puritan and Presbyterian orators could desire nothing better than that which was expressed or implied in the charge of the Lord Chief Justice of England. It was impossible to expect that the jury should act otherwise than they did.

We need not express our own opinion upon this too memorable trial. The *Times* thus described it; expressing, we venture to say, the general opinion of the country.

"Time was, when, amidst the cheers of a brutal multitude—on the faith of the impossible and self-contradictory evidence of Oates, Bedloe, and Dangerfield—English juries consigned innocent men to death, and received from the Judge the shameful commendation that they had acted like good Protestants. Has the lapse of one hundred and seventy years entirely removed us from those narrow prejudices and cruel persecutions, which in the days of the Popish plot poisoned the pure fountains of justice, and affixed an indelible stigma on the character of a nation not habitually unfair or inhuman? Will the opinion of the educated classes in this country, and of the great European community, ratify the verdict which has absolved Dr. Achilli? The witnesses did not break down,—were not involved in any material contradiction,—and stated nothing in which there was any strong inherent improbability. They are simply set aside and disbelieved. Who can hope to be believed when such a mass of testimony is thrown aside as worthless? The principle upon which this case was decided would put an end to all proof by human testimony.

"We consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and Roman Catholics will have henceforth only too good reasons for asserting that there is no justice for them, in cases tending to arouse the Protestant feelings of Judges and Juries."

One would have thought that this was unanswerable, and that at last even the anti-Popery party would have

been abashed and ashamed, and withdrawn from their unprincipled prosecution, so that no attempt would have been made to enforce a verdict so worthless, or consummate a proceeding so iniquitous. Far otherwise; their enmity was unappeased; their impudence undaunted; and their own organ, the *Herald*, thus spoke:

“A word or two as to the late trial. We agree with the *Times*, and with all the rest of the press, that it involved a frightful exposure of real or fabricated immorality. But who is to blame for that exposure but the persons who made it necessary? Here are a couple of learned doctors, Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Newman, who have stooped to blacken the character of a brother clergyman, by charging him, in print, with a dozen acts of seduction and adultery. After long forbearance, he is at last compelled to bring the matter into court, and to call upon them to produce their proofs. They then bring, in support of these charges, a number of abandoned Italian women, whom the jury have shown that they disbelieve.”

A number of abandoned Italian women! There were only two Italian cases; and the women in both cases had lived within native homes since childhood, and are long since married, and ever since have lived in respectability and repute. And about all the rest of the witnesses were *English Protestants*. Malignity and mendacity could scarcely have been carried farther. But the writer proceeded.

“The verdict finally given, in truth, does much more than acquit Dr. Achilli. It implies the belief of the jury, that Dr. Newman’s abettors have plunged into the deepest mire of subornation, and have produced an array of witnesses brought to swear, ‘for the honour of the Church,’ all manner of falsehoods. This horrible guilt may be variously distributed; men may believe that Dr. Newman had nothing to do with getting up the defence. But his Church cannot evade the charge. Somebody has fetched these women from Italy, and has put into their mouths the most frightful charges, not one word of which could the jury credit. So that, in some way or other, the charge must be borne by the Popish party, that they first strove to crush Dr. Achilli by the weight of enormous slanders; and then endeavoured to maintain those slanders by the further guilt of deliberate and suborned perjury.”

It may seem almost useless to cite such revolting atrocities; but let not our readers be impatient; they will find it all relevant;—we will soon see this horrible calumny solemnly received and sanctioned by the grave and

dignified Judges of England! From the spirit and temper of this article, in the organ of the Protestant party, the real promoters of the prosecution, it was apparent that they would attempt to enforce the verdict, and, obtaining judgment, if possible pursue Dr. Newman to imprisonment. We can answer for it, that after the trial, the general feeling in Westminster Hall was that they would not venture to do so; so morally monstrous did the verdict appear. But they who thus thought did not judge the depth of anti-Catholic malignity, nor were they at all aware how far it had infected even the Judicial Bench. Had any one then said, that after months of reflection, the court of Queen's Bench would embody in their sentence the spirit which breathed throughout this atrocious article, he would have been deemed a calumniator.

The time came, however, when in the ensuing Terms judgment—if it was to be obtained—ought to be moved for; and still, until towards the end of the Term no movement was made on the part of the prosecution; so it was imagined by many that, after all, it would not be carried farther. This being so, it was not deemed necessary on the part of the defendant to move for a new trial, which ought properly, at least in civil cases, to be moved within the first four days of term. Probably the object of the prosecutors, in postponing their application for judgment so long, was to throw the defendant off his guard and induce him to delay the motion for a new trial (which it was anticipated was to be made) until the four days had elapsed; and then turn round and say he was too late: at all events, when on the 22nd November, Sir F. Thesiger moved to call Dr. Newman up for judgment, and Sir A. Cockburn rose to move for a new trial, the court took the objection; and, although for the sake of decency, Lord Campbell did not press it, at least two of the other three Judges did; and wished to throw overboard the question of justice on a point of pure technicality. It is well to observe this; as it indicated the animus in the mind of the court, and a desire to get rid of the case—as they ultimately did—on a question of *form*.

Sir A. Cockburn moved for a new trial—first, on the ground of the rejection of the *Dublin Review*, in which the charge was originally published; and, unfortunately, it was dealt with solely on the plea of justification, which admitted the republication to be malicious; and not upon

the plea of Not Guilty, which denied the malice, so that the authorities already alluded to could not be applicable. The Lord Chief Justice at once put it on the former plea; well knowing that upon that the evidence would not be admissible. He said, "When the issue is upon the *truth* of the charge, it would have been unfair to allow evidence that the charge had been made by some one else at a previous time:" which no doubt would be so. Why? Because on that issue the malice is admitted: and the defendant says, "Although I published the charges maliciously, I am justified by their truth, and their being for the public benefit." Of course, on that issue, a previous publication is irrelevant: whereas, on not guilty, which says, "the publication on my part was not malicious," the evidence would have been most relevant; for even where the truth has not been pleaded, a previous publication has always been held admissible, as diminishing the malice. Sir A. Cockburn, although an acute advocate, is not a profound lawyer nor a practiced pleader; so he did not perceive the distinction and fell into the snare, although he confined himself to the plea of justification; and *there* the Judges made an easy prey of him. "Why," said Mr. Justice Erle, with characteristic acumen, "your argument is, that the proof of a previous libel is a justification of your own!" This was assuming that in itself the republication was a libel, which must be assumed on the plea of justification, admitting it to have been malicious. The rule was refused on *that* ground.

The next ground was, the misdirection of the Lord Chief Justice to the judgment of the Court of Inquisition. And here again Sir A. Cockburn fell into a snare; and not being sufficiently acquainted with the weight of authority in favour of the proposition, that the judgment was conclusive and incontrovertible as to all that it alleged; only contended that the Lord Chief Justice was wrong in telling the jury that, though they ought to take it as strong evidence of a fact of deprivation, they were not bound to take it as proved that the sentence had been for immorality, but might assume it to have been for heresy. But Lord Campbell easily got over this, by declaring that he never told the jury that they *could* not find it proved that the sentence was for immorality, but only that they *need* not: in other words, that the judgment was not conclusive as to all that it alleged. Not arguing *that*, there-

fore, Sir Alexander in effect argued nothing. Lord Campbell said, "You must contend that we are bound to presume the whole of the allegations in it to be true." Sir A. Cockburn only said that it was *prima facie* evidence; but *prima facie* evidence may be answered, and the allegations in the judgment were answered, by Achilli's oath, that the charge was heresy, and not immorality. Hence unless the allegations were conclusive and incontrovertible evidence, the jury were at liberty to disbelieve and discard them, as they did; and the Lord Chief Justice could not be wrong in telling them that they might do so. Here again then the rule was refused.

Let it not be imagined that we are at all exculpating the Court at the expense of the advocate. The Judges are bound to know the law; and if, as we have shown, the law, on both these grounds, really required a new trial, they were bound to grant it; and were not relieved of their responsibility, or discharged of their duty, by the omission of counsel to furnish them with arguments for so doing; then, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that, according to the course of practice, only one counsel can be heard on moving for a new trial; so that Sir A. Cockburn had no one to assist him in his argument. Had his learned "juniors," Mr. Addison, and Mr. Badeley, been heard, the Court would have had from them, sound lawyers and experienced pleaders as they are, the arguments and authorities we have already adduced, in opposition to the law as laid down by the Court on both these grounds. And it may be mentioned here that, upon the arguments of the rule, (which, as we shall see, was granted on the ground of the verdict being against evidence,) Mr. Addison did attempt to argue the question of the effect of the judgment, and to adduce those authorities and arguments, but it was too late; on that ground the rule was refused; and Lord Campbell, with rudeness and discourtesy, put down the learned counsel, and would not permit him to proceed. Now we say, that what Mr. Addison knew to be the law, Lord Campbell was bound to know to be the law; and notwithstanding Sir A. Cockburn did not *show it to be so*, the Court ought to have ruled it to be so, or, at all events, allowed a rule, in order to have it argued.

The rule, however, was only allowed on the ground of the verdict being against evidence. But when it came on to be argued, the Court started a technical point to pre-

vent the new trial being allowed. They said, this is one plea of justification; a plea must be proved *in toto*; you confess you can only prove it in part; and that being so on a new trial, the result must legally be the same; for, admitting that you prove nineteen charges out of twenty—if you do not prove the twentieth, you must have the verdict entered against you; for only one verdict can be entered, as it is only one plea; and this being so, we cannot grant a new trial on the ground of the verdict being against evidence; when it is admitted that at the first trial, the verdict was, after all, according to the evidence in its legal result, (that the plea was not entirely proved,) although the opinions which led to that result, as to particular parts of the pleas, were against the evidence; and it is also admitted that this must be so at the next trial, on the same evidence.

Now this was a tissue of flagrant fallacies; misrepresentations both of the facts and of the law. In the first place, let it be observed, it treated the case as entirely dependent on the plea of justification. Now, though on the other plea of not guilty the rule had not been asked for, and of course not allowed, on the specific ground of rejection of evidence it had been granted on that plea, as well as on the other, on the ground of the verdict being against evidence. And although, upon the plea of justification, it was to be assumed that the judgment was not conclusive and incontrovertible, (for the rule had been refused on that ground,) yet in the next place, let it be remembered it was open to the defendant to argue, as the Court ought, without argument, to have observed, that *non constat* that another jury might not believe the judgment sufficient evidence, either on the plea of justification, of the charges being true, or on the plea of not guilty, of their not being malicious. For it was admitted that the jury were at liberty to believe the judgment; and if they did, it proved the charges true. And again, on the plea of not guilty, denying the malice, there could scarcely be stronger evidence to disprove malice, than the fact that the defendant had reasonable cause to believe the charges true; nor stronger evidence of that than the fact that they had been solemnly adjudged to be true by a Court of competent jurisdiction. As the absence of reasonable and probable cause is always evidence of malice, the existence of it is always evidence of want of malice.

But further, upon the plea of justification, the Court assumed what not only was not true, but was the reverse of the truth, in assuming that there was no other evidence to be adduced on a second trial. In the first place, it was part of the evidence in the case that some of the most important parts of the evidence on behalf of the defendant could not be brought forward on the first trial but might be in a second. For instance, it had been sworn that Rosa de Alisandris had only declined to come as a witness on account of her pregnancy; that Garramone had been obliged to return to Corfù by reason of the delay that had taken place, and that a copy of the Report of the Neapolitan Police had been obtained, and might have been received as evidence had the chief of Police been present to authenticate it; as he might be on a second trial. And as to the judgment of the Inquisition, it must have been obvious to the Court that, except on the assumption that it *was* what the prosecutors so scandalously suggested "a scandalous fabrication," there must be evidence available to support its genuineness and rebut his allegations, in controverting what it set forth. Nor was this all. For it had been called to the attention of the Court, that many admissions of Achilli in his book had not been read to the jury at the trial; but had escaped the observation of defendant's counsel amidst the mass of evidence adduced. In the face of all this, it was one of the most unwarrantable assumptions of a matter of fact ever attempted, to take it for granted, as the court did in discharging the rule, that no fresh or further evidence could be brought forward on a second trial!

Even assuming this, however, to have been so, and that Dr. Newman must ultimately have proved only a portion of his charges, the Court made an assumption of a matter of law not less unwarrantable, in assuming that the verdict must be against him, and that he was bound to prove the whole of his plea. This assumption proceeded upon the fallacy that because one plea in point of form, it was one plea in point of fact. We have shown that it was in substance and effect a series of pleas several and distinct, to as many several and distinct charges, on each of which there was raised several and distinct issues, and on each of which there ought consequently to have been a several and distinct verdict. The authorities we have already adduced for the

proposition, will be confirmed by the circumstance that the Court did not advert to any one of those numerous authorities, nor to any authority at all; except one, cited by Mr. Justice Erle, a case recently decided in the same court;* in which however the charge was one, relating to one transaction; although comprising several particulars; and even there Mr. Justice Erle had dissented from the rest of the court, and had been overruled, and he is not the least able nor the least learned of the Judges. Moreover the conclusion we contend for, is further confirmed by the admitted absurdity and injustice of the opposite doctrine; upheld by the Court, according to which, if twenty grievous charges were proved, and one unproved, and that comparatively insignificant; the verdict and judgment must be in favour of the prosecutor, thus shown to be covered with crime, and the defendant who had proved him so would be liable to fine and imprisonment. If as Lord Coke says, "the law is right reason;" this cannot be law, for it is unreasonable and unjust, and it is certainly, as we have seen, opposed to the regular course of law and pleading in all other cases; and to express decisions on this very case of libel; it being the unvarying rule, that on distinct defences to distinct charges there are distinct issues and verdicts. That this would have been so had the defendant pleaded in form separate pleas, Mr. Justice Coleridge admitted, and he said with *nisi prius* sharpness, "But you have *not* so pleaded," to which the answer was, that it mattered not a single straw; seeing that the distinction between one plea and several, as a question of mere form could not be of any consequence after verdict; when all matters of form are remedied. And, moreover, we have shown that if in substance the defences are distinct, the rule has always been the same as if they were so in form. Then Mr. Justice Wightman continually kept asking, "How could you enter the verdicts on the different charges?" to which the answer was, in the easy and ordinary form, thus: that, in 1830, at Viterbo the said Achilli did so and so as alleged in the plea; that in 1833, at Capua, the said Achilli did do so and so as alleged in the plea, and so forth; precisely as if there had been so many separate pleas. Really to put the case on this petty point of form was not very creditable to the Court. It was one, to say the truth, upon which they ap-

* *Biddulph v. Chamberlayne*, xvii, *Law Times*.

peared ashamed altogether to rely. So they eked it out by another point, if possible, more formal and technical. It was this. The act of parliament permitting the defendant in criminal information to plead the truth of the libel enacts, that if the jury find the plea not proved, the court might look at the evidence to see if it mitigated or aggravated the offence; that is to say, supposing the jury rightly find a plea not proved, the court may consider whether the evidence afforded a reasonable cause for publishing the libel, or whether it was so obviously insufficient as to show that there was no excuse for it. It is as plain as anything can be, that this enactment has nothing at all to do with a case in which the jury wrongly find a plea not proved, in which the defendant is entitled, at common law, to a new trial. And we have already proved that there were as many separate pleas as charges, and some, the court admitted, were proved; and all, the court ought to have seen, might be proved. Yet the court actually rode off upon this enactment, declaring that it prevented a new trial, in any case in which the evidence did not support the whole of the plea. This depended upon the assumption, the fallacy of which we have exposed, that the plea was one plea, instead of comprising several distinct pleas; and therefore, put in any possible way, the decision of the court, discharging the rule for a new trial, was not only purely formal and technical, but utterly fallacious in law and in fact.

Nor was this all. The jury had, after all, found one fact directly contrary to the solemn oath of the prosecutor. He had sworn twice—the first time in his affidavit, the second time at the trial, that he had not been sentenced to deprivation, the jury found that he had. Now a criminal information will not be granted if it be made to appear to the court that the applicant in the affidavit has mistated any material fact, and the trial is only a means of informing the mind of the court.

If, then, it appear at the trial that the jury find a material fact contrary to his oath, the court are in the same position as if this had clearly appeared upon the affidavit before the rule issued. It appears that the rule ought not to have issued, and it would not have issued, if the court had known this before. So plain is this, that in the course of the argument, Mr. Justice Coleridge himself stated it, and he asked the prosecutor's counsel to answer

the objection, and they could not; and the learned judge professed himself unable to see how the court could give judgment on a proceeding which they could see ought not to have been commenced. Yet, (it is scarcely credible) in the course of a few days, this judge concurred with the other judges in pronouncing judgment at the instance of such a prosecutor, on an information which the court would not have granted had they known at first what they knew now. Surely a court of justice was never so stultified.

The practical result was, that Dr. Newman had to pay all the costs of the prosecutor as well as his own. If our conclusions are correct, he ought to have had a verdict entered for him as Not Guilty, which would have discharged the jury on the plea of justification, or on that plea he ought to have had a verdict on each of the charges the court considered proved, either at the first or on a second trial, and on these verdicts to have not only not paid costs, but received costs from the prosecutor. And as the jury did find one of the Italian charges proved, (deprivation) and the court indicated that others ought to have been so found, and there the chief costs were incurred, of course the difference would have been enormous in point of expense.

And even had strict law required a judgment, it is clear from the circumstances, that it was a case only for a purely nominal sentence, (that is for a fine of one shilling,) instead of the infliction of a penalty of a hundred pounds, which, if not a serious, was certainly a "substantial" fine, in the estimation of the law; more especially as the learned Judge, in passing sentence, intimated that some of the grievous charges were proved; and that as to the rest the defendant had just ground for believing them true and reasonable excuse for bringing them forward.

Distinctly, then, do we impeach and impugn the conduct of the court at every step of the proceedings from first to last; distinctly do we dispute each of the three great points of law it decided; distinctly do we deny that at any stage of the case, Dr. Newman had the benefit of the law of England; and we deliberately affirm and defy any lawyer to contradict us—that every question of law was decided untruly and unjustly against him from first to last; and that throughout the whole of the proceedings law and justice were glaringly and grievously violated.

But now for the language in which the court, by the mouth of Mr. Justice Coleridge, expressed its opinions

upon the whole of the case ; after hearing it argued and reargued, after months of reflection and consideration ; and when deliberately and solemnly pronouncing the final adjudication. Throughout we have been anxious to direct attention rather to the spirit in which, and purposes for which, the prosecution was conducted, than its intrinsic merits: and we have all through shown the substantial identity of spirit between the prosecutors and the promoters of the prosecution ; between the patrons and their protégé ; between the counsel and the court, in a word, between Exeter Hall and Westminster Hall. We lament that this identity should have been exhibited to the last :—and that as we have shown already the resemblance between Lord Campbell and Dr. Cumming, so we must now exhibit the perfect harmony between Lord Campbell and Mr. Justice Coleridge. Nay, further, we shall show the harmony between the “Morning Herald,” as the organ of the ultra-Protestant party, and Mr. Justice Coleridge as the organ of the court of Queen’s Bench.

The Learned Judge commenced by intimating the opinion of the court that Dr. Newman had in substance been faultless.

“I speak the sentiments of every member of the court, when I say that we are satisfied that you honestly believed in the accusations you made, and that you are incapable of uttering or publishing what you believed to be untrue. And farther than that, the court are entirely of opinion that it was not a reckless or unthinking belief that you took up, but that you received a statement from one whose character you believed entitled to credit, and had made such enquiries as it was in your power to make ; and having known that the charges had been made many months before, and received no contradiction, you had good ground for the belief you entertained. Farther than this, it is fair to say that you published the charges from no personal malice towards Achilli, but because you believed he had assailed the religion you value above all things ; and that he came apparently with personal authority, and speaking as a witness and a participator in the transactions of which he spoke, and that therefore it was of extreme importance, especially at Birmingham, where you lived, to meet these charges by an exposition of his character, and by detracting from the authority they would otherwise receive.”

• Well, if all this were so—if there were reasonable ground for believing the charges, and no personal malice, and a fair and reasonable ground for publishing them, and they were republished from a former publication ; our readers

will wonder how, on earth, Dr. Newman could have been guilty on an information complaining that he "falsely and maliciously published a false and malicious libel." And we distinctly affirm, and defy any lawyer to disprove our assertion, that no instance but this can be adduced of a man being found guilty of a libel under such circumstances inasmuch as (first) it has never been held that an unmalicious republication of a libel previously printed, is actionable; and secondly, that a publication on such reasonable grounds, and for such a reasonable purpose, is not a libel at all. The learned judge, however, did not advert to that question; but as the court had done all along, carefully avoided it, and dealt with the case entirely upon this plea of justification, as to which he said,

"It was admitted that if the libel were true, it was for the benefit of the public that it should be published. This brings me to the question whether it were true."

Now what we should have supposed would be, that it was (as Mr. Badeley alleged in the plea) for the benefit of the public, that the matters in the libel should be published for the purpose of more effectually ascertaining the truth. However, we hasten to show how the learned judge dealt with the question of the truth of the charges. And how does he begin on that head? By adopting one of the most monstrous and malicious misrepresentations of the prosecutor's counsel!

"There was an extreme improbability in the story you put forward."

We pause to remark on the extreme inconsistency of this: for the learned judge had just before said that there were good and reasonable grounds for believing the truth of the story, which he now brands as improbable!

"How can I bring myself to believe that a man, not merely so wicked, but so notoriously wicked, as you said, should have been (as it appears unquestionably he was) caressed and honoured, and trusted with the most delicate employments in the Catholic Church, until he had lapsed from the faith?"

The sting of this lay in the last sentence. The first part of the passage insinuates that while Achilli was known to have been guilty of flagrant immorality he was caressed, and honoured, and trusted; and then it is insinuated that this would have continued so, had he not lapsed from

the faith! In other words, it is an insinuation that the Church connives at immorality, and is impatient only of heresy! These are almost the exact expressions of Achilli himself in his book. The insinuation was elaborately urged by Sir Fitzroy Kelly. It is now calmly sanctioned by Mr. Justice Coleridge! Need we say that the views taken of the facts is as false as the insinuation is malignant. It does not appear from the evidence that Achilli was ever caressed, and honoured, and trusted in any diocese, after he was discovered. The very reverse appears, as we have proved by the course of his life, as admitted in his book, that he was expelled from Viterbo directly after charges were made against him; he went to Capua, and was there only a short time; soon he was secularized; he went to Naples, and immediately after the affair of Principe came before the Police, he was perpetually suspended. It was utterly untrue, then, to say, that he was caressed and trusted while known to be guilty of immorality. And as to the insinuation of Mr. Justice Coleridge that it would have continued to be so had he not swerved from the faith, which implied, of course, that he had been deprived for heresy, and not for immorality, it assumed that the judgment was a scandalous fabrication, as Sir F. Thesiger asserted it to be; and as Achilli had in his book, by anticipation, insinuated it would be. So here are two monstrous and calumnious insinuations put forward by Achilli—adopted by Achilli's counsel—sanctioned and accepted by Mr. Justice Coleridge. Two of the worst and vilest of the calumnies of the Herald, sent forth from the judgment-seat by the Queen's Bench! That there might be no mistake as to his meaning, the learned Judge went on thus:—

“Another circumstance could not but arrest attention, which was, that the first witness who came from Italy was told to come for ‘the honour of the Church and the glory of God:’ venerable names! but none more likely to have induced uneducated witnesses to fall into error.”

That is to say, the telling a female who was to speak of her own shame, that it was proper she should do so for the honour of the Church, was calculated to induce her to swear untruly! This was Sir F. Thesiger's insinuation, and we are sorry to say, that in adopting it, Mr. Justice Coleridge condescended, as the counsel had done, to sup-

press the context ; which, as we see, gave the whole meaning to the expression, and made his observation upon it most unmeaning, except as a most unworthy and uncharitable insinuation. And then the learned Judge went on to say :—

“ Whatever difficulties Dr. Newman may have had in proving his charges, they were not so great as those which Achilli encountered in meeting them. A man who had left the Catholic Church under a sentence from the Court of Inquisition, would have found it impossible to induce any witnesses to come and defend his character.”

This, of course, again assumes (as Mr. Justice Coleridge chose to do all through) that the judgment, although reciting Achilli's confession of immoralities was really for heresy, and that the confession was an interpolation and a fabrication. Unless this were assumed, of course Achilli stood convicted on his own confession, of the chief of the crimes charged ; and it would be rather too much to expect that persons should come and testify in his favour. And in assuming that the judgment was a forgery, the learned Judge of course assuming that the evidence adduced in support of the charge was false and suborned. Thus, then, throughout, Mr. Justice Coleridge deliberately adopted the hideous theory of Sir F. Thesiger and Sir F. Kelly ; that there had been a huge fabric of falsehood constructed, by a horrible conspiracy of forgery and perjury, in order to crush a most moral, and most innocent heretic. We defy any one to point to any other conclusion from the premises Mr. Justice Coleridge assumes ; and it is a conclusion confirmed by the significant fact that though he exonerated Dr. Newman, he carefully abstained from exonerating any one else from the foul charges made against him by the prosecutor's counsel. Upon the argument of the new trial, Sir F. Thesiger and Sir F. Kelly had repeatedly and distinctly charged that some persons had been guilty of suborning perjury ; and he not only by silence, but insinuation, sanctioned this atrocious accusation, in the absence of the least shadow of extenuation, or excuse for it.

The remainder of Mr. Justice Coleridge's homily was directed to exculpate the Church of England from the charge of having been concerned with Achilli. It was not (he said) in her communion that Achilli was accused of these crimes. No, but it was “ in her communion”

that he was received, after having been accused of them. Of course we do not say that he was ever connected with the more respectable section of her communion; but he unquestionably was, with the more popular of the evangelical portion; and all along, until, and even after the trial, was upheld as their champion.

Mr. Justice Coleridge thought he made a hit at Dr. Newman by commenting severely on the tone of his strictures, and contrasting them with the milder temper of his controversial writings while he was in the Church of England. The obvious answer, however, would be, that Dr. Newman never had in controversy against the champions of the Catholic Church, to deal with men such as Achilli. Moreover, Mr. Justice Coleridge himself let it escape that the memorable passage which formed the subject of prosecution had excited the utmost irritation, not so much as an exposé of Achilli, as of Protestantism. The learned Judge said, "when I read that lecture, I felt great pain." We have not the least doubt of it. No Protestant could read that scorching and scathing denunciation of the hypocrisy of your "good anti-Popery men," the Exeter Hall haters of Popery, without feeling great pain.

And this brings us round, in our conclusion, to what we observed in our commencement, that this case illustrates far more than the character and career of Achilli. It illustrates the character of the religious class among whom he found patrons, who were the promoters of this prosecution; in short, the character of that class of Protestants, (alas too large a class,) who make their Protestantism to consist chiefly in an insane hatred of Catholicism. It shows that, as in the days of Titus Oates, so now, any character, however questionable, will be seized hold of, and converted into a champion of Protestantism, if he do but speak "strong things" against the Catholic Church, and tell stories of foul calumny against her Clergy and her religion. It reveals a marked appetite for calumny, a craving for it as the very meat and drink of Protestantism, and it means that this appetite is so greedy, that it is indifferent to the moral credulity or character of this agency, by which it is gratified. In short, it convicts the proselytizing and calumniating Protestantism, of the very sin of which it so falsely accuses the Church—of "doing evil, that good may come," and of being careless as to the means, in order to accomplish the end: even although the end be

one so unworthy, as the casting of obloquy on a large Christian community, and the *means* be so uncharitable, as wholesale, foul, and offensive calumny. It proves moreover, that the spirit of this species of Protestantism, is one of persecution; when it could not answer Dr. Newman's Lectures, it sought, by a cruel and unscrupulous use of the law to punish him; and inflicts imprisonment upon one with whom it could not cope in *argument*: and when it could not achieve refutation to attempt revenge. Nor is this all. The case shows that secret sympathy between all sects and classes of Protestantism, which their common enmity to the Catholic Church inspires. Just as we saw the organs of them all, Baptists and Pædo-Baptists, Independent and Presbyterians, Episcopalian and Evangelical, all uniting together, to hail and eulogise Achilli, so we see in the sequel of the affair—the Presbyterian Lord Campbell, in perfect accord with the Anglican Mr. Justice Coleridge, and the "*Herald*," equally the organ of Exeter Hall, and the exponent of Westminster Hall: speaking the sentiments of Sir Culling Smith, and anticipating the opinions of the Court of Queen's Bench. The very judges seem to have imbibed the spirit and spoken the language of their common hero Achilli. Even on the Judicial Bench, in the persons of Mr. Justice Coleridge, Mr. Justice Wightman, Lord Campbell, and Mr. Justice Erle, we see High-Church, Low-Church, No-Church, and Any-Church, represented in common antagonism and aversion to Catholicism. In vain did Mr. Justice Coleridge, at the close of the trial, elaborately endeavour to disembarass the Church of England from the odium of a connection, of which he felt naturally ashamed. The very anxiety he evinced on that head, betrayed the existence of what he sought to hide. If such a connection had never existed, why be so extremely anxious to disavow it? And even in the act of disavowing it, the learned Judge betrayed it, by disclosing a perfect identity of sentiment, and using a stubborn similarity of language, respecting the Catholic Church, her Prelates and her Clergy, between the sentiments he expressed, and the language used by Achilli himself. As the vilest things said by Achilli's Counsel, and the worst things written in the articles of the "*Herald*," were taken from his works, so Mr. Justice Coleridge, as we have shown, stooped to accept and sanction, and repeat

these worst and vilest things; the very *scum* of Achilli's calumnies, or the "*Herald's*" lies. Thus then Achilli found in the great body of the Evangelicals, patrons; in their organ, an advocate; in the flower of the English bar, imitators; upon the English Bench, copyists and approvers! Yes, the very pink and pattern of Judicial profundity; the most illustrious example of high Anglican Churchmanship could condescend, when assuming all his utmost dignity, in sentencing a defender of the Catholic Church for *libel*, to pick up and deck out his address, with some of the lowest insinuations of such men as Achilli. Need we say more! The case is a remarkable illustration of Protestantism, and will stand for ever—one of the blackest and foulest blots, even on the dark pages of the Judicial History of England.

We have been requested to draw the attention of the Catholic public to a Likeness of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, drawn on stone by Mr. J. H. Lynch, from a Daguerreotype Portrait by Kilburn, and published by Messrs. Burns and Lambert. We have great pleasure in doing so, and at the same time in calling attention to another Lithograph by Mr. Henry Doyle, which preceded it. Both are decided likenesses; but in each there are defects which partly arise from the peculiarities of the Lithographic Art. Mr. Doyle's likeness has lost, by the process of transfer to stone, some of the middle tints which the original Drawing possessed; the drawing of the features is admirably correct, but in consequence of this defect, there is a certain fulness about the face and hands, which injures the effect. Mr. Lynch, on the contrary, has given somewhat too hard and sharp a character to the features, and has copied too faithfully the unpleasant expression which a daguerreotype likeness always gives to the eyes. It is, nevertheless, a dignified and striking portrait; and much as we are indebted to both these gentlemen, it must be the universal desire that our great Cardinal should be handed down to posterity in a higher order of art; and we are glad to hear that Mr. Raphael Ward has nearly completed a most elaborate engraving in the mixed style, from a splendid likeness by Mr. Herbert, R.A., for which His Eminence gave a final sitting last year. These finishing touches have brought the likeness to perfection; and from what we have seen of the etching, added to Mr. Ward's well-known reputation as a painter and engraver, we may look forward to a *chef-d'œuvre* both of art and of resemblance.

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ART. I.—1. *The Life of Thomas Ken*, Bishop of Bath and Wells.
By a Layman. 8vo., Second Edition. Pickering, 1853.

2. *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*. By BISHOP KEN. From his
“Practice of Divine Love.” Pickering, 1852.

3. *Approach to the Holy Altar*. By BISHOP KEN. From his
“Manual of Prayer,” and “Practice of Divine Love.” Second
Edition. Pickering, 1852.

BISHOP KEN is, to our perception, the model man of the Establishment. We take him to have exhibited, more than any other who can be named, the lights at least, if not the shadows, of that body of which he was so eminent a son. Brought into greater prominence than the “gentle” Herbert, more energetic, and steering through more critical times, than the “judicious” Hooker, more definite in his teaching than Wilson, and with greater unction, rising above Andrewes and Taylor in his spirit of charity, he was also crowned with a more Catholic wisdom and breadth of view than animated many of his companions in the non-juring cause. To all this was added persecution, or what passed for such; fervid devotion, an asceticism beyond the general notions of his age, disinterestedness, active benevolence, simplicity of heart, and self-spoliation for conscience sake. No wonder if, with these qualifications, he should have cast over the system in which he worked, and whose best phase he represented, a halo that

lingered on through the dreary, semi-infidel generations that succeeded him.

Its brightness has been caught from afar upon the lenses of the modern Oxford divinity, and concentrated with their highest magnifying powers for the glorification of the Anglicanism that bred and claimed him. Ken re-appeared in their hour of need. He became a fact, though an isolated, disconnected one. He was a "sign of life," though buried for a century and a half, and without even an heir at law—unless some half-dozen learned theorists may be considered, like Alexander's generals, as joint-legatees, or the Vicar of Frome, be the phoenix risen from the ashes that repose outside his chancel. Appeal was made, silent on the part of doubters in their studies, articulate on that of pastors and teachers, from present laxity, supineness, or heretical opinion, to such a speaking embodiment of their contrary graces. Thomas Bath and Wells, whether in possession or deprived, was one of the answers kept ready for use against all uncomfortable misgivings, and those refractory symptoms of Protestantism which *would* obtrude themselves on minds too earnest, and too logical withal, not to appreciate their force, but too wedded to a position not to do battle against them to the utterance. If prelates and court chaplains dutifully omitted the Athanasian Creed, on a notification of the Royal will, yet Ken courageously withstood three successive sovereigns when they crossed his path of duty. If you might go from Whitechapel to Bayswater in vain quest of the daily service, Ken, in his curacy alike and in his palace, enforced it by precept and example. Did episcopal charges, did the common sense and universal voice of the country, unite in reprobating the practice of Anglican confessions? What matter? Ken was the spiritual director of the Lady Maynard, and records in her funeral sermon the care and devotion with which she used to approach the tribunal of penance. Can you have a misgiving of the soundness of the Anglican "branch?" Ken built his nest on it with all security, and sang from it most confidently and sweetly. Are your feelings perplexed about the claims of the great Roman communion? Ken did not hesitate to preach, to write, and to act against it; and even when self-excommunicated from the existing Anglican hierarchy, had no tendencies, no, not for one traitorous moment, towards submitting to Rome. Are you not

silenced by the example? Measure yourself against such a man as this. It is the bad workman who complains of his tools. A communion, with all its real or possible shortcomings, good enough for Bishop Ken, is surely good enough for you and for me. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

So reasons, among others, the author of the *Life* which stands as the title to our remarks. That it has exhausted a first edition is some proof (though a needless one) of the argument having found a response in the class of minds to which it was addressed. The Bishop was too goodly a plank not to serve as an effective life-buoy in the great shipwreck of Anglican confidence which has been passing under our eyes; and he is clung to with all the tenacity of barnacles, by some who have resolutely pre-determined that no *varit casus*, nor *tot discrimina rerum*, shall drive them upon the Latin shore.

In testing, therefore, the most specious form of Protestantism, as exhibited in the religious life of a character like that of Ken, we should be reversing the acknowledged rule which bids philosophers make their experiments "in corpore vili." On the contrary, we anatomize the very patriarch of the tribe. If anything could tend to make one hesitate whether black might not after all be white, a shadow substance, a schism the church, or heresy truth, it might be not the meanest argument, that the said shadow, schism, heresy, had been owned, adopted, lived for, and we may add died in, by one so tried, so gentle, so exemplary. "Being what thou art, would thou hadst been of us," is the aspiration with which a Catholic rises from the perusal of this book. The Anglicans are right in making much of Bishop Ken. He is their choice specimen, he seems to approach nearer than almost any of his communion to a Catholic type; and if ever the idea of one of the early Tracts for the Times were carried out, and we should live to see the birth of so grave an absurdity as a Post-Reformation office, he would have a primary claim to a collect, epistle, and gospel, of his own.

But the very fact of his pre-eminence tells in the opposite direction also. For if, in tracing the career of such a man, we see him arrive at one of those critical moments which test, and either crown or mar a character; if in some such juncture as forms the probation of a life, he signally fails under the trial; if when principle claims him, he shrinks back upon compromise, and retracts when he

should stand firm, and suffers the keen edge of truth to be blunted in his hands, lest his cotemporaries should fear to entrust him with the weapon ; then we have a melancholy spectacle which overturns our previous theorizing. This man, so eminent in many of the best natural qualities of the heart and soul, has (it seems) nothing after all to bear him up, amid the shock and conflict of human opinion. He has "no root in himself." He cannot trust truth, and the Author of truth, with the consequences of his stating it. He is obliged,—yes, even he—to trim, to recall, to adapt his belief ; and thus, when really brought to the standard, sinks visibly before our eyes into the dimensions of his fellow-men.

That we may not seem to be speaking vaguely, we will at once let his anonymous biographer introduce us to the following incidents in the life of Ken :

"The next edition (of his 'Manual of Prayers for the Scholars of Winchester,') is dated 1687 : this was after he became Bishop, and when his opinions were held by all to be a high authority in doctrine. It is said in the title, to be *Revised*, which expression deserves particular notice. Fortunately, the Manual did not escape censure during the life of the author. The Roman Catholics cited one passage as if it gave countenance to their Trent (!) doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. I say fortunately, because it called forth a valuable testimony of his faithfulness to the belief of the Anglican Church. He introduces this revised edition of 1687, by the following

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas, a late Popish pamphlet has injuriously affirmed that in a Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College, I have taught the Scholars of Winchester to invoke the whole court of Heaven, citing these words, page 93 : 'Help me then, O ye blessed host of Heaven,' &c. I think myself obliged to declare that by that apostrophe, I did no more intend the Popish invocation of saints and angels, than the holy Psalmist did, when he calls upon the sun, moon, and stars, fire, hail, and snow, &c., to praise God (Ps. 148). And to prevent all future misinterpretations, I have altered, not the sense, but the words of that paragraph ; and I do solemnly profess that I believe the invocation of saints and angels, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, to be 'a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God,' as Article XXII. of the Church of England styles it, to whose judgment I humbly submit.

" 'THO. Bath and Wells.' .

“The original and revised passages, when collated, will show the subject of the ‘injurious’ criticism, and its explanation.”

Ed. 1681.

“‘Help me, then, O blessed Host of Heaven, to celebrate that unknown Sorrow, that wonderful Love, which you yourselves so much admire; help me to praise my crucified Saviour.’

1687, Revised.

“‘O ye blessed Host of Heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner, adore and praise my crucified Saviour, who died for the sins of the world; adore and praise that unknown Sorrow, that wonderful Love, which you yourselves must needs admire.’

“Thus the Roman Catholic writers of the day gained nothing by their attempt to appropriate Ken’s authority to their errors.”—*Life*, pp. 64-6.*

Whatever may have been the object of such writers (or writer, for mention is made of a single pamphlet) in accumulating proof for the doctrine of Invocation by appealing to a protestant manual, we are less concerned with this than with the Bishop himself. And we must needs say, that either in his first edition he had indulged a mere poetic license on a very solemn subject, or now in his second consented to retreat before a popular clamour by an unworthy shuffle. His own declaration closes the door against a third supposition—a change of opinion between the two editions.

Who can accept his defence, that this “apostrophe,” addressed to the Heavenly court, was simply as though he had said, Help me, O sun, moon, and stars; help me, fire, hail, and snow! It is true that the Psalmist, the prophets, and the three children in the furnace, called upon the inanimate works of creation to join them in glorifying their Creator. “For they praise Him,” says St. Jerome,† “not in word, but in work: by their beauty, variety, greatness, motion, and by thus exhibiting to the beholders His creative power and wisdom.” But is this mere *prosopopœia* the sense we should attach to such an apostrophe to the angelic host as Ken wrote in 1681, and retracted six years after? We will suppose ourselves to be, not Catholics, still less crabbed reviewers, picking to pieces an Anglican

* The quotations are made from the first edition.

† See Cornelius à Lapide, in Is. i. 1. Dan. iii. 57.

divine, but Winchester scholars, using the first edition of Ken's Manual. We are then solemnly addressing those whose divine love and perfect intelligence is the model towards which we are to train our feeble efforts, and after whose hymns we are to tune our lagging praises. Our best feelings would be outraged if any one, Papist or Puritan, should step in to tell us that the pious author of our favourite manual thereby only meant to use a figure of speech, or a flourish of devotional rhetoric. No, no; we mean something real; and as we wish to be cautious, and not stumble unawares upon the track of the Roman road, we mean as follows:

O blessed angels and archangels, O principalities and powers! by contemplating the glories and perfections with which you are invested, by representing to my mind your faultless obedience and your ardent love, may I be as greatly assisted in my devotions as by the spheres of the planets, or the immensity of the fixed stars, or by the dazzling beauties of a snow-storm, or the terrors of a conflagration, or a solemn procession of wintry clouds!

We confess we see no way of escape for the Bishop out of the dilemma of having either expressed what he did not mean, or retracted what he did. If in 1681 he meant, "Help me, O angels, in my devotions," what but the *arbitrium popularis auræ* made him in 1687 "adapt" (to use the phrase of a more modern Doctor in Divinity) his expressions "to the use of the English Church," and say, "O angels, I will not now ask you to help my devotions—the request has been misunderstood—I will only ask you to pursue your own?" To have acknowledged broadly that he had ventured beyond the entrenchments of his sect, and drawn too near the eternal city, but that now he returned to his colours, would have been speaking out intelligibly. But to tell us that "Help me" means no real invocation, that it may be interpreted within the limits of Article XXII., and that by turning it into "adore and praise" you have the same sense in safer words, is a refinement that would do honour to any gladiatorial display of the neo-Anglican logic. It is like saying prayers upon "the larger and smaller beads" without any thought of the Rosary. We seem to have arrived at the very fountain-head of the "non-natural sense."

Nor was this a solitary instance of retractation:

"About this time (1686) he was called upon for another edition of his 'Practice of Divine Love.' As in the case of his *Manual of Prayers*, he had been misrepresented in 'a Popish pamphlet' to hold the Roman doctrine of invocation of Saints, so now they claimed him as a believer in the dogma of Transubstantiation. He thus refutes the charge in a preface to the second edition: 'The author thinks himself obliged to declare that he does now, and always did, humbly submit this exposition to the judgment of the Church of England, conformably to whose Articles he desires all good Christians to interpret it: and to prevent all misunderstandings for the future, he has in his revising it made some few little alterations, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions, to render the whole as unexceptionable as becomes a book not designed for dispute, but for devotion.'

"It will be seen by the altered passage in this edition (published in 1686), that whilst he repudiates the Roman error of Transubstantiation, he conveys his deliberate and confirmed adherence to the Anglican (because Catholic) doctrine of the 'Real Presence' in the Holy Eucharist.

1685.

"O God incarnate, how Thou canst 'give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink;' how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal; how Thou, who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy love, and on Thy Omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the means of doing it I cannot comprehend."

1686.

"O God Incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, become Thy Body and Thy Blood; after what extraordinary manner Thou, who art in Heaven, art present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver; how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh, and drinketh Thy Blood, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal, I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all Thou hast said, and I firmly rely on Thy Omnipotent love to make good Thy word, for which all love, all glory be to Thee."—pp. 222-3.

Now we have the Bishop here asserting, that in his revision he did no more than make "some few little altera-

tions, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions." And the Layman tells us, that while repudiating Transubstantiation, Ken still confirmed his adherence "to the Anglican, because Catholic, doctrine of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist." That Ken went quite as far as the Anglican doctrine is evident, and here we do not join issue. Saving this clause, we take leave to controvert all the rest.

There is, then, one definition alone, whereby the Church secures her belief in the Divine Presence on her altars. All these expressions of the Fathers, so well known in *catenæ* of their writings, which affirm an objective change in the elements upon consecration, gathering, as they do, clearness and intensity as time and emergent heresies evolved them, prepared the way for one final decree, when the measure of heresy should be filled to the brim. That decree was no novelty. It did but express the implicit conviction of all preceding centuries, when it concentrated for ever in a single word the Catholic belief in the Real Presence. Dispute the change of substance in the Eucharist, and you no longer have a real hold upon any doctrine higher than the sacramentarian theory. Tell a man that God by His Omnipotence changes into the Body He has assumed by Incarnation the substance He was pleased to create: though imagination fails of tracing the manner of the change, the intellect receives the idea with ease, as one correlative both to creation and Incarnation. But tell him that the Incarnate Deity is there, and yet that bread is also there unchanged; that the substance of the element becomes the veil of the substantial, because real presence of Christ. This, (supposing for a moment it were the Catholic truth,) would demand a greater submission of the understanding than what the Church bids her children believe. There is, we repeat, no discoverable standing-ground for the intellect, and certainly no basis for faith to build on, between the Catholic definition, and the vagueness and unreality of the thousand-and-one shades of misbelief that surround us. Deny Transubstantiation, and that moment your belief (so-called) has passed from the objective to the subjective region of your mind.

All this has been abundantly proved in the religious history of the Establishment, though we have not space to go through the proof. Amplify as much as possible the orthodoxy of her first beginnings on the subject of the Eu-

charist. The higher you place them, the more determinate and uniform appears her declension through the three centuries of her existence. Say, that in the mind of Andrewes (though against him you must place Hooker on the unfavourable side,) and of Montagu, and a few other exceptional men, the broken tradition lingered on in much of its vigour; that the tone of teachers throughout the country, declared Puritans excepted, was much higher than at present; and that its latest glimmers shone in Ken's "editio princeps." Yet we are compelled to date another epoch from the appearance of his *Revises*, in which the weight of public opinion forced him to speak the language of his day. And the downward course of that history would be written in episcopal charges and parochial practices, with which many of our readers are acquainted, and which we must leave them to follow in their own recollections.

The Bishop's alteration, therefore, was an essential one. It seemed merely to take out a word or so, but it did its work none the less effectually for the neatness of the operation. To prick the optic nerve, to divide the jugular artery, require no greater exertion than would suffice to make a stitch in embroidery. Place the edge of a razor vertically on a grind-stone; give only half a turn to the wheel: it is the same razor still, minus the edge. That "one little alteration" leaves its materiality intact; but its formality, (as theologians would speak,) that which makes it what it is in our regard, and determines its character, is gone. We are poorly consoled by the assurance that it has lost very little weight of metal. And so, what was it that Ken's revision of his paragraph ground off? Simply the edge, which was the all. Before, it had contained something of a definite profession of belief. But the Articles will not have it so, and the voice of England backs the Articles; and, behold, the profession of belief has vanished. The thing is done, and done with all the tranquillity, the imperceptibleness, of a dissolving view, or a scene in the diorama. There is no shock, no rude transition; but the picture fades amid the strains of gentle music, and all becomes twilight, and grows deeper still; and then the outlines which many I felt to be too painfully sharp and definite, re-appear; touched and softened and rounded away by the "religious gleams" of quiet moonlight. A is harmony; and a murmur of applause

that touch the transformation is complete. It was doctrine, Oh, it was startling; now it is only bland and tranquil devotion. It seemed to express what is held by one peculiar body alone upon earth: but look at it again; it has become a string of loving expressions in which a pious soul of any school of opinion (barring always that one definite body) might join. It had a dangerous look, and made us hold our breath; but in this present light it is perfectly safe, and we are at ease again.

Catholics are sometimes charged with a narrow exclusiveness for denying the possibility of any but a Catholic making an *act of faith*. Yet, if we wished to prove such a thesis by experiment, we know not what instance could be brought more to the point than this conduct of Bishop Ken. Here was a man with all that meek and quiet courage in his heart which grace would have elevated to the temper of a martyr. It is no worldly prelate whose course of life has unstrung his soul, and rendered him unequal to a sacrifice; who sinks back upon the silken ease which has become his second nature, at the price of some religious truth with which he knows himself entrusted. Ken would never have occupied his niche in the Established Church, he would have forfeited his place in the lips and hearts of Anglicans, had he not endured the Tower for one determined act of conscience, and deprivation and exile at Long-leat for another. It is this very characteristic which gives such significancy to the retractations we have recorded. His was an honest undaunted mind. Whatever he felt himself entitled to hold, or called upon to do, whatever came before him as real and straightforward, incumbent on him, permissible to him, as a prelate of his communion or a subject of his king, that he held, that he acted on. No matter what the sacrifice; his long course of self-denial had trained him for it, and he met it with courage and calmness. Thus, he has strong opinions against what (as a condescension to his memory) we will for once call "the Church of Rome." He preaches against it in Whitehall, surrounded by courtiers' ears and tongues to "carry the matter" to the king. With delicacy and tact, but unmistakably, he pours through the close-drawn curtains of the unoccupied royal tribune an insinuation against the royal creed, for which in previous reigns the Star-chamber, the pillory, not to say the scaffold, might have been his reward. Not long after, he sets his seal to the same con-

victions by being led to prison. Again, he has taken oaths of allegiance to that prince whose religion he conscientiously dislikes and fears, and who has rashly, tyrannically, invaded his personal and official liberties. A turn of events brings another upon the throne; a Protestant like himself, though not representing the same among the many faces of Protestantism. More pliant consciences all around him, his familiar friends, characters whom he respects, from whom he has sought advice, bow before the rising sun, and transfer their oaths without a scruple. Not so Bishop Ken. Revolutions cannot dissolve the bond of his allegiance. His king is now an exile; he has (it may be) no very great personal respect for him, he certainly has no personal motive of attachment to his cause. But James is his one liege master still. He has a clear duty before him, and is equal to the decisive moment. With unshrinking nerve he suffers the amputation of "the outward limbs and flourishes," and all that cherished work, into which his active being had developed. His life retreats into its centre; for, in that lopped trunk is still a heart to sing, and love, and praise. A trenchant sacrifice is demanded, but he does not quail. Temptations doubtless come over him, to bend a little to the times; but they are repelled—he sees his way.

All this is no mean commendation; and there it ends. Take him now at another period of his life. He ventures into a higher sphere, and comes across the supernatural. His devotion leads him, for example, to contemplate the unutterable condescension of an Incarnate God, resting upon the altars of His creatures, affording Himself to be their very nourishment. In presence of that thought he pours out his whole soul in fervent devotion. Articles and formularies become to him as though they were not; their "stammering lips" speak unheeded; he listens only to the voice of his own heart, whose impulses respond in every throb to the declarations of his Redeemer. Like some traveller on an Alpine height, he has a vision of glory and loveliness spread out before him, which attracts onward his uncounted steps. The rose-tints are cast on the glittering peak above him. He has been forewarned of precipices, and drifts, and ice-chasms, but he is concentrated on the one intense desire to draw nearer to that on which he gazes. And nearer he draws, visibly, rapidly. On a sudden he stops bewildered; how far has he advanced beyond his

companions! May he safely go on? What is all this leading him to? He hears their voices shouting to him from below, that he has mistaken his path; a pace or two further, and he must plunge down those unfathomable rifts which *they* see clearly, while his eager pursuit has blinded him. True, he had forgotten, he must be more cautious for the future. His excursions henceforward shall be within safer limits. It was a dream; a beautiful one, and his friends must forgive him. He had felt again within his breast the vigour and freshness of his youth, and but for their warning voices, he could have pursued it further. See, the light has already faded from the peak above. With a sigh he retraces his ardent strides, and comes down from what might have been his Tabor, to join the scribes and the mixed multitude that are questioning at its base!

Let it not be said, that we have given undue prominence to one or two acts of unfaithfulness to religious truth. One act contains a life, and thereby an eternity. The disobedient prophet fell when he turned the bridle of his beast towards Bethel; Ananias, when one brief falsehood had crossed his lips. "Follow Me," was said to the apostles once, and once for all. A full deliberate act on the subject-matter of religion is literally infinite in extent and consequence; its stamp is ineffaceable, except by a counter-movement commensurate with itself. Moreover, the great protestant moralist, Butler, in his *Analogy*, bids us remark that there are men whose mortal probation seems chiefly carried on in the department of religious difficulties. Comparatively untried by the more external obvious temptations which assail their fellows, they stand or fall according to the manner in which they confront and dispose of articles of faith. This is evident enough when stated, but (we think) not sufficiently insisted on in the controversy which agitates our day. For it follows, that such a man may possess a crowd of high and noble qualities. His life may be one continual self-discipline, aye, almost up to the mark of ancient heresiarchs. He may exhibit the greatness of soul, the unshaken placidity through weal or woe, that have gilded the lives and death-beds of pagan philosophers, and the followers of Islam. Beyond all this, he may have affection and gentleness, he may have that gush of warm feelings and ready expression which enables him to rise into flights of devotion. He may have such intellec-

tual perceptions of the beauty of Christian truths ; nature, as distinct from grace, may be so rich and prolific within him ; education, culture, familiarity, may so have moulded him, that he grows into the hymnist, the preacher, the guide of other men's prayers and consciences ; revered and followed, a centre, a cynosure, a beacon-light in days of perplexity, a token of the presence of God in the religious community which he adorns.

And yet, amid all these attractive things, such a man may simply have failed in the one act of obedience which his Master had demanded of him. He may simply have hung back when he was called, nay, drawn forward. At some one or more periods in his course, an angel had whispered to him, "Save thy life ; look not back, neither stay thou in all the country about ; but save thyself in the mountain, lest thou also be consumed." Unlike the patriarch, he has disobeyed. Old associations were too dear, his *entourage* too powerful. He can give up much, but not this one thing. He would stay where he is, and be as mortified as you will ; go he cannot. And there he remains, a monument of the vengeance of proffered grace ; fixed, statue-like, yet brilliant—a pillar of salt on the devoted plain. Oh, thought of awe ! Held up to his own generation and those that come after as a sign of life, he has "the name of being alive,"* and he is dead. We judge no man. When all things are made clear, may some plea which we cannot discover for him, appear on behalf of Thomas Ken.

Now, reverse the picture. Put the case, that Ken had stood as firm to his spiritual instincts as we have seen him stand to an external duty. Hear him say to his own conscience and to all objectors : "What I have written, I have written. I wrote it, because I felt it true. The question with me is not, whose belief does it exceed ? but, does it come up to the standard of my interior convictions ? Until I have a sense that the Divine Presence in the Eucharist is not more definite than my friends would have it to be, I stand to the measure of definiteness which I have assigned. 'Great is the truth, and stronger than all things ;' it is sacred, paramount. I have sought and trusted it hitherto ; I will seek and trust it still. It is above me, independent of me ; a word revealed, complete,

* Apoc. iii. 1.

objective, unalterable; and will judge me at the last. I may not pare away one hair's-breadth, though the edges grate upon the minds of all who surround me. What I have written, I have pledged myself to in hours of communion with God; and it stands against all comers, until it shall be overthrown by a conviction emanating as much from my inmost soul as that which at first evolved it." Imagine such an ideal Ken; you have then, "Athanasium contra mundum." And what results? He loses his character at Woodhay and Winchester, and with the clergy of Bath and Wells; Charles repents of his rash good-nature in giving a mitre to the man whose former resistance to his royal will might have been a pledge of his after obstinacy; the court frowns and stares; puritans rejoice at his fall, papists thank God for his dawning prospects; Izaak Walton the younger sighs over his poor relative who has lost himself for a dream, and Mr. Bowles and the Layman choose some other subject of biography. But meanwhile he has dared to follow his conscience in the face of all contingencies; he has corresponded to the grace which gave him the first spiritual perceptions. The light increases in his soul, till it discovers to him his true home. He sells all for the pearl of great price, seeks and finds the true Presence of his Incarnate Lord, chooses the affliction of God's children before the treasures of Egypt, and is a recusant and a papist to English eyes, but crowned with the crowns of confessorship and virginity in heaven.

All this while we have owed our readers an apology for thus plunging *in medias res*, instead of giving them a more detailed and regular account of the life before us. We feel, however, that in dwelling on Ken's want of dogmatic firmness, we have been laying our finger on the characteristic which makes that life important. He is set forth as an argument for Anglicanism: and our answer is, that far from proving aught in its favour, he exhibits it as a broken reed for all who lean upon it. How probably, we ask, would the Nicene Fathers have admitted into their confession of faith, that *one iota* * which, according to Gibbon's sneer, divided the Christian world? Or how would Saint Athanasius have entertained the proposal of putting out a supplemental and more lenient formula to

* The Arians proposed a symbol containing the word *ὁμοιούσιον* and asserting the Son to be of *like* Substance with the Father.

conciliate heretical prejudices? Had Ken's house, equally with theirs, been built upon a rock, he would have stood as mighty a storm.

We will now, by way of digression, notice the two smaller works which head our Article. They are reprints of Ken's "Practice of Divine Love," and "Approach to the Holy Altar," with prefaces by a modern Editor. A second glance suffices to establish the fact of their being edited by the same hand which has given us the life itself. Internal evidences of style and manner, together with initials, and the time and place of publication, amount to demonstrative proof. And melancholy it is to see in one of the said prefaces, a *rifacimento* of the old threadbare charges of idolatry, adoration of our Blessed Lady, innovations of Roman Pontiffs, unauthorized additions to the Creed, and so forth; forming a somewhat lengthy and not entirely relevant discourse on the text of a devotional expression of the Bishop's, who (*Practice of Divine Love*, p. 69. ed., 1686.) renounces, detests, and bewails, as odious and offensive to God, as directly opposed to His Love and to His Glory, "all voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels, or reliance on the creature." Whereupon are elaborated twenty pages of introduction, good part being occupied by texts of Scripture, arranged in parallel columns, with titles given to the Blessed Virgin by Catholic saints and doctors, for the purpose, of course, of exhibiting the latter as unscriptural. All this is the more sad, because the writer's polemics, in general, are not of the rude Exeter-hall school, but moderate, gentle, almost bland. "There is nowhere" he says, (*Life of Ken*, p. 168.) "any one controversial tract of Bishop Ken; disputation was not his element." In what evil hour then did his biographer forsake so good an example? We feel sure that controversy is not the element in which he naturally moves. But we are compelled to add, that he enters it with as great a misapprehension of first principles, and of the real point in debate, as if his sentences came from a Stowell, or a Macneile. "To say not a word," he begins,

"Of the extravagancies of Purgatory, and Indulgences, and Transubstantiation, enforced under anathema in those additional articles [of the Creed of Pope Pius,] Ken could not endure that the worship of Saints should come between God and His creatures, *and thus* derogate from the All-sufficient,—or, as St. Paul expresses it, 'the One Mediator,' " &c....

"We need no controversy to prove that these are contrary to God's express and often-repeated command. Take only the Papal worship of the Blessed Virgin. We have but to ask, What says Scripture? and, What says the Roman Church? and by way of answer place the two side by side with each other." (Pref. to "Practice of Divine Love," pp. iv. v.)

Among the titles of the Mother of God, of which we have here such a formidable list presented to us, there are some in which we really should have thought the Editor—whom we imagine to hold, as far as Anglicans in general do hold, the Incarnation—would have seen no offence. What has he to say to the following, which he quotes without comment, on the anti-scriptural side of his page? "Ark of the Covenant, sweet Parent of Mercy, Blessed Gate of Heaven, bright Palace of Light, Tabernacle of the Holy Ghost, Window of Heaven, Tabernacle of God, Nursing-mother of God, Gate of the Great King, Seat of Wisdom, Abode of Divine Grace?" What exception can be taken to these, and others, e. g. from the Litany of Loretto, which would not throw down the barrier that excludes the heresy of Nestorius? Surely, they are only so many expressions of the stupendous Fact and miracle of mercy, on which both he and ourselves are resting our hopes of salvation. There are other titles on his list, dear to every Catholic heart, and *not* misunderstood, we beg to assert, by a Catholic child that has been drilled in its catechism, in which we can hardly expect any one external to the Church to sympathize. Men may by the light of their natural understanding, by the unmistakeable witness of the Fathers of East and West, or by a familiarity with Catholic expositions of Catholic words, go a considerable way in accepting the doctrine of the invocation of Saints. They may thus clear from their minds the first outside crust of Protestant misconception, and see, as from afar off, the intellectual harmony, the moral fitness and beauty, the reasonableness—all but the necessity,—of that great truth. So far, we might appeal from the writer to Montagu, Brett, Field,* and others of his own communion, who lived, taught, and died, Protestants. But, to embrace it heartily, to make it a part of their spiritual consciousness, inwardly to *feel* its conform-

* See especially, Blackmore's "Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Russian Orthodox Church."

ity to the Divine will, and the aids it ministers to humility, watchfulness, and the love of God,—this belongs to the inheritance of the Church's children. And a consciousness thus formed and developed, has (we doubt not) in almost every case followed upon, not preceded, the first trustful act of invocation.

Meanwhile, we should have thought it was late in the day of this great controversy, to come against us with such quotations as, "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker thereof hath given it; the molten image, and a teacher of lies"—and so on to the end of the passage. For, of course, there is no question between the Editor of Ken and the Catholic Church, that idolatry is denounced in Scripture, and is one of the most enormous of sins. It is on the minor premiss that issue is joined; the assertion that Catholic invocation of Saints, and veneration of holy images, is of the nature of idolatry. We might here easily quote the Catechism of the Council of Trent on the first commandment, and we feel that it ought in fairness to be quoted by every anti-Catholic controversialist who touches upon these doctrines. But we will only say that these *applications* of Holy writ are venturous on the part of religionists who enshrine in their cathedrals such "teachers of lies," or worse, such unmitigated paganisms as winged Victory, Fame, Britannia, Hercules, and Doctor Johnson: and over whose parish chancels the royal lion (no unmeaning or unworshipped symbol, either,) grins with all the fierce supremacy of Siva the destroyer. Let us see what "holy images" the Anglican authorities will decree,—or permit—to perpetuate veneration for the Iron Duke, before we proceed in the controversy upon the use or abuse of signs and symbols. Meanwhile, we feel these distorted applications to be (to say the very least) as unreal, nay, as profane, as the psalter of S. Bonaventure doubtless appears to the Layman.

The argument especially employed by this writer (in common with so many others) is the *petitio principii*:—a trope, the force of which consists in taking for granted the very point you are required to prove. A most ready and effective weapon, this, in light skirmishing; for "he who fights and runs away," has a manifest advantage over the more systematic soldier who is bent upon making good his ground. We suffer the same discomfiture, when opposed to such Parthian troops, which Dominie Sampson

experienced at the hands of Counsellor Pleydell. We advance towards the foe, imagining that the engagement is to take place upon certain grounds. Either the interpretation of special passages of Scripture, or the broad question of the authority of the Church's traditional interpretation, the meaning of the Council of Trent in her definitions of doctrine, or of Fathers and Saints in their devotional expressions; such as these, we conceived, were the questions at issue. But when we have marched up and deployed upon this definite battle-field, behold! our adversary is in full career upon another. He just takes us for a moment on the flank, fires a stray shot or two into our advanced posts, and with a depreciating gesture at all our platoons and parks of artillery, flies off to erect his trophy at a safe distance from what *should* have been the scene of action. Unlike the English at Waterloo, who did not know when they were beaten, he seems not quite aware what he is going to attack; or rather, instead of making any real onslaught, he is content with sending a trumpet to tell us we are well drubbed already. "We need no controversy to prove"—but what then becomes of all the controversy that has been expended on proving? In what category are we to set down Henry More's "Mystery of Iniquity," and Jewell's "Apology," and Taylor's "Dissuasive," and Hall's "No Peace with Rome?" Not to mention the countless shoal that have swum in the wake of these Tritons; down to the Layman himself, and down to Mr. Keble, who has recently (we believe) demonstrated that every one who joins the Catholic (we beg pardon, the Roman) Church, thereby breaks each and all of the Ten Commandments. Has it been nothing but thrice routing all their foes, and slaying thrice the slain? If these efforts, learned and unlearned, past and present, have been a blotting of waste paper, why have the trunkmakers been so long defrauded of such ample materials?

Mais, Monsieur, après tout, vous etes des idolatres! said an English protestant lady to a French priest of our acquaintance. This was her one all-sufficing, all-including reply to the successive considerations that were being mildly and patiently laid before her. A great first principle being once so irrefutably established, all minor considerations might go to the four winds. Now such a line of proof might serve passably well for a lady's logic, which

is said (we do not pledge ourselves to the truth of the allegation) to be comprised in the dictum, "*Est, quia est.*" But we must needs remark, that authors who deliberately enter the field of theology, and set themselves in array against a system (even on their own shewing) of thirteen centuries' standing, owned by a hundred and fifty millions of Christians now alive upon earth, ought to have something more to shew for their position than, "*N'importe, apres tout, vous etes des idolatres.*"

Again, as to the Popery of the past, who could believe that the following passage in the life of Ken was written in praise of an idolater, one who built all his religion on a rotten foundation, adored a creature, served graven images, boasted himself of idols? Certainly the conclusion of the passage, which reminds us that "covetousness is idolatry," seems to distribute the charge impartially between us poor Papists and a much larger class of our countrymen. The two shells of the oyster are politely handed to each of the litigant parties :

"The antient and famed school of Winchester was founded by William of Wykeham, a prelate whose noble religious charity consecrated all his wealth to munificent works for the honour of God. Witness his two colleges of St. Mary, at Winchester and Oxford, wholly designed and endowed by himself for the perpetual maintenance of poor scholars, to be instructed in theology and scholastic learning, whereby the Church might inherit a succession of holy men to administer the solemn rites of religion."

Videlicet, gentle reader, to celebrate Mass, say their Breviaries (including the Little Office of the B. Virgin), sing the Litany of the Saints, instruct the people in the Rosary, and do their utmost to extirpate Lollardism.—But to proceed :

"The crowning testimony of his zeal was the restoration of Winchester Cathedral, a work seemingly beyond the powers of one man to accomplish. What a wise heart, what holy fervour, and stedfast energetic faith, must have sustained him in completing such a monument of grandeur and skill !"

In short, he had every requisite for a great and good man but a knowledge of the First Commandment.

"Where now in this reluctant age shall we find one great-hearted man to lay even the first stone of such a temple, in faith that future servants would be raised to carry on the work? Vast

heaps of wealth, untold revenues, lofty palaces, multiply through the land, while our parish churches, even within the domains of the great and noble, fall to decay. God has poured into our lap the treasures of the world, but alas! our hearts lie in our coffers. Christ's name has been on our lips four centuries and a half since Wykeham was called to his reward, &c."—pp. 8-10.

We cannot here forego the following interesting passage :

"In founding his College of St. Mary Winton, Wykeham did not leave the objects of his munificence *to the uncertain judgment or principles (!) of after times*. He knew that without a code of fixed rules, based on the supreme love of God, his plan would want the elements of lasting success.....He directed how they should sit at dinner; how during the meal one of the scholars shall read aloud a portion of the Bible, or other holy book, '*quem in silentio epulantes audiant, et diligenter auscultent*;' and how, after saying grace, they shall go quietly out of hall, except on high festivals in winter, when they may remain to enjoy themselves over the fire, in singing, or reading poems and histories, or in other recreations, '*quæ clericalem statum condecorant*.'

"Above all, he provides for their daily attendance in chapel, where they are commanded to join reverently in the appointed services [we throw, the original Statutes, from which the author is here quoting, are less vaguely worded], and in the observance of the Church festivals, chanting of psalms, &c. 'So much care is taken,' says Ken, 'to make the youths good Christians [after the same idolatrous sort] as well as good scholars, and they go so frequently to prayers, every day in the chapel and in the school, singing hymns and psalms to God so frequently in their chamber, and in the chapel, and in the hall, that they are in a manner brought up in a perpetuity of prayer.'"—pp. 10, 11.

It is more than time to pass from the subject of idolatry; yet we cannot do so without recording that the Editor of Ken's Exposition, after he has stated the Catholic distinction between Latria, Hyperdulia, and Dulia, quietly goes on to say :

"It can be plainly shown that these distinctions, when brought to the test of Scripture, are unreal. They are mere dogmatic and verbal * differences, to silence conscientious scruples. And even

* It is hard to see in what sense the writer here uses these words. We should have thought that a difference merely verbal was not dogmatic, and vice versa. The strong ground which every Catholic would take on this subject is, that the difference between Latria and Hyperdulia is so little verbal, so really dogmatic, that the one could not grow into the place of the other.

if they were true in theory, they would be fallacious in practice. The learned might understand them, but the great mass of the people, the poor and unlearned, who should 'have the Gospel preached to them' in all its simplicity, cannot thus distinguish—they cannot weigh their aspirations in the nicely adjusted scales of a graduated worship. The millions of devotees who make their pilgrimages to bow down before the miraculous images of the Virgin at Halle, Einsiedlin, Rimini, Loretto, &c., are taught to *ascribe to her the attributes* of the Deity, to expect miraculous cures at her shrine, and divine influences of grace imparted by her in answer to their prayers. Call them, therefore, Latria, Hyper-dulia, or Dulia, as they may, it is worship still; it is that service of the heart and spirit of which God has declared His jealousy when paid to another—against which He denounces judgment."—p. 22.

We would that Dr. Whately, or some other professor of dialectics, had been called in to act as valet to this passage before it came abroad. But let it stand as it does, in dressing-gown and slippers: what says it? Much as follows: "Papist, thou reasonest well. I know perfectly how you get off by an ingenious piece of special pleading. Your idolatry is graduated, and thus you deceive simple minds. It is possible that you may even take yourselves in, as well as the common people. You may really believe (though it is prodigious) that there is such a distinction as you put out in words. Even if it were so, it would be a difference appreciable only by a few choice intelligences. Bellarmine in his study, and Ken in his, might pass through the ordeal unharmed. But, in fact, the whole is a mere shuffle; I have thoroughly investigated the subject, and I assure you, upon my veracity, that Latria and Hyperdulia are precisely the same thing. You may not be aware of it, but it is so. I have collated hundreds of passages of the Old and New Testament to establish it. True you also have the Scriptures, but then you do not interpret them correctly. St. Bernard, and St. Bonaventure, and the rest of your canonized saints, did not perceive that this Hyperdulia was contrary to the Divine Word, and I have published my Introduction to set them right. Then look at the ancient Fathers; their witness is dead against you. You will contest this point with me, but I have read them through and through, and they are as Anglican as they can stare; not one of them would have ventured to invoke the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. You bring, I am aware, very strong passages from their homilies and devo-

tional writings; but they are all interpolations, the work of the Roman Pontiffs; or the Father was speaking under some strange temporary hallucination, and did not know what he really meant; or, in short, they do not tell against me at all. And as to common sense;—oh, we need not stop on that part of the subject. I am sure you must agree with me, if you would only speak out, that *there* you have not a leg to stand on. There can be only one opinion about it, and if you really do not see this, it is because you are too logical, too subtle, or have a false conscience, or yield to an impatient spirit, or are trammelled by your system, which (I am bound to tell you in all kindness) both enslaves the intellect and perverts the feelings.”

Among other things insisted on in this Introduction, and also in the life of Ken, is the un-English character of the Catholic Church, and the deep hold which the Establishment is supposed to possess on the mind and heart of the country at large. Let us hear how these propositions are stated to us:

“It would be a wonderful chain of events that should ever again bind down the world in a mediæval darkness. Then, but not till then, the good sense, decision, and resolved character of Englishmen, may once more submit to the intolerable yoke of the Papal dominion. Some few among our learned men have indeed gone out from us and bowed their necks to the thralldom.....In weak minds admiration [*i. e.* for these learned men] degenerated into morbid sentimentality, a kind of hero-worship. It was but the fashion of a day, which is passing off: it was too un-English to last..... Moreover, she (the Church of England) lives in the hearts of the people, and they who would un-Church England must first denationalize Englishmen.”—*Introduction to Ken's Exposition of the Creed*, pp. xxiv., xlv.

“The Church of England is dear to Englishmen, and ever will be, whatever their rulers, or sectaries, or seceders, may think: it wants only occasions which may bring her into danger to prove this.”—*Life*, p. 351.

We are here told that Catholicism is un-English, but that the Established religion is appreciated as national, and therefore deeply loved, by the mass of Englishmen. A word or two on each of these assertions.

That the Church of the Apostles, charged with the Divine command to teach all nations, is independent of the differences of national character, is most true. It is her privilege to have inherited the ends of the earth, and

she is equally at home in every part of her dowry. Hers is the true cosmopolitism : her children are the vast family of East and West, North and South. She is not partial among them, for she is the universal mother. She is un-English in the same sense that she is un-Italian, or un-German, or un-American : nationality is swallowed up in empire. National character she takes as she finds it, and exercises upon it her hallowing influence. She does not aim at reducing all to one dull monotony, or annihilating the distinctions of race, climate, historical antecedents : in each she finds unfavourable elements on which to exert the plastic power of sacraments and teaching. Her task is everywhere the same : to develope good points of character, and to keep evil tendencies in check. The child of the South is fiery and impulsive ; to him the present moment is fearfully vivid, and passion speaks louder in his heart than in the son of a colder latitude : but his whole being is penetrated with faith, and, together with the inconstancy and petulance of a child, he has the same confiding trust in the voice of his spiritual mother. The Saxon, on the other hand, with an in-bred persevering energy, has the attendant disqualifications of self-trust, stubbornness, and thirst of gain ; personal self-denial, too, is distasteful to him, unless it comes in the way of toil, or for an immediate tangible end. Not to pursue our characteristics further, it is evident, that as the Church is Catholic, she assimilates into herself, even as an organic body, all the various elements of character presented to her operation, and only rejects those whose insoluble nature she cannot overcome.

If, then, by the "English character" be meant the present moral features of this once Catholic land ; the self-glorification that has come in the train of her military and commercial successes ; her deep-seated pride, not the less hateful in the eyes of Heaven because so placid, so established, and respectable : if to be English is a synonym for the spirit of antient Babylon, or Tyre, sitting as a queen among the nations until the cup of wrath is filled, and squandering mighty talents up to the day of reckoning —then, indeed, it would seem to demand a judgment as signal as that which passed upon Nabuchodonosor to bring such a character into the unity of the faith. She must be tumbled down from her height of pride, and seven times pass over her, until she learns to "praise and glorify Him

that liveth for ever, for His power is an everlasting power, and His kingdom is to all generations, and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing before Him." * But short of this seared appalling state, the Church undertakes all sorts and conditions of men, becomes their political regenerator, the founder of their society, and the author and guide of their progress. *Tros Tyriusve*, Celt or Scandinavian, Northman, Frank, or Hun, all have had a place in her maternal care, and repaid her by their devotion. It would be epitomizing her calendar to go into a proof of this universality, this *many-sidedness*, to use a favourite German word. S. Edward, S. Anselm, S. Thomas of Canterbury, the anachorettes of Athos and Egypt, the martyrs in Persia under King Sapor, S. Boniface, and S. John Nepomucene, the noble Spaniards who adorned the early days of the Society of Jesus, S. Philip and S. Alphonsus, the French monks of the Chartreuse and La Trappe, our own martyrs of the 16th and 17th centuries—what different types of Christian men! what a succession of *tableaux* rise to our minds at the very mention of their names! Yet the Church equally laid her gentle resistless hand upon them all. Formed in very various schools of sanctity, they did but work and pray, suffer, persevere, and go to their reward, in separate chambers of the same great house. They were not un-Saxon, un-French, un-Spanish, un-English; they belonged at once to each and to none of these mere human sections and departments—*Ubicunque patria, ubicunque exilium*. There is one negative which they shared heartily in common: none of them was disloyal to his citizenship in the Jerusalem above, the mother of all; not one among them was so narrow-hearted as to bound in his communion and Catholic sympathies by an arm of the sea, or a ridge of mountains.

In the second place, how far is it true to say that the "Church of England" has a hold upon the heart of the country whose appointed teacher she professes to be? Truly, it is by a hasty induction that this is asserted. We know that statistical officers have a custom of jotting down in the column of the Established Church all those who make no overt profession of dissent, and are content

* Dan. iv. 31, 32.

to be practically nothing. Thus her apparent numbers are swollen by tens of thousands who would be much astonished to learn that they were blossoms on the Anglican branch, and who would not (it is to be feared) preserve a becoming gravity on being informed that their sympathies were bound up in her well-being. We are not wholly without experience of the great middle class, and the yet denser masses of our countrymen. Do these represent an inconsiderable or unimportant section of the heart of England? They are more and more becoming England, as Paris has already become France. And certainly, were we put into the witness-box, our evidence would go to show, that in these departments the Establishment is either simply ignored, or only known to be regarded with no friendly or respectful eye. There is about as intelligent a perception of her fair qualities, and of the benefits received from her, as of the mosques of Grand Cairo, or the binomial theorem. Let us before all things have reality and foundation in such statements; our wishes may become fathers to our thoughts, with slender prospects of being able to provide for their families. Few things are easier than to rear up a bright ideal, like that of the poet; such church-building and church-decoration costs nothing but a penful of ink, and a little exertion of fancy.

*"In my mind's eye a temple, like a cloud
Slowly surmounting some invidious hill,
Rose out of darkness : the bright work stood still."* *

It would be as invidious as the hill itself to say that the bright work has not only stood still but retrograded, is becoming more cloud-like from day to day, since the Layman emphatically assures us to the contrary. But we cannot help agreeing with another layman—the Bishop of Oxford: "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*" Catholic or Protestant, let us have the plain unvarnished truth of the matter. We smile perforce when our continental brethren, watching with deep interest the progress of events in England, ask us how soon the whole country is to return to the bosom of the Church, whether her Majesty and Prince Albert are not on the verge of abjuration, or how many of the religious orders are already settled at Oxford. And

* Wordsworth.

our smile becomes a little broader when we hear on the other side, that Anglicanism has struck its roots deep into the heart of our country, in whose villages (unless the Vicar and his lady should chance to be active purveyors of soup and blankets) most people are of the religion of the Squire, and whose towns are devoted, body and soul, to mammon six days in the week, and on the seventh divided between crass indifference and such rabid dissent as would have made Ken's very hair stand on end.

Over the non-juring portion of Bishop Ken's life we may pass briefly; both because the whole subject of the non-jurors demands a treatment by itself, and because he never was forward in promoting the views or maintaining the position which were the development of that most anomalous body. On the contrary, the more zealous adherents of the non-juring cause were disposed to be not a little irritated at what they considered Ken's lukewarmness and defection. He was satisfied with practical faithfulness to the allegiance he had sworn, and with suffering for it. The point of conscience secured, and the sacrifice completed, he seems to have felt little disposed to accompany his friends into the field of their after-theology; where, in the vain struggle to make for themselves a status in the religious world, they for awhile "stood four-square to all the winds that blew," whether from the Catholic, the Greek, the Establishment, or the Puritan quarter. To manufacture a Church was not work cut out for Bishop Ken. He had energy, indeed, and laboriousness, but not of that kind which is exercised in the breaking up and reconstruction of the old constituted order of things. Anglicanism *as it was*, "the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all papal and puritan innovations," this claimed and amply satisfied his affections. He found himself in a position which he loved, and would fain have remained there, if William would have had it so. It was no movement more theological than the Glorious Revolution that drove him from Wells, or linked him with Hickee and his party. A matter of political conscience first led those estimable but inconclusive men to dig into the mine of antiquity, and to bring forth piecemeal the rich fragments of ore which, after an attempt to coin them for use, they were forced to consign to their shelves as idle specimens. But for the Dutch fleet, the ancient liturgies might have reposed under the accumulated dust

of college libraries; and Ken, who had shared the difficulties and scruples from which his friends first started, felt no call to follow them beyond the limits of a patient acquiescence under hard usage.

"Ken steadfastly refused to sanction the new appointments (of non-juring suffragans) which he called 'a perpetuating of the schism.' His principle, as expressed to Mr. Robert Nelson, was that 'the strength of innocence is to sit still, and the wisest and most dutiful way to follow, rather than to anticipate, Providence.' ... We are not left only to surmise his exact views; they are recorded in the few letters of his, which have been preserved to us. Writing to Dr. Hickes, one of the most conspicuous, learned, and intrepid leaders of the non-jurors, he says, 'I wrote to you long ago, to recommend to your serious consideration the schism which has so long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which I have many years had ill abodings. I need not tell you what pernicious consequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already; what advantages it yields to our enemies.' Again, to the Bishop of Norwich, 'I am willing to allow all degrees of excusability to those who are of a different persuasion from myself, in the business of clandestine consecrations, against which you know I declared my judgment: I foresaw it would perpetuate the schism, which I daily deplore: I thought it insidiously procured by Milford* for that purpose, who could intend no good to our Church; but I was forced at last to tolerate what I could not approve of.'"—Life, pp. 405—7.

"The most distressing of all his difficulties was the question whether he could attend the public communion of the Church. To one of so tender a conscience, whose whole life was dedicated to prayer, who in every stage of his ministerial office had evinced a lively zeal in maintaining the daily service, this was, indeed, an overwhelming question. Let any one read his 'Practice of Divine Love,' and then judge of the severe penance he was to inflict on himself in a voluntary interdict from the feast of Christ's precious Body and Blood in public communion with the Church, of which he was a consecrated Bishop."

To a Catholic the above needs no comment. Let us, however, hear his difficulties more distinctly:

"The public services of the Church now included new forms of prayer for William and Mary, which were called by the non-jurors the 'immoral prayers.' If it were sinful to violate their oath of

* King James's Catholic adviser at St. Germain.

allegiance to James, they could still less join in supplicating God to prosper his enemies. . . . But might he not go to church, and pass over the prayers for the King and Queen? Many of the non-jurors did so; and when they came to those parts, they rose from their knees, or shut their books, or by some other marks, as omitting the 'Amen,' or other usual response, tacitly expressed their dissent; or in *their own minds* (hear it, Exeter Hall!) *substituted the names of James and his son*. As on other points, so on this, there was a diversity of opinion among the non-jurors. Hickes, and his zealous party, strongly denounced every one, whether of the clergy or laity, who should commit so immoral an outrage. Even if there had been no state prayers included in the services, they professed that to join in communion with schismatics was a flagrant betrayal of their principles."

"The learned, devout, and moderate Kettlewell, made a distinction between the clergy and laity. . . . Therefore in the absence of rightful ministers they might join in the services of the parish churches. But then they must by some sufficient external sign manifest their dislike of the 'immoral prayers,' when they occurred, &c."

"Such were Kettlewell's opinions, as expressed in his well-known work of 'Christian Communion.' They were certainly the views entertained by Ken, in respect of the laity."—Life, pp. 405—11.

"One other passage of a later date bears on the question, (whether Ken himself frequented the public services after his deprivation). He says, 'I shall spend this summer, God willing, most at Long Leat, though I am now very uneasy there; not but that my Lord is extremely kind to me, but because I cannot go to prayers there, by reason of the late alterations, which is no small affliction to me. God keep us in his holy fear, and make us wise for eternity.' The meaning of this is, that Lord Weymouth, having for the first time taken office, on Queen Anne's coming to the throne, adopted the state prayers in his chapel in Long Leat; and then it would appear that Ken ceased to attend the family service."—pp. 413, 14.

It would be very interesting to see the history of this *schisma in schismate* handled by some writer who would give us, for the benefit of our Donatists of the nineteenth century, an analysis of Lathbury's account of the non-jurors. Meanwhile it is evident that the life of Ken only touches upon its outskirts. While Hickes and Dodwell, Kettlewell and Brett, were collating the ancient oriental liturgies, making proposals to the modern Greek Patriarchs, and getting well snubbed for their pains, Ken was in retirement, composing devotional poems, banishing himself from all communion but with his viol. He did

not set his seal to the party of the "suffering Catholic Bishops of the old constitution of Britain," "the remnant of primitive piety," the "little flock," "the true Church Regent, or College of Bishops," "the little, faithful, suffering number." With the extinction of the Stuart dynasty, his occupation was gone. There was nothing to fall back upon, nothing to appeal to. With the fullest deliberation of his will, again and again, in early and later life, he had rejected the claims of that one See, raised by the Divine Wisdom to a supreme dominion to secure the stability in faith and discipline of the universal episcopate. That See, to which St. Irenæus, a disciple at one remove only from St. John the Evangelist, and in days when none but Docetæ or Ebionites talked of papal corruptions, would have bid him have recourse,* was to Ken simply an adversary to be preached against and overthrown. He had therefore cut himself off from the only constituted appeal, and his position was remediless. Such and so disastrous a thing it is, whether juring or non-juring, to belong to the sect of the *Acephali*.

Henceforward, therefore, he had no future upon earth. A political oath, and "immoral prayers," stood for ever between himself and the spiritual functions with which he believed himself invested. For his friends, he had no ultimate advice but that they should quietly put the oath into their pockets, and merge again into the Establishment from which they were keeping aloof. And as to the great absorbing Future to which he was now hastening, there is to our minds a melancholy vagueness in the anticipations he expresses. Compared with the definite Catholic belief, it reminds us (we cannot help it) of the "animula, vagula, blandula," of the dying heathen emperor:

"Soul, when your flesh dissolves to dust,
To God's safe hands yourself entrust,
Be not too curious to enquire

Where to aspire.

Whether to Paradise you fly,
Or in bless'd Abram's bosom lye,
Or to that orb your flight you raise,
Where Enoch stays," &c.

Life, p. 501.

And so we leave his biographer to commit him to the

* S. Iren. adv. hæres. lib. iii. c. 3. n. 2.

earth, which he does with great tenderness and reverence. Alas, that Ken's eminent qualities, ample opportunities (to human eyes) of accepting the evidences of the Catholic Church, long years of retirement and leisure, and determined perseverance in the schism and heresy in which he was born, should compel us to stand over that grave in sorrowful silence!

We have already done something towards answering the questions, how a soul outside the Church could attain to such a measure of goodness as seems to have belonged to Ken; and whether, being what he was, he does not prove something in favour of the communion in which he lived and died. Let us now try to sum up and complete the answer. It is twofold:

(1) With the least possible disposition to speak invidiously, we believe the amount of that goodness to be exaggerated. Such is, indeed, the necessary tendency of that very fallacious argument that would rest the truth or falsehood of a system upon the excellence of the individuals in whom it is exemplified. In proportion to the narrowness of the field of vision on which "signs of life" are to be discovered, the gaze of the enquirer is strained, until it becomes quite microscopic. The argument, as Paley would say, is *cumulative*. "Every mickle makes a muckle." Here and there, each in his generation or his century, is found some divine, relieving—like the palm-trees of an oasis—the barren waste of sheer Protestantism in which he stands planted. The distant view of him is enough; and the parched and fainting Anglican hastens on with freshened hope. All this tends to exaggeration. Laud, Taylor, Ken, and half-a-dozen more, are too few and far between not to be made the very most of. Trot them out, one by one; show each in different positions; put him through all his paces, and do not spare him, for you do not know when you will meet with another. He is a bird in the hand, so take care not to let him go again. He has spoken of an intermediate state, or written about the angels, or he has worn a cope in his time, or lost his head for reverence at the communion table, or has received confessions as a matter of course, or proved to demonstration that the Church of Rome is the true schismatic. O great writers, valiant hearts, uncompromising witnesses for primitive against papal doctrine, men whose very dust

is gold!—"these be thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt."

But what does all this amount to, or where is it to end? The *argumentum ab homine* would lead us far a-field; would land us in the ditch of the old heresy, "he can't be wrong whose life is in the right." We have a high respect for the character of Numa Pompilius, which yet does not incline us to offer incense to Egeria; and we venerate the memory of Socrates, without being induced to sacrifice to Esculapius. We feel convinced of the asceticism of Arius, and still hold to the Athanasian creed. We do not deny the gifts and sincerity of Whitfield, but he has not made us join the Independents. And as to Anglicanism in particular, we feel that a cause so desperate ought to be able to appeal to something more heroic than even Bishop Ken. Greater and less are consideration in such a case, though it is difficult to fix the minimum. Good King George used to say of the early Anglican divines, that "there were giants in the earth in those days." But who fixes the standard of those excellent proportions? The Irish giant O'Brien would have been nothing out of the way in Patagonia, and the Patagonians absolutely contemptible in Brobdignag. We distrust all sliding-scales of the kind. On every side of us are men superior to their systems. Individual excellence, (save of course the one crowning grace of humility and submission to the authority of God's Church,) might be quoted in proof of almost every heresy that has existed. Does it not stand to common sense that eminent moral qualities are among the very first conditions of success in propagating or upholding doctrines of whatever kind? A man who would influence his fellows as a teacher, must do it at the cost of sacrifice and self-discipline. He must have what Aristotle calls the *πίστις ἡθικὴ* about him, or we cannot be got to listen to him at all. And supposing a religious system to be false, what should we expect but that the great enemy would exert all his skill to dress it out with the attractiveness and authority of some eminent character? Much more, then, when the character is after all not so eminent as its admirers would have it to appear. Here we will pass lightly over an ungrateful task; for comparisons are odious. We will only appeal to such of our readers as are familiar with the Lives of the Saints, and who know the more than acquiescence with which those martyrs of pen-

ance embraced the protracted sufferings and weary crosses that conformed them to their Great Exemplar. Let us only recall our sense of awe, our self-prostration, and feeling of having been raised to the contemplation of a higher sphere, and drawn nearer to Him who is wonderful in His saints, on closing some volume of Catholic biography, whether of zealous missionary or tranquil mortified cœnobite. Then compare these things with the following ejaculations of "good" Bishop Ken. Be it remembered, that we are not charging him with impatience, or saying that nine-tenths of us would have behaved as well under the sharp rheumatic pains which afflicted his later years. We are only disputing his claim as a witness for a peculiar religion, and demurring to his canonization as an example of heroic virtue. Imagine, then, (if there be not profaneness in such a comparison,) any subject of the lately translated series of Saints' lives, sitting down to pen the following piece of self-condolence:

"Pain keeps me waking in the night ;
 I longing lie for morning light :
 Methinks the sluggish sun
 Forgets he this day's course must run.
 Oh ! heavenly torch, why this delay
 In giving us our wonted day !
 I feel my watch, I tell the clock,
 I hear each crowing of the cock.
 Sweet ease, Oh whither art thou fled ?
 With one short slumber ease my head.
 My curtain oft I draw away,
 Eager to see the morning ray ;
 But when the morning gilds the skies,
 The morning no relief supplies.
 To me, alas ! the morning light
 Is as afflictive as the night."

Life, p. 468.

He disenchants us as he sings ; and we feel that whatever arguments might induce us to disavow the authority of St. Peter, and break the tradition of eighteen centuries, we should not be moved to such a consummation by any manifestation of the supernatural life in the herald of Anglicanism.

(2) But be it so, that Ken's life, and the temper of his mind, were all that his fondest admirers could wish. Does he surpass Donatus, that "ornament of the Church of

Carthage, and man of no less than martyr's glory?"* St. Augustine, we think, would have handled with all apostolical severity, both the Bishop himself, and all who endeavour to bolster up their schism by the authority of his name. We are almost afraid of wearying our readers, but we cannot forbear giving two extracts from the writings of that great doctor, with the single observation, that the argument is *à fortiori*, inasmuch as the Donatists were involved in simple schism, and not pledged to the manifold heresies of the Thirty-nine Articles.

"Let him show that the Church was either to be preserved in Africa alone, while so many other nations perished, or from Africa was to be restored and completed in all those nations. And let him show it in such wise as not to say, it is true, because I say so, or because that colleague of mine has said so, or those my colleagues, or those our bishops, or clergy, or laity; or, it is therefore true because Donatus, or Pontius, or any one else hath performed such and such wonders; or because men pray at the tombs of our dead, and are heard: or because such and such things take place there; or because that brother or that sister of ours, has seen such a vision waking, or such a vision in sleep.....If any wonderful thing take place among heretics, we ought all the more to be on our guard; for, when the Lord had said that there should be certain deceivers who by performing signs should deceive, if it were possible, even the elect,...He enforced it again strenuously, and said, '*Behold, I have told you.*' Wherefore, the apostle also admonishes," &c., [quoting 1. Tim. iv. 1.]

Then, after showing that the prayers of pagans, heretics, &c., are often answered, either in punishment for their bad will in resisting the truth, or, again, in relief of temporal affliction, or to admonish them to seek eternal salvation, he concludes:

"But unto salvation itself and life eternal no one attains who has not Christ the Head. And no one can have Christ the Head who is not in His Body, the Church; which we should recognize, as we do the Head Itself, in the sacred canonical scriptures, and not seek for it in the divers rumours, and opinions, and doings, and sayings, and visions, of men.....Whatever things of the kind take place in the Catholic Church are therefore to be approved because they take place in the Catholic Church; but she herself is not therefore manifested to be the Catholic Church because these

* "Donatum illum, illum, inquam, Donatum, quem dixerunt Ecclesiæ Carthaginis ornamentum, et martyralis gloriæ virum." S. Aug. ad Donatist. post collat. c. xvi.

things take place in her."—Ep. contra Donatist. seu de. Unit. Eccl. c. 49, 50.

Again, to Pitilianus, who had quoted, "By their fruits ye shall know them," St. Augustine replies :

"If thou askest me, by what fruits we know you rather to be ravening wolves, I bring forward the charge of schism, which thou wilt deny, but which I will at once prove ; for thou dost not communicate with all nations, and with those churches that were founded by the labours of the apostles. Here thou wilt say, I communicate not with betrayers and murderers. The seed of Abraham replies to thee, such are these thy charges, which either are not true, or touch not me. But, for the present, I put these things by ; do thou show me the Church. Immediately those words will be uttered which the Lord has warned us against in the false prophets who display their (mere) portions (partes) and strive to detach men from the Great Whole (ab universo,) Lo, here is Christ, lo, He is there. But thinkest thou the true sheep of Christ, to whom it is said, 'Believe them not,' are so silly as to listen to the wolf, saying, 'Lo, here is Christ,' and not to the shepherd, saying, 'Unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem?'"—*Contra litt. Petil. lib. II. 37.*

This we say then. The probation under which men lie for eternity is complex. It comprises the submission of the understanding to the discipline and tutorship of the faith, no less than the cultivation of devotion in the heart, or a squaring of the life to the divine law. Nay, rather, to believe rightly is the pre-requisite, and devotion and obedience are its developments. "Without faith it is impossible to please God." To reject any portion of His revelation, and endeavour to obey acceptably on the score of a mutilated creed, is to put asunder what He has joined ; to halve our obedience, and then claim reward for the whole.

But as, on the one hand, faith is thus essential, so on the other, a soul destitute of faith may often seem to be indeed actuated by it. Such a soul may perform much that shall be fair and specious ; may even produce so good an imitation of the reality that, until tested, the one might pass muster for the other. Yes ; for there is in the natural intelligence of man a perception of the good and true. There is, moreover, in every refined and cultivated spirit a tendency upward, away from all that is vile and grovelling in principle or in conduct. A strong religious imagination acts powerfully (as the poet tells us of mere human fancy)

to "unsensualize the dark mind;" * makes it revolt from obvious evil, and thereby approaches it through the avenues of purity to a clearer vision of God; good in its kind, but short of faith, and supernatural neither in its motive nor its reward. On this subject let us hear St. Francis of Sales :

"Though we have forfeited the original justice in which the first man was created,—though sin has made a frightful devastation in human nature, which has lost much of its primitive strength, yet, amid this universal wreck, we have preserved an inclination to love God above all things, as also the light of nature which shows us that He is infinitely more amiable than any of the objects He has created. We daily experience the effects of this inclination. Without even recurring to the lights derived from faith, when the understanding, following only the dictates of nature, attentively meditates on the Almighty, it always happens that nature excites an instinct in the soul, which urges the heart to bound towards the object of its affections. Scarcely has this sovereign object been proposed to the will, than it is inclined to repose in it as the source of its happiness."—On the Love of God. Book I. c. 16.

Chemists are studious to compound as well as analyse ; so now, having evaporated Ken in our alembic, and reduced him into his primary gases, let us try to condense and put him together again. For ingredients, then, take natural conscience, a holy childhood, careful training, the religious instinct highly cultivated, perhaps a freedom from any great liability to evil. Subject this raw material to the manifold influences of Winchester and Oxford, their statutes, their discipline, their lingering traditions of holier times, the silent appeals of their very architecture. Pervade it by the pseudo-catholicity which we freely accord to the Establishment, her hierarchical form, her, borrowed but crushed and jumbled liturgy, and all the vantage ground she enjoys by having stepped so quietly into the time-honoured seats of Catholic learning and devotion. You have here a combination of forces which will go far towards the production of a Ken. Superadd to all this the demands of a great position, the episcopal name, rank, employments, consideration, each of them possessing at least a *subjective* reality, and acting perpetually, in the way both of proof and standard, on the mind of the occu-

* Coleridge.

pant. Appeal to him by the prestige and antecedents lingering in every portrait on the walls of the ancient palace, and every niche in the solemn cathedral; by the honest conviction thus generated of being indeed the heir and successor of the Wykehams, the Waynfletes, the Fishers, of the past. Put all these things together. And then the only marvel is that the Establishment, instead of producing her one Ken, like the solitary aloe, blossoming in a cycle of years, has not affloresced with—we will not say a crop or parterre of them, but—at least with a rare specimen or two always on show in her conservatory. We might have expected from the Anglican branch an equal fertility with that of the golden one described by Virgil, which was always ready to sprout forth a fresh scion when its predecessor was called :

—uno avulso, non deficit alter
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.

Alas for fond hopes! he is pretty nearly the one specimen; as unique as the platypus or the dodo: and though shown to great advantage in the polished case and clear plate glass in which his biographer enshrines and displays him, we cannot find that he proves anything on investigation. There he is, and that is all. He establishes no theory; he is not genus or species to anything else. We look at him with about the same practical interest as we should on a well-grown Australian fern, or the one human fossil from Guadaloupe that stands among the chief rarities of the British Museum.

Before parting with the volume, we can now afford to entertain our readers with some of its more *neutral* passages. The period during which Ken's mature life was spent, has a picturesqueness of its own. It is not that of knights and rude retainers, nor that of the old stirring times of the cavaliers: but it is quite far enough removed from ourselves, from our manners, habits of thought, and public principles; it is sufficiently antique in costume and all externals, sufficiently behind us in the march of that civilization which tends to rub off peculiarities, and grind down society to one monotonous level:—it has, in short, those characteristics which invest it with the peculiar interest attaching to whatever is seen through the mist of years. Who does not read Mr. Macaulay's chapter on the domestic life, state of the practical arts, public im-

provements, &c., in the reign of Charles II., almost as he would read a work of pure fiction, while Bloomsbury Square rises before him, fresh from the hands of the architect, a master-piece of design and taste, shown to admiring foreigners as one of the lions of resuscitated London? Ken and his times stand mid-way between ourselves and the last of the old Catholic days of England, much as our grandfathers' powder and top-boots link us on to the times preceding the French revolution, and the new ideas then introduced into Europe. So let us now live for a page or so in the year 1683, and after going with Mr. Pepys from London to Winchester, and dining with him and Ken at the college, on the first of August, (*Life*, p. 125.) let us accompany them the same evening down to Portsmouth, and so bestow ourselves safely on board his majesty's fleet, bound, under the command of my Lord Dartmouth, on an expedition to demolish the fortifications of Tangier. Ken, at the solicitation of Dartmouth, has been appointed chaplain-in-general to the fleet.

“ Nothing could be more deplorable than the general condition and character of the naval chaplains, whom Ken was now invited to superintend. The indignities and privations they suffered are well set forth in a representation from two of their body to Mr. Secretary Pepys. They describe the ministers of the Church of England, serving at sea, as ‘too long navigant in a valley of tears; partly by misfortune, partly by their own faults, but chiefly by the iniquity of the times. The chaplains of his majesty's ships set out unfurnished with books and necessaries; are forced on mean compliances from shifts sometimes, and base tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty. They want comforts which some of the meanest in the ship enjoy. Their small pay, equal but to a common seaman's, &c. The chaplain is scarcely reckoned an officer; he has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers, but with leave first had of the captain. Besides, the hours of prayer are not fixed and stated; but being left to the commander's pleasure, are sometimes omitted, as his particular business, indisposition, or indevotion incline. Hence great neglects, and total omission of divine service, which makes the chaplain looked upon as useless, and, as the seamen sometimes tell him to his face, ‘having their money for nothing,’ &c. The remedies they propose are a proof of the sad degradation and neglect of the services of religion at that day in the fleets: to instance one only, ‘that the king allow a great Bible, and surplice, and several books of Common Prayer to each ship.’” —*Life*, p. 123.

In spite, however, of such spiritual drawbacks, Pepys writes in high spirits to his friend Evelyn on the anticipations of the voyage :

"The king's command (without any account of the reason of it) required my repair hither at less than eight-and-forty hours' warning. What our work is I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make guess at, it being handled by our masters as a secret. This only I am sure of, that, over and above the satisfaction of being thought fit for some use or other, ('tis no matter what,) I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful as companions of the first form in divinity, law, physic, and the usefulest parts of mathematics can render it, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Sheres ; with the additional pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins ; and to fill up all, good humour, good cheer, some good books, &c., and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months.'"—p. 125.

Pepys duly logs the chief events of the voyage :

"12th August. Sunday. Being at anchor off St. Helen's, morning prayers and sermon by Dr. Ken ; prayers in the afternoon.

"19th. Sunday. Weighed and stood out to sea with the fleet : all day blowing fresh. No sermon, but prayers twice by Dr. Ken.

"2nd September. Sunday. Noon, prayers. The king's declaration about the late (Rye House) plot publicly read. The next Sunday, the 9th, appointed to be observed as a thanksgiving, for his majesty's deliverance. Discourse about spirits, Dr. Ken asserting there were such, and I, with the rest, denying it : referred to another night's discourse.

"11th. After supper in my Lord's cabin, Dr. Ken and I were very hot in dispute about spirits.

"12th. Dr. Ken produced his arguments for spirits from the ancient actings of the Oracles, which I took upon me, against the next time, to answer."—*Life*, p. 127.

After landing at Tangier, they ceased to speculate on things invisible, and found ample matter for their thoughts in the substantial, tangible evils of the place.

"30th September, Sunday. To church ; a very fine and reasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the governor,* and the officers about us in Church ; but I perceived they regarded it not.

* This was Colonel Kirke, who afterwards became so notorious for his unrelenting cruelty in the West of England on the disastrous rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth.

"28th October. Sunday. Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on the one side, and the governor (Kirke) on the other, about the excessive liberty of swearing we observe here. The Doctor, it seems, has preached on it to-day."—p. 133.

We have, by the way, several incidental notices of Ken's qualities as a preacher. The Princess Anne writes to Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, at whose palace in Holborn Ken used to stay on his visits to London :

"I hear the Bishop of Bath and Wells expounds this afternoon in your chapel, and I have a great mind to hear him ; therefore I desire you would do me the favour to let some place be kept for me, where I may hear well, and be the least taken notice of, for I will bring but one body with me, and desire I may not be known."—p. 238.

Again, on the occasion of his celebrated sermon at Whitehall in 1688, in which he covertly compared the Catholic Church to Babylon, and the Puritans to Edom, while the "Reformed Church of England" appeared in the character of Judah ; Evelyn writes :

"The morning sermon was preached by Dr. Stillingfleet, on Luke, x. 41, 42. The Holy Communion followed ; but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes, zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached (in the afternoon service) by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble."*—*Life*, p. 261.

The following picture has an engaging air of tranquillity about it :

"The palace of Wells, even to this day, retains much of its former character. It stands in the midst of a garden, surrounded by a once fortified wall, at the foot of which is a fountain of the purest water, that bursts from St. Andrew's well, and passing round the palace, flows through the town. A high terraced walk, within the ramparts, overlooks the garden and palace ; without are meadows

* "I know," says St. Augustine, to the Donatist Cresconius, "how you are wont to preach up the eloquence of Donatus, Parmenianus, and others who belong to you ; how useful would this have been, if it had poured itself forth in so broad a stream for the peace of Christ, for unity, for truth, for charity !"—*Contra Crescon. Donat. lib. i, c. 2.*

extending to the foot of the Mendip hills. The noble cathedral, close at hand, glowing in all the varied richness of Christian art, is seen through the mullioned windows of the banqueting hall, now in ruins and overgrown with ivy. This hall had witnessed the trial and condemnation of Whiting, the courageous abbot of Glastonbury, who suffered martyrdom rather than betray the trusts of his abbey, that ancient and once splendid monument of the wealth and devotion of the Church. At each end of the terrace walk is a stone grotto, formed in the angles of the rampart, and covered with ivy. Over the entrance of one of these is an inscription from Horace, cut into a stone tablet:

‘ Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet,’ &c. &c.—Lib. ii. od. 6.

The placidness of the scene, these well-known lines, and the similarity of character between two holy men, who, amid the deeper thoughts of their learning and piety did not refuse to delight themselves in the works of the Roman Lyrist, recall to mind a passage in the *Life of Hooker*. ‘His former pupils, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, took a journey to Draiton Beauchamp to see their tutor, and found him with a book in his hand, (it was the *Odes of Horace*,) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field.’—*Life*, p. 165.

Let us dip into another place, to record the troubles in which high Anglicanism involved Ken’s especial friend, Dr. Hooper, when chaplain to the Princess of Orange at the Hague. Ken himself afterwards succeeded to that post, and not without similar vexations of his own. It is significant to see the Dutch Calvinism that was afterwards to form so strait an alliance with the English puritan element, here brought into collision with a chip of the old Laudian growth, before the rude shock whereby it pulverized it. The following anecdotes are quoted by the Layman from a MS. memoir of Dr. Hooper by his daughter Mrs. Prowse, and now in private hands.

“It was fortunate for Dr. Hooper that he had independent means of living; for all the time he was in Holland, he was never offered any money. The other chaplain was a worthy man, but not so well provided with subsistence in England, and not doubting but he should have a handsome stipend for his attendance, he ran so far in debt that he was so unhappy as to die under confinement by a broken heart, never being able to get one shilling of the prince. But the night before Dr. Hooper was to embark, when he left Holland, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, sent a servant to him with a bag, in which the servant told him there was seventy pounds, and an excuse for its being sent no sooner. This was all Dr. Hooper had

for a year-and-a-half's attendance ; a specimen of Dutch generosity of which I could give more instances.

"The Doctor found that some books had been put into the Princess's hands, (who was a great reader,) to incline her to a more favourable opinion of the Dissenters, than was consistent with that regard which a person so near the throne ought to have, for the preservation of the Church of England ; which made him take all opportunities to recommend her to such books as would give her the clearest notions of Church communion and government, and the great obligations to submit to them. The prince coming one day into her apartment, happened to find Eusebius's Church History, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical polity lying before her highness, and she reading in one of them, when he, with great commotion and eagerness, said, ' What, I suppose Dr. Hooper persuades you to read these books.'

"Dr. Hooper, when he came into Holland, found the princess without any regular chapel for divine service, and the house so small as to afford no room to make one, except the dining-room in which she dined, for the prince and princess never ate together, as the States and their officers often were admitted to his table ; but not fit guests for hers. This room she readily parted with for that use, (and ever after, at least as long as Dr. H. stayed there, dined in a small dark parlour,) and ordered Dr. Hooper to see the room fitted up in a proper manner for her chapel, and when it was near finished, her highness bid Dr. H. attend on such a day, when the prince intended to come and see what was done. Accordingly, the Prince came, and as there was a step or two at the communion table, and another for the chair where the princess was to sit, *he kicked at them with his foot*, asking what they were for, which being told in a proper manner, he answered with a *hum*. When the chapel was fit for use, the prince never came to it, but on Sunday evenings ; the princess constantly attended twice a day, and for fear she should ever make Dr. Hooper or the congregation wait beyond the appointed time, she ordered him, when it was so, to come to her apartment, and show himself only, as she would immediately come.

"One day the Prince was talking with Dr. Hooper about the great distraction then in England at the time of the popish plot, and the great indulgence intended to be shown to the Dissenters. But the doctor not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as he liked or expected, the Prince said to him, ' Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a bishop.' For the Doctor would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or anything belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence, if ever he had anything to do with England, Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still."—Life, pp. 100—103.

We must afford worthy Mrs. Prowse a few more lines.
After William came to the throne,

"He gave orders to the Chaplains who preached before her Royal Highness, the Princess Anne, not to make their accustomed bows to her at their going into the pulpit, or rather before they began their sermon, which that Princess (who was remarkably civil, and yet never stooping too much from her high dignity) always used to return to the preacher, neither were they allowed to send her the text. Dr. Hooper did not think any commands whatever sufficient to excuse him from paying her the honour due to her, and constantly did both, whenever his turn came."

"Just after the death of Archbishop Tillotson, a lady who came into Queen Mary's apartment, told her Majesty that she believed there was all the dignified clergy in town come to court that day to shew themselves. The Queen immediately replied, that she was sure she knew one that was not there, and that was the Dean of Canterbury (Hooper). Some of the company not seeming to think any was missing on that occasion, a lady who knew the Dean, was sent out to see, and upon her return saying he was not there, 'No,' says the Queen, 'I was sure he was not there, I can answer for him,' or words to that effect. This the Dean was told by a great lady who was there attending the Queen."—*Life*, p. 441—2.

The author is impartial in his estimate of Ken's poetical remains. A similar criticism might be passed, and even more strongly, on the writings of Jeremy Taylor, whose prose is so rich and imaginative, so crowded, even to encumbrance, with poetry of thought and figure, while the few hymns he has left are the veriest doggerel that ever disgraced a school-boy.

"In an age of criticism and refinement, enriched with the inheritance left us by our poets, from Dryden downwards, through a century and a half, Ken's verse will perhaps find few admirers. We are so accustomed to the 'elegance, facility, and golden cadence of poesy,' that no energy of thought, or genuine influences of the heart, will compensate for the want of smooth-flowing numbers. With a natural and ample vein of imagination, he was deficient in the essentials of pleasing, sonorous, and varying verse, those easy rhythms so grateful to the ear,—that metrical expression, which springs, as by instinct, to embody the poet's exuberant flow of thought and feeling. Although we might have looked for these in the author of the *Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns*, his poems often exhibit ill-regulated and turgid flights, beyond the limits of taste. Even amid heavenly images, we are perplexed by an uncouth admixture of harsh common-place passages, that encumber the brightest visions of his mind. Yet his volumes contain

many effusions of pathos, and of the highest range of poetry..... If, instead of those poetical essays, he had given us his meditations in the emphatic prose of his 'Practice of Divine Love,' and 'Winchester Manual,' we should have had a treasure of devotional exercises for all time. To test this, we need only clear some of his numerous hymns, and other poems, of their inharmonious numbers, and we find at once a store of the richest thoughts of a devout soul, breathing its aspirations to the God of prayer.....Ken was not unconscious that censures would be passed on his effusions in verse. His poetical Epistle to the reader may be thus rendered; 'When at hours relieved from anguish, I quietly read over my songs, sung to enfeeble the insults (qu: assaults?) of pain, I doom them to the flames; yet, when I have decreed them to the funeral pile, the paternal yearnings plead in their favour. Like a father who loves his deformed and blind child, my fondness prevails over the impartial sense of their defects.... Thus they gain a reprieve, and a license to appear..... Critics may condemn my poetry, as Michal reproached King David, when he danced before the ark;' &c. &c.

We wish we could find room for an account of the death-bed of Charles II, in which the author successfully refutes Burnet's heartless assertion that the King died impenitent. Ken attended with his accustomed zeal, but his exhortations to Charles to receive the Anglican communion failed of their effect upon one who, having lived (it is to be feared) without much religion of any kind, was resolved at least to die in none but the Catholic. At length, through the influence of the Duke of York, half an hour's truce* was obtained to these well-meant appeals, and during that space, a secret door admitted the priest of a proscribed faith, to do the utmost for as great a need as had often existed. The whole scene is full of interest, and well told.

"Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equûm fumantia solvere colla."

Of the style and manner of this book we feel sure the

* "Although it" (Ken's proposal to administer communion) "was not absolutely rejected, it was delayed from time to time, till (I know not by what authority) the Bishop and all others present were put forth from the presence for about the space of half an hour, during which time it has been suggested that Father Huddleston was admitted to give extreme unction."—Hawkins' Life of Ken, p. 12.

author would not quarrel with our saying that it is in harmony with the character he has undertaken to record. We trace in it a great deal of natural gentleness and sweetness, overlaid with a solid stratum of Protestantism. It exhibits, notwithstanding, a sense of the presence of the unseen world, which is refreshing in days of stirring materialism and rough hasty incredulity. There is perhaps a certain (how shall we express it?) *Waltonianism* pervading the work; a little touch of the quaintness of a generation passed away. We could read it with complacency

“By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.”

It would blend with the murmurs of Pike Pool; and might have been composed in Mr. Charles Cotton's fishing-house, on days when the hackle and May-fly would not kill. The Layman has evidently dwelt in contemplation on the character of his model-divine till he has in some sense identified himself with it. He lingers with untired affection on every lineament of the portrait; the falling band, the mild expression, the high heel and square shoe, have each a charm for him. There is a placidity and finish about the whole, which makes it a choice companion of a summer's afternoon. All this is well in its own department, but scarcely up to the mark of a theological effort. We would the Layman had confined himself to some lay subject. He might have given us very interesting sketches of the political characters of the reigns of James the Second and William of Orange, and his manner of writing would have contrasted very well with that of Mr. Macaulay. We should value from his hands such a series of *excerpts* from the Dalrymple Memoirs and other sources, as would leave untouched a field of which (we humbly think) he has scarce made himself master.

And so, having extenuated nothing, and still less set down aught in malice, we will only again record our strong conviction that this piece of biography, with all its merits, savours of the earth, not of the Church. It exhibits to us a very exemplary man, *οἱ τοὶ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι*, but certainly no Christian hero, no character of Catholic or saintly mould. We are less attracted to him, as an individual, than to some who cannot be said in any sense to represent the establishment:—Leighton, for instance, or Henry

Martyn. We think him their inferior in the degree to which he was in advance of his system. And if it is intended to display in him the prime article of the Anglican stock-in-trade, then (it may be our bad taste) we can walk safely by, *oculo irretorto*, without once coveting our neighbour's goods.

ART. II.—1. *The Golden Legend*. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. London: David Bogue, 1852.

2. *The Poetical Works of HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW*. London: David Bogue.

3. *The Prose Works of HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW*. London: David Bogue.

THE literary aspirant in America, with some advantages derived from sources of interest as yet not only unexhausted but almost untried, has his special difficulties to contend with. Human nature, indeed, though by no means "in all places the same," has always a poetic element in it, and affords materials which, when used by the hand of a master, are capable of being combined into the noblest results: but in a new land it is not easy for genius itself to find its way. Literature, like art, is in part a tradition; and to reunite its severed links is not easy. In Europe the traditions that presided over the schools of mediæval art, have long since been broken; and those who would revive art among us have to solve a problem, the vastness of which might well appal them. Is the artist to work on the foundations of the earlier schools? or to continue the progress of the later? or to combine the characteristics of many schools? He has to learn at the same time how to conceive and how to execute. His feet are in a new world; and he has to walk, not only without leading strings, but without the slenderest line to steady his steps, and prevent his eye from wandering. In America, where poetry is but a recent growth, the poet is met by the same difficulty. The very abundance of his materials is an additional embarrassment to him. Is he to seek for subjects among the in-

terests of the day ; or to sit down beneath the shade of antiquity, amid the ruined cities of central America, where trees, centuries old, grow from the fissures of walls which in their day rose above the labours of earlier builders? Is he to look on the conquerors as his ancestors, or as an intrusive race? Should he aim at something wholly new ; or is he to seek his models in the old world? If so, in what country, and at what period? His difficulty in this respect is illustrated with much humour by Mr. Longfellow ; and there is excellent sense in the conclusion he arrives at. A literary pretender betakes himself to a man of genius with a view of turning his abilities to account.

" 'I think, Mr. Churchill,' said he, 'that we want a national literature, commensurate with our mountains and rivers,—commensurate with Niagara, and the Alleghanies, and the great Lakes!'

" 'Oh!'

" 'We want a national epic that shall correspond to the size of the country ; that shall be to all other epics what Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi is to all other paintings,—the largest in the world.'

" 'Ah!'

" 'We want a national drama in which scope enough shall be given to our gigantic ideas, and to the unparalleled activity and progress of our people.'

" 'Of course!'

" 'In a word, we want a national literature altogether shaggy and unshorn, that shall shake the earth, like a herd of buffaloes thundering over the prairies.'

" 'Precisely,' interrupted Mr. Churchill ; 'but excuse me :—are you not confounding things that have no real analogy? Great has a very different meaning when applied to a river and when applied to a literature.' * * * 'But at all events,' urged Mr. Hathaway, 'let us have our literature national. If it is not national it is nothing.'

" 'On the contrary, it may be a great deal. Nationality is a good thing to a certain extent ; but universality is better. All that is best in the great poets of all countries, is, not what is national in them, but what is universal. Their roots are in their native soil ; but their branches wave in the unpatriotic air, that speaks the same language unto all men, and their leaves shine with the illimitable light that pervades all lands. * * Let us be natural, and we shall be national enough. Besides, our literature can be strictly national only so far as our character and modes of thought differ from those of other nations. Now, as we are very

like the English,—are, in fact English under a different sky,—I do not see how our literature is to be very different from theirs. * * It is not an imitation, but as some one has said, a continuation of it.' "

* * * * *

" 'But I insist on originality.'

" 'Yes, but without spasms and convulsions. Authors must not, like Chinese soldiers, expect to win victories by turning summersets in the air. * * A national literature is not the growth of a day. Centuries must contribute their dew and sunshine to it. * * As the blood of all nations is mingling with our own, so will their thoughts and feelings finally mingle in our literature. We shall draw from the Germans tenderness, from the Spaniards passion, from the French vivacity, to mingle more and more with our English solid sense. And this will give us universality, so much to be desired.' "

These views seem to us, in the main, sound. The only expression against which we are disposed to except, is that which implies an antagonism between the national and the universal in poetry. It is in but a superficial sense that a poet is national, if he is precluded by that circumstance from being universal also. Whether we refer to ancient times or to modern, we shall find that in poetry of the highest order the universal element exists as the basis of a human interest, and that the national element is an addition, not a thing substituted. The former exists as the *form*, so to speak, the latter as the colour; and each, far from prejudicing, adds to the effect of the other. The characters of Homer have been extolled by one set of critics for their universality, and by another for their individuality: and the truth is, that between the two no opposition exists. The larger quality includes the smaller. To advance, indeed, from the principle of individuality to a universal conception of character by a process of generalization, could at best but produce delineations of a very hybrid order: but in the case of a first-rate poet, one whose creations are universal by nature, not by effort, the process is the converse of this. His characters are originally conceived by the imagination in the universal mould of humanity, and, at the same time endowed by a lively observation with the graphic traits of individuality. We need hardly point out that if between the extreme points of individuality and universality there is no necessary opposition, still less can an essential antagonism exist between the national and the universal types.

Shakspeare is the most universal of poets ; yet so national is he that not a few have derived from his historic plays the greater part of their knowledge of English history ; and grave senators invoke his verses in banqueting halls as a protection against " the cardinal's hat." Burns is perhaps the most national poet of recent times ; yet even his Scotch dialect cannot confine an enthusiastic affection for his song to the northern side of the border.

For all practical purposes, however, the true doctrine is substantially put forth in Mr. Longfellow's statement, " let us be natural and we shall be national enough." His own poetry is national as long as it treads American soil. He has also, however, cultivated in no small degree that faculty which, abandoning its own especial point of view, enters into that mode of thought, and those associations of ideas, which belong to other countries and other periods. His poetic sympathies are singularly ductile ; and, without losing its identity his genius exerts itself in a different mode according as it finds its materials in America or in Europe. We shall endeavour to illustrate both classes of his works.

The best known in this country of Mr. Longfellow's poems, *Evangeline*, is an illustration of American annals. In those annals few passages are more touching than that political eviction, described at length in Haliburton's history of Nova Scotia, which desolated a whole province, and in one day uprooted so large a proportion of the original colonists of what was then called Acadia, from the fields they had embanked, the forest they had cleared, and the homesteads they had raised in the wild. On this occasion a European race experienced what the Indian races had so often encountered on a larger scale. The wanderings of those exiles, some of whom in the evening of their days found their way back to their native land, and laid their dust beside that of their forefathers, presented to Mr. Longfellow a theme which he has known how to use. No one can read the poem without receiving from its perfect verisimilitude and consistency, a pledge that he has been true to the manners and characters described.

The following lines are taken from the earlier part of the poem, descriptive of the patriarchal ways and happy security of the Acadians before the fatal edict was issued against them :

"Now recommenced the reign of rest, and affection, and stillness.
Day with its burden and heat had departed, and twilight, descend-
ing,
Brought back the evening star to the sky, and the herds to the
homestead.
Pawing the ground they came, and resting their necks on each
other,
And with their nostrils distended, inhaling the freshness of even-
ing.
Foremost, bearing the bell, Evangeline's beautiful heifer,
Proud of her snow-white hide, and the ribbon that waved from her
collar,
Quietly paced, and slow, as if conscious of human affection.
Then came the shepherd back with his bleating flocks from the
seaside,
Where was their favourite pasture. Behind them followed the
watch-dog,
Patient, full of importance, and grand in the pride of his instinct,
Walking from side to side with a lordly air, and superbly
Waving his bushy tail, and urging forward the stragglers."

Not less excellent is the following sketch of an American Prairie:

"Just where the woodlands met the flowery surf of the prairie,
Mounted upon his horse, with Spanish saddle and stirrups,
Sat a herdsman, arrayed in gaiters, and doublet of deerskin.
Broad and brown was the face that from under the Spanish som-
brero
Gazed on the peaceful scene, with the lordly look of its master.
Round about him were numberless herds of kine, that were grazing
Quietly in the meadows, and breathing the vapoury freshness
That uprose from the river, and spread itself over the landscape.
Slowly lifting the horn that hung at his side, and expanding
Fully his broad deep chest, he blew a blast, that resounded
Wildly, and sweetly, and far, through the still damp air of the
evening.
Suddenly out of the grass the long white horns of the cattle
Rose like flakes of foam on the adverse currents of ocean.
Silent a moment they gazed, then bellowing rushed o'er the
prairie,
And the whole mass became a cloud, a shade in the distance."

Its singular descriptive power is, however, but a subordinate merit in a work which has already taken its place among the very best in a class of which modern times have produced few good specimens,—that of narrative poetry. In its pathos at once, and in its singular completeness, it

equals another beautiful poem, the scene of which is also cast in America—Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*. It is, however, very much more correct in its diction, and in the delineation of character it has both a wider range, and a higher scope. We know no other instance of equal length in which the Hexameter is so successfully adapted to the English language, and in which that painfully obtrusive cadence, the chief defect of the metre, is so felicitously toned down. It is not the metre only of *Evangeline* that reminds us of Goëthe's *Hermann and Dorothea*, nor the circumstance that in both the characters are taken from humble life. In both the delineation of character is marked by a grave simplicity, a genial sympathy, an utter indifference to theatrical effect, and a noble impartiality and breadth of style. In both poems the interest is founded on what belongs to our universal nature, not on what is special in position or extraordinary in character. In both there is a vein of refined humour, which never interferes with a sort of rustic dignity.

There is a quaint verisimilitude in the mode in which the infinitesimal changes of mind and mood are illustrated in this poem. Such for instance is the picture of a disputant pozed :

"Silent, but not convinced, when the story was ended, the blacksmith
 Stood like a man who fain would speak, but findeth no language ;
 And all his thoughts congealed into lines on his face, as the vapours
 Freeze in fantastic shapes on the window panes in the winter."

This quaintness sometimes borders on the fantastic, as in the brief sketch of the same old man when stunned by the loss of all, he sits on the sea shore amid the waning watch fires :

"Thus he approached the place where *Evangeline* sat with her
 father,
 And in the flickering light beheld the face of the old man,
 Haggard, and hollow, and wan, and without either thought or
 emotion,
 E'en as the face of a clock from which the hands have been taken."

But the great charm of the poem is unquestionably the character of *Evangeline*, drawing, as it does, so much out of materials apparently so small, and teaching us that the qualities of patience and devotedness alone, when exer-

cised with a religious purity of heart, rise into the scale of heroic virtue. We know of no delineation more touching than that of this young maiden, accompanied by the aged Priest of Grand Pré, wandering from land to land in search of her betrothed husband, and continuing that search till youth had faded into age. There is an incident in the poem which few who have read it can forget; for how many, whatever their object of pursuit, believe that at some moment they have been within a hand's breadth of that object, and have missed it. We allude to the passage where the youth, way-worn and way-wearyed, sails on the Mississippi past a little woody island, on whose shore the maiden whom he pursues, and her companions, exhausted by a night of toil, have lain down, and sleep. He passes the slumberer without seeing her; and they meet no more till that last hour in which, recognized at last, the aged and fever-stricken wanderer dies in the arms of the Sister of Charity. The mournfulness of this beautiful poem is the deeper from being so unobtrusive. Evangeline never pities herself, or is tempted to think of herself as of an ill-used person. Her ordinary mood is that of a quiet and not unhopeful sadness; and in the midst of trackless forests and lonely prairies the spirit of love finds her often, and consoles her profoundly, gushing from the rifted depths of a heart, wounded indeed and widowed, but secretly in union with those springs of immortal tenderness, whose fountains are above. Extracts could do but little justice to a poem, the merit of which consists mainly in the absence of salient points, and in the pathos which broods like a spirit above the whole. We must content ourselves with but one more extract from it.

The wanderer loves the land of Penn, because its simple manners remind her of her father's home in Acadia, and the friends of her childhood.

"So, when the fruitless search, the disappointed endeavour,
Ended, to recommence no more upon earth, uncomplaining,
Thither, as leaves to the light, were turned her thoughts and her
footsteps,

As from a mountain's top, the rainy mists of the morning
Roll away, and afar we behold the landscape before us,
Sun-illuminated, with shining rivers, and cities, and hamlets,
So fell the mists from her mind, and she saw the world far below
her,

Dark no longer, but all illumed with love; and the pathway

Which she had climbed so far lying smooth and fair in the distance.

Gabriel was not forgotten. Within her heart was his image,
Clothed in the beauty of love and youth, as last she beheld him,
Only more beautiful made by his deathlike silence and absence.
Into her thoughts of him time entered not, for it was not.
Over him years had no power; he was not changed, but trans-
figured;

He had become to her heart as one who is dead, and not absent;
Patience and abnegation of self, and devotion to others,
This was the lesson a life of trial and sorrow had taught her.
So was her love diffused, but like to some odorous spices,
Suffered no waste nor loss, though filling the air with aroma.
Other hope had she none, nor wish in life, but to follow
Meekly with reverent steps, the sacred feet of her Saviour."

The most striking of Mr. Longfellow's minor poems is the "Building of the Ship." It reminds us not a little of Schiller's "Song of the Bell," in structure, and is not less successful in the mode in which, with the narrative, an illustration of human life is interwoven. It was as natural for an American poet to connect his allegory of life with the image of a ship, as for a German, more attached to the past than eager about the future, to look up for it to the ancestral church tower.

"Build me straight, O worthy Master,
Staunch and strong, a goodly vessel,
That shall laugh at all disaster,
And with wave and whirlwind wrestle!

"The merchant's word
Delighted the master heard;
For his heart was in his work, and the heart
Giveth grace unto every Art.
A quiet smile played round his lips,
As the eddies and dimples of the tide
Play round the bows of ships,
That steadily at anchor ride.
And with a voice that was full of glee,
He answered, 'Ere long we will launch
A vessel as goodly and strong, and staunch,
As ever weathered a wintry sea!'

... ..
"The sun was rising o'er the sea,
And long the level shadows lay,
As if they, too, the beams would be
Of some great airy argosy,

Framed and launched in a single day,
That silent architect, the sun,
Had hewn and laid them every one,
Ere the work of man was yet begun.
Beside the Master, when he spoke,
A youth, against an anchor leaning,
Listened to catch his slightest meaning.
Only the long waves as they broke
In ripples on the pebbly beach
Interrupted the old man's speech.

...
" 'Thus,' said he, ' will we build the ship !
Lay square the blocks upon the slip,
And follow well this plan of mine.
Choose the timbers with greatest care ;
Of all that is unsound beware ;
For only what is sound and strong
To this vessel shall belong.
Cedar of Maine and Georgia pine
Here together shall combine.
A goodly frame, and a goodly fame,
And the UNION be her name !
For the day that gives her to the sea
Shall give my daughter unto thee !'

" The Master's word
Enraptured the young man heard ;
And as he turned his face aside,
With a look of joy and a thrill of pride,
Standing before
Her father's door,
He saw the form of his promised bride.
The sun shone on her golden hair,
And her cheek was glowing fresh and fair,
With the breath of the morn and the soft sea air.
Like a beauteous barge was she,
Still at rest on the sandy beech,
Just beyond the billow's reach ;
But he
Was the restless, seething, stormy sea !"

Day after day the old man and the youth bind together
the mighty beams drawn from the heart of distant forests ;
and every evening the youth and his affianced bride listen
by the embers of the fire to tales of the sea. The skeleton
ship is at last " with sinews overspread," and the giant
bulk casts an unchecked shadow along the sands. The
anchor, the rudder, the figurehead, each in its turn finds

its place. The slender spars hang aloft in the air, barring the sky ; innumerable flags float in the breeze, and the ship arrayed thus in her bridal splendour, stands ready to be wedded to the sea. Another bride and bridegroom stand on her deck, listening to a marriage homily from their old pastor ; and the ship with its freight bounds upon the flood.

“ Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State,
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rung, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope !

... ..
“ In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee !”

Against some, at least of the rocks with which that vessel is threatened, Mr. Longfellow, in the spirit of enlightened patriotism, makes his protest. In his poems on slavery he has lifted up his voice against the greatest, though not the most insidious of the evils which afflict his country. Considering the degree in which British legislation is implicated in that reproach, and the comparatively recent period at which the same evil was extirpated from the British dominions, comparatively trifling as was in our case the temptation to retain it, we cannot but feel that it is in a very different voice from that of lofty denunciation that we are entitled to address a nation still involved in that grievous crime, and infected by that cancerous disease. It was to be expected that in poetry the righteous cause would on this occasion find a hearty ally, and that the imagination would be on the same side as that moral sense which is its great support. But there are other influences which sap the social fabric with a poison more subtle, and therefore more dangerous than

slavery. Materialism, for example, becomes practically canonized as a virtue in those states of society in which the wealth of nations becomes the chief object of national ambition, and individual aggrandisement the end of personal exertion. Among ourselves this tendency has made a progress deplored by all deep thinkers, and denounced by religious men even in those sects which look to prosperity as one of the "notes" of the church, and which test the authenticity of a religion by the degree in which it stimulates industrial success, almost as confidently as if, in the old time the Divine blessing had rested, not on the pastoral and patriarchal races, but on the builders of the mighty Tower. Yet in Europe we are surrounded by all the influences which produce a nobler habit of thought. The arts and sciences which presuppose leisure, and a leisurely habit of mind, not only flourish around us, but still retain, in part at least, their old position relatively to religion, and grow on the same stem. We have among us the old ecclesiastical institutions of Mediæval Europe, under the shelter of which all that was strong and noble in our social and civil institutions grew up: the ancient cathedrals still overawe a light age; and from their ruins the old monasteries still utter an eucharistic as well as an upbraiding language. So strong among us are these influences, that those who disown them cannot escape the charmed circle; and the imitation or the emulation of Catholicity is the source of all that is best in establishments which, even in denouncing Catholicity, still use but inferior and spurious dialects of the Catholic tongue, and can neither preach nor legislate against the Church without, at the same time, living on her alms. Among us there exist, likewise, no inconsiderable remains of those ancient "manners," stronger than all laws, which witness in favour of spiritual things, and protest against the baseness of a life devoted to merely secular ends. Yet in the midst of all these aids, how rapid among us has been the growth of a practical materialism, such as is expressed, not in commercial progress, in railroads, in factories, clubs, or the like, but in an undue and disproportioned reliance upon these things! It is much to be feared that the reality is even worse than the whited exterior, and that if we were loosed from all those hallowing influences which, though they exist in the present, and in part neutralize its special tendencies, belong, not-

withstanding, to the past, the lot which we should choose for ourselves would bear less resemblance to the state of things we have inherited, than to that which we build up successively in all our colonies, and in which we take pride. It would be impossible but that the same tendencies should exist in a still less balanced form in a nation like America, flung suddenly upon the great tide of existence. In no single instance does Mr. Longfellow's poetry pander to what is sordid or dangerous in these tendencies. He carols no hymns to the "Lone Star," and sounds no march to aggression and annexation. He neither looks to California for the golden age, nor measures greatness and glory by the square acre. The "go-ahead" instinct is irrefutable by logic, because it is an instinct, not a principle:—its confutation is to be found in that nobler instinct which points upward. Such is the tendency of his poetry generally, and such, unfortunately, is by no means the necessary tendency of poetry. Art, in its Epicurean form, extends itself in a line as level to the earth as the cornice of a Greek temple, and is far more successful than the philosopher of the Garden in preaching pleasure. As a specimen of poetry with a higher aim, we would refer our reader to a poem of Mr. Longfellow's, which we have not room to quote, entitled "Excelsior."

The most important of Mr. Longfellow's poems is the longest, and the latest he has published, "The Golden Legend." It is a poetic sketch of Europe in the middle ages. Mr. Southey, we think, had at one time an intention of writing a poem which should illustrate the manners and religion of mediæval Europe, as *Thalaba* and *Kehama* illustrate those of Arabia and India respectively. The enterprise would have been one worthy of his rich imagination, fertile invention, and of that moral purity which is the soul of his poetry; but it is much to be doubted whether his prejudices against the Church would have permitted him to execute it with even such a degree of fidelity as is necessary for poetic purposes. His horizon in matters theological was narrow, (wide as was his literary reading,) compared with that of Burke, Butler, Johnson, and Alexander Knox, as is commonly the case where ecclesiastical principles are grounded on political views and national traditions. Had he written such a poem, it is but too probable that he would have fallen into that very superficial error which treats as a sort of "Christian

Mythology'' whatever belongs to the legendary department of religion.

Mr. Longfellow has executed his task with much poetical impartiality. He cannot be said to take a side, and his work is not, like Mr. Kingsley's "*Saint's Tragedy*," a party-pamphlet in verse. He has not been accused on the one hand of an intention to smuggle a contraband Popery into American literature, or, on the other, of snatching from Catholicism whatever ornaments he can turn to account, and disarming suspicion by misrepresentation. His design has been to produce a faithful poetic picture of the time delineated. To discern what is most deeply beautiful and significant in the "*Ages of Faith*," requires, of course, the intuition of faith, and also a knowledge which belongs to Catholic philosophy only. Judging the work, however, by that standard to which it can most fairly be made amenable, that of poetry, his version of the thirteenth century, with its devotion, its simplicity, its romance, and its wildness, and the other dark or bright traits which lie upon its surface, is eminently striking and suggestive.

The story may be told in a few words. A young prince, Henry of Hohenek, graced, like Hamlet, with every knightly virtue and accomplishment, falls into a strange disease, after much study given to a philosophy bordering on the magical. A dull fire eats into his bones, and dries up his veins. Day by day he withers away. The court physicians can do nothing for him, and the doctors of Salerno pronounce that but one remedy remains. He must die, unless a maiden can be found who, of her own good will, gives up her life for his. Such an exchange is abhorrent to the whole nature of the prince. He falls, however, under the controul of the evil one, and all his nobler instincts give way. Lucifer, under the disguise of a travelling physician, has induced him to taste his enchanted "*Elixir of Perpetual Youth*." The intoxication of recovered health soon passes. He does penance, and abandoning his castle on the Rhine, or driven from it, wanders forth a pilgrim. He takes refuge in the Odenwald, and is there harboured with a tender loyalty by an old tenant and his family. They are all devoted to him; but Elsie, the eldest daughter, a girl of fourteen, surpasses the rest in love. She has heard his tale, and broods over it long. A great purpose kindles at last

within her, and she resolves to be the sacrifice. Her parents believe her heroic design to come from divine inspiration, and abandon their opposition. Accompanied by the devoted maiden, the prince sets forth with his suite for Salerno. The poem consists mainly in strikingly characteristic descriptions of the scenes which they pass through on their way.

The character of Elsie is one of the sweetest and noblest conceptions in modern poetry. Her whole being projects itself forward in one great aspiration. She belongs as much to a higher sphere as if wings hung invisibly at her side. The spiritual world is to her the real world; and by necessary consequence, the material world, with all its interests, has for her a visionary character, of value only so far as it presents a field for elevated action, or as it images Divine things in type and symbol. She seems to have only so much of mortality about her as renders her capable of generous suffering. To understand her character one need but to read her favourite legend, "Christ and the Sultan's Daughter," (p. 52.)

It will easily be believed that with such a companion by his side, all the power of the Tempter does not prevent the better nature of the Prince from revolting against the yoke to which his sin has subjected him. The moral of the poem consists mainly in the mode in which a heavenly influence is exerted simply by sympathy and example. Elsie preaches no homilies; but not only is her great act the best of homilies, but the mode in which everything that they meet presents itself to her fresh and buoyant spirit, in which a beautiful nature is sustained and crowned by that high grace without which the noblest instincts put on corruption, constitutes for him a perpetual comment on the universe, and forces him to see it, at least by glimpses, not as disfigured by man, but as it was when its Creator bent over it, and saw all things that they were very good. The process however is a gradual one. The tyranny of a single bad purpose is thus powerfully described.

" By the same madness still made blind,
By the same passion still possessed,
I come again to the house of prayer,
A man afflicted and distressed.
As in a cloudy atmosphere,
Through unseen sluices of the air,
A sudden and impetuous wind
Strikes the great forest white with fear,

And every branch, and bough, and spray,
 Points all its quivering leaves one way,
 And meadows of grass, and fields of grain,
 And the clouds above, and the slanting rain,
 And smoke from the chimneys of the town,
 Yield themselves to it, and bow down ;
 So does this dreadful purpose press
 Onward, with irresistible stress,
 And all my thoughts and faculties
 Struck level by the strength of this,
 From their true inclination turn,
 ' And all stream forward to Salern !'

No wonder that he should thus contrast her state and his :—

' To me the thought of death is terrible,
 Having such hold on life. To thee it is not
 So much even as the lifting of a latch ;
 Only a step into the open air
 Out of a tent already luminous
 With light that shines through its transparent walls !
 O pure in heart ! from thy sweet dust shall grow
 Lilies, upon whose petals shall be written
 ' Ave Maria' in characters of gold !'

The travellers reach Strasburg as the good city is celebrating its Easter solemnities. There is much spirit in the description of the scene in the great square as beheld by the wanderers from a quiet recess in the porch of the mighty Minster. High up in the windy tower the bells murmur their part in the general joy ; every one meets his neighbour with the salutation, " Christ is arisen ;" thicker and thicker the crowds pour on with banners, and a gay attire, that make the streets look like " a flower-besprinkled meadow," as the golden sunshine flashes from them. A monk stands in the midst, and three couriers successively gallop past with news which he affects to disbelieve.

" ' Christ is arisen !' Whence come you. ' From Court.'
 Then I do not believe it : you say it in sport.

(*Cracks his whip again*)

" ' Christ is arisen !' Whence come you ? ' From town.'
 Then I do not believe it : away with you, clown.

(*Cracks his whip again.*)

" ' Christ is arisen !' Whence come you ? ' From Rome.'
 Ah, now I believe. He is risen indeed.
 Ride on with your news at the top of your speed."

In the Cathedral a "Miracle Play" is represented, which will be perused with very different feelings by different readers. Some will find in its quaintness and familiarity no more than a bold illustration of that good old time when familiarity was in no degree connected with irreverence, and will reply to a captious criticism with "*honi soit qui mal y pense.*" Others will accuse it of downright profaneness. Such a charge we do not think to be merited; although the author should certainly have made more allowance for the difference between the robust time which he describes, and that in which we live. There is another scene, however, in the "Golden Legend" against which we must protest more strongly. It is that descriptive of the revels among the Friars in the Convent of Hirshaw. The coarseness and vulgarity of this scene have nothing to relieve them, or to compensate for its wearisome length, which would have been out of all due proportion, however perfect the execution of it had been. Of verisimilitude it is wholly destitute. Friars are spoken of as if they were the serving-men of the Monks inhabiting the statelier portions of the same Convent. "Midnight Masses" are apparently a matter of ordinary routine; and the sorry romance of Abelard and Eloisa is served up for the entertainment of a rabble whose debauchery is of the most unsentimental sort. The materials for this scene appear to have been drawn from such instances of human aberration as "Maria Monk," and the miserable trash of the same sort, with which credulity and sectarian animosity are fed till they labour under a perpetual nightmare. Mr. Longfellow apparently desired to introduce some lines of shade into his picture of the middle ages. Not finding such as were suitable in the more genial region of his own imagination, or in the records from which its picture of the olden time has been formed, he has snatched them from such modern sources as were nearest at hand. It needed no gift of prophecy to perceive that this species of scene-painting would harmonize but ill with such cabinet pictures as he has given in his descriptions of the old illuminator of the Scriptorium, the Abbot Ernestus, and the blind Monk, once a warrior, whose fierce passions have found rest in the Convent cloister, and whose ardour has at last met an object worth expending itself upon.

Passing by Lucerne, with its cross-shaped lake, its cloudy mountain ridges, and its far-famed wooden bridge,

painted over with the "dance of death," the travellers ascend the path of St. Gothard, and thence descend into the south. The first impression made on them by the Holy Land of the New Law is indicated in these lines:—

"This is indeed the Blessed Mary's land,
Virgin, and Mother of our dear Redeemer!
All hearts are touched and softened at her name;
Alike the bandit, and the bloody hand,
The priest, the prince, the scholar, and the peasant,
The man of deeds, the visionary dreamer,
Pay homage to her as one ever present!
And even as children, who have much offended
A too indulgent Father, in great shame,
Penitent, and not yet daring unattended
To go into his presence, at the gate
Speak with their sister, and confiding wait
Till she goes in before, and intercedes;
So men, repenting of their evil deeds,
And yet not venturing rashly to draw near
With their requests an angry Father's ear,
Offer to her their prayers and their confession,
And she for them in heaven makes intercession.
And if our faith had given us nothing more
Than this example of all-womanhood,
So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,
So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,
This were enough to prove it higher and truer
Than all the creeds the world had known before."—p. 245.

From Genoa they embark for Salerno. The sea, with its vastness and vagueness, stirs profoundly the souls of both the dwellers in an inland region, as, on the night of their arrival, they gaze on its dim expanse. To the Prince, as he walks moodily on the terrace, the white sails that haunt its far horizon seem as spirits from a ghostly world still hovering on the confines of existence, and inviting him to seek peace in the "darksome sea of death." The same music modulates the thoughts of Elsie to a very different movement.

"The night is calm and cloudless,
And still as still can be,
And the stars come forth to listen
To the music of the sea.
They gather, and gather, and gather,
Until they crowd the sky,
And listen in breathless silence
To the solemn liturgy.

It begins in rocky caverns,
As a voice that chants alone
To the pedals of the organ
In monotonous undertone ;
And anon from shelving beaches,
And shallow sands beyond
In snow-white robes uprising,
The ghostly choirs respond.
And sadly and unceasing
The mournful voice sings on,
And the snow-white choirs still answer,
Christe eleison !”

The reader will have anticipated the end. They reached Salerno, and at the moment when the sacrifice is to be completed, the demon-spell breaks. The Prince repents, and the delusion passes from him like a cloud. Ursula, the old mother of Elsie, as she sits alone by her desolate hearth lamenting her lost child, is cheered by a forester sent before to tell her that her daughter will in a few hours be restored to her arms. A modern romance must end in a marriage: it is accordingly as the Prince's bride that we meet with Elsie next, on the evening of their bridal day. This is one of the most beautiful scenes in the poem, and while equal to any in sweetness of conception, is superior to most in grace of diction. The poem ends with an Epilogue in which the Angels of the Record, in the golden sunset of a summer's day, ascend celebrating the triumph of Holiness.

THE ANGEL OF GOOD DEEDS, (*With a closed book.*)

“ God sent his messenger the rain,
And said unto the mountain brook,
‘ Rise up, and from thy caverns look
And leap with naked, snow-white feet,
From the cool hills into the heat
Of the broad arid plain.’

“ God sent his messenger of Faith,
And whispered in the maiden's heart,
‘ Rise up, and look from where thou art,
And scatter with unselfish hands
Thy freshness on the barren sands
And solitude of death.’

“ O beauty of holiness,
Of self-forgetfulness, of lowliness !

O power of meekness,
 Whose very gentleness and weakness
 Are like the yielding, irresistible air !
 Upon the pages
 Of the sealed volume that I bear,
 The deed divine
 Is written in characters of gold
 That never shall grow old.

* * * *

THE ANGEL OF EVIL DEEDS (*With open book.*)

" Not yet, not yet
 Is the red sun wholly set,
 But evermore recedes,
 While open still I bear
 The Book of Evil Deeds,
 To let the breathings of the upper air
 Visit its pages and erase
 The records from its face !

* * * *

" Lo ! over the mountain steeps
 A dark, gigantic shadow sweeps
 Beneath my feet ;
 A blackness inwardly brightening
 With sullen heat,
 As a storm-cloud lurid with lightning.
 And a cry of lamentation,
 Repeated and again repeated,
 Deep and loud
 As the reverberation
 Of cloud answering unto cloud,
 Swells and rolls away in the distance,
 As if the sheeted
 Lightning retreated,
 Baffled and thwarted by the wind's resistance.

" It is Lucifer,
 The son of mystery ;
 And since God suffers him to be,
 He too is God's minister,
 And labours for some good
 By us not understood."

The moral elevation of this poem, and the felicity of its descriptive passages, constitute its great charm. Incident it has but little, and we hardly miss it. The interest is sustained by the liveliness of its delineations, and by the pathos of a position such as Elsie's. The characters also,

though in most cases but sketches, have reality about them. There are three very different species of character which we commonly meet in dramatic or poetic delineations. These are, the portrait character, for which observation supplies the materials;—the class character abstracted from human life by a larger generalization;—and the ideal character. The mere portrait is detected at once by its possessing accidental attributes such as can belong only to an individual, and combining in but scant measure those qualities which by their natural affinities refer themselves to a class. Characters of this sort have that startling likeness which belongs often to portraits of an inferior but not unpopular order; the reader seems to remember their dress, attitude, and most trivial idiosyncrasies; and the recognition gives him pleasure. To this order belong for the most part the characters of our popular novels and contemporary comedy; and it may be called the “*ordo pedestris*” of dramatic delineation. The “*ordo equestris*,” that of class characters, is marked by consistency and philosophic coherence, but frequently has less of saliency, and cannot be appreciated without something more of intellectual effort. In recognizing such characters we recognize also the relation in which they stand to that mode of life by which they are produced, and of which they are exponents. Ideal characters are conceptions of a nobler order, emanating as they do, not from observation or induction, but from the creative imagination. It is in the main, the moral reason that suggests such characters to that plastic faculty which impresses upon them the symmetry that belongs to itself; though, as no faculty works by itself, experience and generalization exercise a subordinate office in filling up the details of the picture. The process by which such characters are conceived is concealed from the Poet himself, who works with the unconsciousness of genius in its highest moods, so that his intellectual offspring is “born in a holy twilight.” To the critic, however, they frequently present the appearance of having been formed upon the supposed predominance of some one among our human constituents, on the absence of some quality, or on the co-existence of two or more special attributes; and so have often the effect of theorems demonstrated from postulates of the imagination. Wide as is the interval between the two last named species of delineation they sometimes run into each other when

the class character, without being really elevated above actual life, is brilliantly illuminated by the lights of fancy, and invested with the pageantries of costume. To this intermediate order may be referred many of the characters in Scott's novels, and in the higher department of modern literature generally. The difference however will not escape a keen insight. Ideal characters are true to themselves on whatever side we contemplate them, and under whatever circumstances they may act—nay, suppose them placed under new circumstances, and we still instinctively feel how they must act. Class characters, on the other hand, are comparatively one-sided, and for this reason are often presented in pairs instead of standing out separately. The ideal character is suggestive, offering to each reader some different intimation, or exciting some special train of associations. Being based on the moral sense, it possesses a deep moral significance; and it is with a spiritual interest that we watch its development and await its fortunes. While raised higher above us, it is also brought closer to our sympathies than the class character, and often affects us with the sense of a more intimate reality, though less definitely understood. It would be an error to suppose that these different methods of delineation belong exclusively to different writers. There are of course many who never rise above the lowest of them; but the highest writers are not always in their highest moods, and there are various species of composition which require a combination of them all. Both in his "Golden Legend" and his other works Mr. Longfellow unites them. Elsie is an ideal character, and to that circumstance owes her absolute simplicity and unity; and slightly as he is sketched, Walter the Minnesinger, the Crusader, and Bard, belongs to the same order. To the other two divisions belong the parents of Elsie, the Lady Abbess, the Monks, Scholastics, and the dramatis personæ of the piece generally. The character of the Prince is formed upon an arbitrary type, including qualities that belong to a later and more self-tormenting age than that described. Lucifer seems to us drawn with an unsteady hand. In general conception he is a sort of mitigated Mephistopheles; but his scoffs often degenerate into a sort of a good humoured badinage. The characters both of the Prince and of his tempter are out of harmony with the mediæval character of the poem; and this we regard as its chief fault.

Our quotations will suffice to indicate the chief qualities of Mr. Longfellow's poetry without any elaborate analysis on our part. No reader can fail to recognise in them a rich and various imagination, a deep appreciation of the beautiful, both in matter and morals, and especially a happy tact for the discernment and exhibition of the characteristic in all objects. These qualities are supported by a style full of point and significance, as well as power in the more important passages. It is, on the other hand, occasionally far-fetched, especially in its imagery, in which an external object is often compared, not to something with which the human imagination may generally be supposed to be familiar, but to something that belongs to a special or accidental association of ideas. It is thus that a star, attended by another star as it moves into the sky, is compared to Hagar wandering into the wilderness with Ishmael near her. Such images are often pretty; but they do not belong to the larger and more Catholic school of poetry, to which, as we have already remarked, *Evangeline* may be especially referred. On matters of mere detail it is hardly worth while to make observation. For the Five wise Virgins Mr. Longfellow substitutes seven by a license for which the necessities of rhyme hardly furnish a sufficient warrant; and in the first scene the angel who laments the Prince's fall is introduced with a very unnecessary appendage—an *Æolian Harp*.

These are slight matters, but they are notwithstanding worth correcting. The qualities in which Mr. Longfellow's poetry seems to us most defective, are depth and simplicity. Depth of separate thoughts he is not by any means deficient in; on the contrary, he is an eminently meditative writer; but poetic depth consists chiefly in that general conception upon which a poem is moulded as a whole, and by which an art, spontaneous as nature herself, preserves its various parts in harmony. The brilliancy with which Mr. Longfellow depicts the outward aspects of things, is a snare to him in this respect, tending to keep him on the surface of his subject, and rendering it less necessary for him to seek in its depths for the spring of his inspiration. There are many elements in his poetry, as indeed there are in all good poetry: but in his they have not yet coalesced so as to form a whole as homogeneous as those composite bodies in the material world in which the senses cannot detect the various ingredients discovered

by chemical analysis. Hence it is that his strain occasionally reminds us of Schiller or Goethe, of Shelley or of Tennyson. It is not that he has imitated these writers; on the contrary, his originality is unquestionable. Imagination ever assimilates that with which it is in warm sympathy; and it is not till the style has been completely formed, and individuality developed by definite conclusions and definite purpose, that the imagination completely penetrates, welds, and makes its own what it has taken from without to blend with what is within. The best instructors of genius are the sincerity and earnestness which should accompany it. The former makes it spurn the conventional and the seeming; the latter makes it face the problem with which it has to deal, comprehend it and master it.

The same general qualities belong to Mr. Longfellow's prose as to his poetry. Its style is concise, vivid, and pointed, though occasionally vitiated by indulgence in freaks like the following description, not in very happy harmony with the stillness of a sabbath morn: "When the first bell rang, like a brazen mortar, it seemed from its gloomy fortress to bombard the village with bursting shells of sound, that exploded over the houses." It affords a larger scope than verse to the rich vein of humour that belongs to Mr. Longfellow, and which is of a singularly quiet, and refined order. The tale of Kavanagh abounds in this quality. To it we owe the sketch of Miss Sally Manchester, a rough, masculine, bleak, though upright woman, who, a treasure as a servant, does all the work in the house, and every Sunday goes to church "with a large pink bow in what she called the congregation side of her head." Another good specimen of this quality, is found in the episode of Mr. Pendexter, the ungainly, but conscientious old clergyman whom his congregation discards because it is tired of him, and is offended at finding that he has indemnified himself for their scant contributions, by putting his old white horse to graze in the parish fields. The following is the account of his farewell sermon. "He began by giving a minute sketch of his ministry and the state of his parish, with all its troubles and dissensions, social, political, and ecclesiastical. He concluded by thanking those ladies who had presented him with a black silk gown, and had been kind to his wife during her long illness; by apologizing for having neglected his own busi-

ness, which was to study and preach, to attend to that of the parish, which was to support its minister; stating that his own shortcomings had been owing to theirs, which had driven him into the woods in winter, and into the fields in summer; and, finally, by telling the congregation in general that they were so confirmed in their bad habits, that no reformation was to be expected in them under his ministry, and that to produce one would require a greater exercise of divine power than it did to create the world; for in creating the world there had been no opposition, whereas in their reformation, their own obstinacy and evil propensities, and self-seeking, and worldly mindedness were all to be overcome!"

The main interest in Kavanagh consists in the character of Mr. Churchill, the schoolmaster, a man of learning and manifold abilities who is always dreaming of doing great things, and never doing anything except what is disagreeable to him. His pupils, his family, his friends, innumerable little duties, and the accidents of the hour, are always preventing him from writing the great works which he has amused his imagination with from year to year. Profoundly planned and carefully digested, they stand before him in reverie; but the happy moment free from interruption never arrives. He reconciles himself, however, to this state of things, and surrounded by domestic blessings, is only amused at discovering that his beautiful wife finds it more easy to love than to understand him.

"His father looked at the child as he went up stairs, holding Lucy by one hand, and with the other rubbing the sleep out of his eyes.

" 'Ah! these children, these children,' said Mr. Churchill, as he sat down at the tea-table, 'we ought to love them very much now, for we shall not have them long with us!'

" 'Good heavens!' exclaimed his wife, 'what do you mean? does anything ail them? Are they going to die?'

" 'I hope not. But they are going to grow up, and be no longer children.'

" 'O, you foolish man! you gave me such a fright!'

" 'And yet it seems impossible that they should ever grow to be men, and drag the heavy artillery along the dusty roads of life.'

" 'And I hope they never will. That is the last thing I want either of them to do.'

* * * * *

" 'My very dear wife, one thing puzzles me exceedingly.'

“ ‘And what is that ?’

“ ‘It is to know what that man does with all the old boots he picks up about the village. I met him again this evening. He seemed to have as many feet as Briareus had hands. He is a kind of centipede.’

“ ‘But what has that to do with Lucy ?’

“ ‘Nothing. It only occurred to me at the moment ;—and I never can imagine what he does with so many old boots.’ ”

There is much grace and pathos in the episode of Alice Archer. She is a pale, sad girl, who has been allowed to live, almost exclusively, a life of reverie in consequence of being brought up by a blind Mother. Her life has passed on like a dream, the only reality in it being her friendship for her school companion, Cecilia Vaughan. The latter is a bright and beaming creature, beautiful, winning, and the more so from her confidence in her powers of winning, a confidence happily contrasted with the sensitive timidity of her friend. In the absence of a more engrossing subject of interest the friendship of these two young ladies is a sort of love, severe enough to make it seem necessary, or at least highly desirable, that their correspondence, instead of committing itself to the rude hand of the postman, should take shelter beneath the wing of a carrier pigeon. So matters proceed till spring and an eloquent young clergyman make their appearance in the woods.

“ How wonderful is the advent of the spring ! the great annual miracle of the blossoming of Aaron’s rod, repeated on myriads and myriads of branches ! the gentle progression and growth of herbs, flowers, and trees, gentle and irrepressible, which no force can stay, no violence restrain, like love that wins its way and cannot be withstood by any human power. If spring came but once in a century, instead of once a year, or burst forth with the sound of an earthquake, and not in silence, what wonder and expectation would there be in all hearts to behold the miraculous change. * * * Such was the train of thoughts with which Kavanagh commenced his sermon. And then with deep solemnity and emotion he proceeded to speak of the spring of the soul, as from its cheerless wintry distance it turns nearer and nearer to the great Sun, and clothes its dry and withered branches anew with leaves and blossoms, unfolded from within itself, beneath the penetrating and irresistible influence. * * * As in modern times, no applause is permitted in our churches, however moved the audience may be, and consequently no one dares to wave his hat and shout, ‘ Orthodox Chrysostom ! ’ ‘ Thirteenth apostle ! ’ ‘ Worthly the priesthood ! ’ as was done in the days of the Christian Fathers ; and, moreover,

as no one after Church spoke to him of his sermon, or of anything else, he went home with rather a heavy heart, and a feeling of discouragement. One thing had cheered and consoled him. It was the pale countenance of a young girl, whose dark eyes had been fixed upon him during the whole discourse, with unflagging interest and attention."

"She loves him, and he loves her beautiful friend Cecilia. Cecilia has other admirers also, and among them Mr. Hiram Adolphus Hawkins, shop-keeper, sentimentalist, and poet.

"He was a poet, so much a poet, that, as his sister frequently remarked, 'he spoke blank verse in the bosom of the family.' The general tone of his productions was sad, desponding, slightly morbid. How could it be otherwise with the writings of one who had never been the world's friend, nor the world his? who looked upon himself as a 'pyramid of mind on the dark desert of despair?' and who, at the age of twenty-five, had drunk the bitter draught of life to the dregs, and dashed the goblet down? His productions were published in the poet's corner of the Fairmeadow Advertiser; and it was a relief to know, that, in private life, as his sister remarked, he was by no means the censorious and moody person some of his writings might imply. * * He paraded himself at his shop door as she passed; he paraded himself at the corners of the streets; he paraded himself at the church steps on Sunday. * * He persecuted her with his looks; he pretended that their souls could comprehend each other without words; and whenever her lovers were alluded to in his presence, he gravely declared, as one who had reason to know, that if ever Miss Vaughan married, it would be some one of gigantic intellect!"

From such a rival Kavanagh has not much to fear. As the summer wears away he becomes more intimately acquainted with both his young friends. Accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, they make expeditions into the woods and beside the brooks, finding sermons in stones, and good in everything:

"How indescribably beautiful this brown water is!" exclaimed Kavanagh. "It is like the wine or the nectar of the Gods of Olympus: as if the falling Hebe had poured it from the goblet."

"More like the mead or metheglin of the northern gods," said Mr. Churchill, "spilled from the drinking horns of Valhalla."

"But all the ladies thought Kavanagh's comparison the better of the two, and, in fact, the best that could be made, and Mr. Churchill was obliged to retract and apologize for his allusion to the celestial ale-house of Odin."

One day in the autumn the carrier-pigeon of the young girls, pursued by a kingfisher, flies into the open window of Kavanagh, instead of continuing his flight to Cecilia, and lies panting on the floor. Kavanagh observes the letter beneath its wing, and seized by a sudden impulse, substitutes for it another containing an avowal of his love, and lets the bird loose. Still shivering from its late alarm, the pigeon flies back to the chamber of Alice instead of to Cecilia's house. Not observing the direction, Alice reads the letter, and for the moment believes that a love which till then she has never avowed to herself, is but the echo of another's love. In another moment she sees her friend's name on the envelope, and is undeceived. She seals the letter again, attaches it to the neck of the little messenger and lets him loose. She resolves to keep the secret, and she does so. Ere long her friend is at her side demanding her congratulations.

"She related to her the perilous adventure of the carrier pigeon; how it had been pursued by the cruel kingfisher; how it had taken refuge in Kavanagh's tower, and had been the bearer of his letter as well as of her own. When she had finished she felt her bosom wet with the tears of Alice, who was suffering martyrdom on that soft breast, so full of happiness—tears of bitterness, tears of blood! And Cecilia, in the exultant temper of her soul, at this moment thought them tears of joy, and pressed Alice closer to her heart, and kissed and caressed her.

"'Ah, how very happy you are Cecilia!' at length sighed the poor sufferer, in that slightly querulous tone, to which Cecilia was not unaccustomed, 'how very happy you are, and how very wretched am I! You have all the joy of life, I all its loneliness. How little you will think of me now! How little you will need me! I shall be nothing to you—you will forget me.'

* * * * *

"Cecilia protested ardently and earnestly, and dilated with eagerness on the little plan of life, in which their romantic friendship was to gain only new strength and beauty from the more romantic love. She was interrupted by a knock at the street door; on hearing which she paused a moment, and then said, 'It is Arthur. He was to call for me.'"

Winter came; and the snow fell on the roof of Cecilia's happy home, and on the lonely grave of Alice. "Kavanagh never knew what wealth of affection for him faded from the world when she departed; Cecilia never knew what fidelity of friendship, what delicate regard, what gentle magnanimity, what angelic patience, had gone with her into the

grave. Mr. Churchill never knew that while he was exploring the past for records of obscure and unknown martyrs, in his own village, near his own door, before his own eyes, one of that silent sisterhood had passed away into oblivion, unnoticed and unknown."

In the spring the marriage takes place, and the bridal party set off for Europe. They spent three years in wandering about, and on their return find all things changed in the village, except the characters of their friends. The sentimental shop-keeper, after several unsuccessful attempts at matrimony, has died. "At this event two elderly maidens went into mourning simultaneously, each thinking herself engaged to him; and suddenly went out of it again, mutually indignant at each other, and mortified with themselves." Mr. Churchill is just where he was. "The same dreams, the same longings, the same aspirations, the same indecision. A thousand things had been planned, and none completed. His imagination seemed still to exhaust itself in running before it tried to leap the ditch. While he mused, the fire burned in other brains. Other hands wrote the books he dreamed about. He freely used his good ideas in conversation and in letters, and they were straightway wrought into the texture of other men's books, and so lost to him for ever. His work on *Obscure Martyrs* was anticipated by Mr. Hathaway, who, catching the idea from him, wrote and published a series of papers on *Unknown Saints*, before Mr. Churchill had fairly arranged his materials. Before he had written a chapter of his great romance, another friend and novelist had published on the same subject." He acquiesces by degrees in this state of things, and thus replies to the admonitions of his friends:

"I now despair of writing anything excellent. I have no time to devote to meditation and study. My life is given to others, and to this destiny I submit without a murmur; for I have the satisfaction of having laboured faithfully in my calling, and of having perhaps trained and incited others to do what I shall never do. Life is still precious to me for its many uses, of which the writing of books is but one. I do not complain, but accept this destiny, and say with that pleasant author Marcus Antoninus, 'Whatever is agreeable to thee shall be agreeable to me, O graceful universe! nothing shall be to me too early or too late which is seasonable to thee! Whatever thy seasons bear shall be joyful fruit to me, O nature! from thee are all things; in thee they subsist; to thee

they return. Could one say, 'Thou dearly beloved city of Cecrops,' and wilt thou not say, 'Thou dearly beloved city of God?' "

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 "‘Nothing done! nothing done!’ exclaimed Kavanagh, as he wended his way homeward, musing and meditating. ‘And shall all these lofty aspirations end in nothing? Shall the arms be thus stretched forth to encircle the universe, and come back empty against a bleeding aching breast?’ And the words of the poet came into his mind, and he thought them worthy to be written in letters of gold, and placed above every door in every house, as a suggestion, an incitement, a warning:—

“Stay, stay the present instant!
 Imprint the marks of wisdom on its wings!
 O let it not elude thy grasp, but like
 The good old patriarch upon record,
 Hold the fleet angel fast until he bless thee!”

The loss to society from the defects of characters like that of Mr. Churchill is often more apparent than real. It happens frequently that the wonderful things expected from them but never realized, were never in them—that some want of proportion among their faculties rendered it impossible for those faculties to work harmoniously together; that some moral deficiency rendered high intellect nugatory—and, in short, that nature had made them essentially characters of promise rather than of performance. In other cases the loss, even when real, is commonly less than it seems. The influence exerted by real genius is often strongest, when, like the imponderable agents in the material world, it is felt only without being seen; and if the mere hints thrown out by a man like Mr. Churchill indicate to more practical minds the mines of thought in which they can labour profitably, it can hardly be said that such a man does nothing for his kind, though it is true that he does nothing for his fame. Mr. Churchill is a skilfully delineated character. One great secret of his inefficiency is, that he is a man of views rather than of convictions. He sees many things on all sides of all subjects; but lacks the power of striking the balance, summing up, arriving at a result, and abiding by it. He is more able to ‘prove all things,’ than to ‘hold fast that which is good.’ The fibre of his thoughts is relaxed and enfeebled by the vagueness of his belief on the great central subject of all thought. He has innumerable thoughts about religion, and many devout affections connected with them. The association of his ideas is religious, and he abounds in religious aspira-

tions. He has a religious literature, and a religious philosophy...all that he wants is religion itself. The world is full of characters like Mr. Churchill, who, without any conscious infidelity, have unfortunately never known the meaning of real faith, and in the midst of many devout opinions, have their strength sapped by the disease of an unacknowledged unbelief. They do not grapple with the Supernatural sufficiently closely to be aware that they reject it. They go for their religion to that modern "ductor dubitantium," public opinion. They accept as much of his creed as is in harmony with the natural mind; excuse the more supernatural events on which it is founded, as occurrences that happened 'a long time ago,' with a promise never to recur; and wait until the ivy-wreaths of old associations have made the ruin venerable. In the meantime religion, properly so called, as at once a Supernatural principle, and a principle of Law—an influence to elevate, and a power to bind—a revelation of the absolutely true, and a communication of vital graces in union with that certain truth...of this they know only so much as has descended to them from Catholic tradition, in spite of the philosophic principles which they hold. What they never knew they do not miss. The very idea of real Faith would be new to them, and they miss nothing while in the region of Opinion. To a conscious infidelity they are indisposed, and know not in what it consists any more than in what real Faith consists. They have been accustomed to extend a half-faith to a fourth part of revelation, and are not tempted to do less. Their belief is not challenged clearly enough to be able either to deny or to confess; in their twilight world there is not light enough to cast a defined shade. They draw on an affluent imagination to make up for all that is lacking to a defrauded and impoverished spirit. The infinite they replace with the indefinite. The glory of truth in its fixed and full-orbed sphere they have not, nor the radiant ministration of the Church; but romance comes to their aid with its secondary supernatural; and Love and Poetry are the morning star and evening star of a firmament in which there is neither sun nor moon. It is needless to show that of all this spiritual vagueness, moral weakness will be the necessary result. Material and industrial energies indeed retain their strength, nay, receive an increased strength, since all that should balance them has been removed;—and as to outward prosperity, its pro-

gress for a time is unchecked, while its ultimate danger is that which threatens a carriage without a drag. But spiritual aspirations flag with unequal wing, or flounder in a region that cannot support them; great schemes for the good of humanity prove a will-o'-the-wisp;—and the reverie of a life ends, like poor Mr. Churchill's, in a purely pagan invocation of Nature, as if Nature were infinite, and eternal, in other words, were God. At her feet and in obedience to her will, her creature—ending his aspirations with the long-drawn sigh of natural fatigue and animal resignation—lies down to die. Beside him lies his work—undone.

Mr. Churchill's character has a truth about it which we miss in that of Kavanagh. He too is a man of aspiration, and apparently his performance is even less than that of his friend; for his friend keeps a school successfully, while Kavanagh makes no progress in his scheme for moulding all the sects into one Church, and leaving each in full possession, at the same time, of the principle of sectarianism. His character and designs are not consistent with the tenor of his early life. The son of an old Catholic family, he was brought up by a devout mother on the shores of Maine, and was taught his letters out of the *Lives of the Saints*. With them and his guardian angel, as his companions, he wandered by the sea-side, drinking in impressions of wonder and joy, with an ever-deepening belief in the supernatural, and an increasing desire to emulate the lives of those of whom he read in legendary lore, and to labour for the glory of God and the good of man. In due time he is sent to a Jesuit college. "There he was thoroughly trained in the classics, and in the dogmas of that august faith, whose turrets gleam with such crystalline light, and whose dungeons are so deep, and dark, and terrible. The study of philosophy and theology was congenial to his mind. Indeed, he often laid aside Homer for Parmenides, and turned from the Odes of Horace and Pindar, to the mystic hymns of Cleanthes and Synesius." At a later time, "he pondered with fond enthusiasm on the rapturous pages of Molinos and Madame de Guyon; and in a spirit akin to that which wrote, he read the writings of Santa Theresa." * * * "By slow degrees, and not by violent spiritual conflicts, he became a Protestant. He had but passed from one chapel to another of the same vast Cathedral." * * * "Out of his old

faith he brought with him all he had found in it that was holy and pure, and of good report. Not its bigotry, and fanaticism, and intolerance ; but its zeal, its self-devotion, its heavenly aspirations, its human sympathies, its endless deeds of charity."

The Catholic does not need to be told that such a conception of character is as wholly a false and arbitrary one, as the above description of the Church itself. Perverts there are from holy Church, and probably will always be, so long as it depends on man to co-operate with grace or to trifle with it ; but they are not made after this fashion. Theological studies, in which an acquaintance with Athanasius makes us know of an Arius also, do not dispose the Catholic student quietly to abandon his Rule of Faith, and at the same time to retain as much of that Faith as does not savour of 'exclusiveness.' It is not quite so easy to keep and to discard according to fancy or convenience when a man has made theology a study, as it is when human objects alone have been made matters of serious enquiry, while in Divine things the battle has been fought only with the left hand. In that case it is indeed true that contrary principles may be reconciled in the same 'golden mean,' or rather may assume the same secular livery—the disguise of Indifference. But between doctrine and doctrine a real connection will be felt by men who have had a theological education ; and as one of them stands or falls, so must another. Where earnestness of purpose exists, the connection, even when not intellectually discriminated, is brought home to our feelings by that stern logic which rules the world, and governs the actions of those who scorn its sway. When Joan Bocher of Kent was sentenced by Cranmer to be burned for denying the doctrine of the Incarnation, she made answer : "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago that you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread ; and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her ; and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures, and understand them." The connection between the doctrines of the Incarnation and of Transubstantiation was apparently as strongly felt by this unhappy fanatic, as it was clearly asserted by St. Thomas, when he wrote his Eucharistic Hymn :

"In cruce latebat sola Deitas,
At hic latet simul et Humanitas :
Ambo tamen credens atque confitens,
Peto quod petivit latro pœnitens."

Yet Mr. Longfellow perceives no inconsistency between a Catholic's abandoning the doctrines of the Church's visible unity and authority, upon which the whole objective certainty of his Faith depends, and his retaining pretty nearly the same convictions as before, rejecting only the intolerance mixed up with them. In America we can easily understand Exclusiveness being still more a bugbear than in Protestant Europe. In these countries the Established Church retains the Athanasian creed with its uncunctiatory "quicumque vult;" nor has it ventured to substitute for the statement, "*Fides Catholica est hoc*," (a creed in itself,) the more enlightened affirmation, "*Fides Catholica est hic vel hæc, vel hoc*." Anglican Protestants find themselves, therefore, committed as clearly to the "intolerant principle" as Catholics, however they may apply it; and can abate its force through no other plea than that of "invincible ignorance." Subscription to the Athanasian Creed, or indeed to the statement, "he that believeth not shall be condemned," is frequently unreal and formal; but where it is sincere it implies some appreciation of the true and manly doctrine of Charity, as opposed to the imposture which so often takes its place. It implies a recognition of the difference between believing that all sects are equally entitled to toleration, and believing that all opinions are equally true, equally likely to be true, or sufficiently true; and it leaves a place for real Charity, whether exercised by abstaining from imputing error to the Will, or by endeavours to lead into truth those who walk in erroneous ways. In America the Episcopal Church, though among the "orthodox Dissenters," the most respectable claimant of orthodoxy, has rejected the Athanasian Creed. In America also the theological faculty has been little exercised. Mr. Longfellow's inconsistency is in imputing such a state of moral confusion to an instructed Catholic.

Equally mistaken is he in imagining that such a person could for a moment fall into the error involved in Kavanagh's aspiration to unite all the sects in a universal church, on the basis, not of a common conviction but of an agreement to differ. Latitudinarianism, with its aspira-

tions after the universal, is a pseudo-Catholicity, and as such can exercise no attraction where real Catholicity has ever been known. The Latitudinarian Theory has a certain "physical sublime" about it at first sight, though not without a resemblance to Mr. Hathaway's aspirations after a truly national literature; and an American "epic commensurate with Banvard's panorama of the Mississippi." It is, however, founded on nothing real, and therefore cannot maintain itself even to the imagination, and much less to the moral sense of one who has meditated deeply on the subject, and from whose consideration the only true principle of agreement has not been shut out by prejudice or unhappy circumstances. Brought up a Catholic, and in the habit of contemplating the Church from within, not from without merely, Kavanagh could never have regarded as a bondage submission to that authority which is at once the collective mind of the regenerate human race, and the teaching of the Divine Spirit. It is not the degree in which authority is exercised, but the source, the end, and the character of that authority which determines whether or not it be a tyranny. The authority in matters of faith exercised by every religious community, not divinely secured from error, is a tyranny so far as it goes, and is felt to be so; the consequence of which is, that even the most moderate pretensions in this way advanced by the so-called churches of the Reformation have invariably given way before a private judgment, pure and simple, except so far as it has been the interest, and within the power of the State to maintain them. Every Christian has sufficient appreciation of Christian liberty to know that it is the truth that makes us free, and that liberty cannot be consistent therefore with the submission of the intellect to the definitions of a community no more guaranteed against error than any of its rivals. A Church, on the other hand, which, far from disclaiming as blasphemous the character of a Divine Teacher, believes, on the contrary, that it would be in the highest degree profane to witness at all on the subject of a Divine Revelation, except on the ground of being God's Prophet, the Body of Christ and the Temple of His Spirit, can of course never for a moment subject itself to the charge of despotism, unless its whole system be regarded as an imposture. Security against error in that supreme department of man's knowledge which concerns his relations with

God, can no more be regarded as a tyranny than the absolutism of the multiplication table. In that fold where the teaching is Divine, and there only, are we free from the traditions of men. In the Church, as in Heaven, there is no bondage, because truth and goodness rule, and freedom consists in the consentaneousness between the created will and the uncreated and Eternal. Private judgment, in the estimate of a Catholic, is the addition of nothing whatever, but means simply the being divested of that Divine aid afforded to our individual faculties by that collective Christendom through which, in its unity, the living bond between man and his Incarnate Lord is maintained. The privilege of throwing off authority is the privilege of discarding one's clothes, or the liberty of a child beguiled into abandoning his father's house, as a prison compared with nature's illimitable temple, and reduced at night to take refuge in a hollow tree or slimy cave. To a Protestant, obedience will present itself in an opposite point of view; nor are we now contesting his views. They are not without a consistency. Not discerning that which in the high sacrament of Christian obedience, lurks behind the human object of respect, he will regard submission to ecclesiastical control as a device for reducing the man to the child, not as a gracious dispensation for keeping the child alive in the man. In the case of a Catholic, like Kavanagh, such delusions would not have existed even as temptations. They would have been precluded by higher lights, deeper views of man, and of Revelation as a boon permanently given to the human race.

Even in aspiration a Catholic never thinks of comprehension as a thing which could be promoted by an extension of that liberty which to him seems simply a liberty to go wrong, and to defraud himself of those aids without which his highest faculties cannot be profitably exercised on their highest objects. As little can he think of it as attained by even the slightest abandonment of doctrinal Truth. With him Truth is one. The whole of revealed Truth has been given, not only to the Church, but to every member of it: the whole must be held by him, implicitly or explicitly; no portion is really held if any portion be denied when propounded on the same Divine authority by which the rest is attested. If comprehensiveness were to be attained by the elimination of troublesome or disputed Truths, a Christianity including all sects must

yield in dignity to a Theism comprehending Christianity and all other religions. A Catholic knows that religious sentiment, though distinct from religious dogma, is inseparably connected with it; that loyalty to Christ involves doctrines respecting the relations in which He stands to His Father and to us; and that to assert a doctrine, and repudiate its legitimate consequence, is to deceive ourselves, and to substitute words for things. Truth cannot be made comprehensive by the abandonment of Truths. Truth is comprehensive in proportion to the number of Truths comprehended and reconciled in its manifold unity; not in the inverse ratio. The experiment of exfoliation has never realized a large inclusion, because the natural sincerity of man revolts from a union grounded, not on sincere belief, but on verbal profession, and because every revealed Truth represents a human want, and a provision made for it. As a matter of fact, while Latitudinarianism has never boasted of more than a narrow sect, the most "exclusive" of Churches, and the most "dogmatic," includes not only the greatest number of Truths, but the greatest number of believers united in one fold. The mode, then, in which a Catholic youth would have aspired after comprehensiveness, is precisely the opposite of that which Mr. Longfellow attributes to Kavanagh. Even his imagination could not shape its ideal in any other form than that of one Faith approving itself to all through one Rule of Faith;—one Truth recognized by all minds, because made for all minds;—the errors of the Intellect corrected by the fidelity of a purified Will;—the exaltation of Humility, and the victory of Obedience.

Mr. Longfellow's want of a deep appreciation of Catholicism is equally a snare to him while describing the process through which Kavanagh becomes a pervert. From childhood he has been addicted to the study of the Lives of the Saints. His fancy has been especially taken by the legend of St. Christopher, the rough giant, who said he could neither learn to fast nor pray, who refused to dedicate his colossal limbs to the service of any monarch save the most powerful on earth, and who discovered him at last in the child Jesus, as, placed on his shoulders while he waded across the stream, the Infant pressed on him with the weight of worlds. Kavanagh looks for an allegorical meaning in the tale. He might easily have found more than one; and if he insisted on one especially adapted to

the modern world, and the hopes of the future, he might have discovered in the shaggy Pagan (a giant with one idea, as Mr. Coleridge called the steam-engine,) an emblem of modern mechanic science, with all its material triumphs, submitting itself at last, like the Aristotelian logic in the middle ages, to the diffusion of the Faith. He applies it after a very Protestant fashion, and infers from it that the true service of Christ consists in labour and humility as opposed to fasting, prayer, and contemplation. Now to many persons it would be very natural thus to sever what God has joined; but the thought would not occur to an instructed Catholic. He has never taken sentimental views of sanctity; he knows that the Saints were not stage-heroines, slightly "mad in white satin," but a very painful, long-suffering race. The adage, "Laborare est orare," does not to him imply that the less we pray, the more we shall work. Ascetic virtue he knows takes its very name from the vehement energies exerted by the Christian Athlete. Monks have evangelized nations: the "Pupil of the monkish gown" has founded kingdoms—Nuns from lonely cells have admonished Pontiffs, and prevailed more by prayer than Joan of Arc did by her sword. In a word, the Catholic looks on Heroic Virtue in a very practical, almost utilitarian point of view, as the armoury from which the Church takes the weapons with which she subdues the world, the flesh, and the devil. If he ever thought of being a dilettante Saint, the endeavour to spend a single night on his knees was probably enough to dispel the illusion. The hollowness of Kavanagh's "comprehensive" design has not escaped the penetration of Mr. Longfellow himself, if we may draw an inference from the fact that it is as confidently cherished by the poor Priest recorded in Hyperion, who however has a valid excuse for his vagaries, that of being mad.

Hyperion is less of a story than Kavanagh; but it has more of thought and power. The characters are at once deeply conceived and brilliantly exhibited; and the scenery is so well described, that without leaving his sofa and fire-side, the reader may enjoy his tour on the Rhine. In this work Germany finds as faithful a reflection as America does in Kavanagh. It is full of speculation, of mysticism, of humour, of sentiment, all blended together in an element of what may be called intellectual epicureanism. Nothing can be more happily hit off than the character of the Ger-

man Baron. He is thus described when first introduced to us :

"The Baron of Hohenfels was rather a miscellaneous youth, rather a universal genius. He pursued all things with eagerness, but for a short time only ; music, poetry, painting, pleasure, even the study of the Pandects. His feelings were keenly alive to the enjoyment of life. His great defect was that he was too much in love with human nature. But by the power of the imagination, in him the bearded goat was changed to a bright Capricornus ; no longer an animal on earth but a constellation in heaven. An easy and indolent disposition made him gentle and childlike in his manners ; and, in short, the beauty of his character, like that of the precious opal, was owing to a defect in its organization. His person was tall, and slightly built ; his hair light, and his eyes blue, and as beautiful as those of a girl. In the tones of his voice there was something indescribably gentle and winning ; and he spoke the German language with the soft musical accent of his native province of Curland. In his manners, if he had not '*Antinous's easy sway*,' he had at least an easy sway of his own."

Not without a moral, if not a mental resemblance to him, is his young friend, Paul Fleming, the hero of the book.

"Imagination was the ruling power of his mind. His thoughts were twin-born ;—the thought itself, and its figurative semblance in the outer world. Thus, through the quiet, still waters of his soul, each image floated double, '*swan and shadow*.' These traits of character, a good heart, and a poetic imagination, made his life joyous, and the world beautiful ; till at length Death cut down the sweet blue flower that bloomed beside him, and wounded him with that sharp sickle, so that he bowed the head, and would fain have been bound up in the same sheaf with the sweet blue flower. Then the world seemed to him less beautiful, and life became earnest. It would have been well if he could have forgotten the past ; that he might not so mournfully have lived in it, but might have enjoyed and improved the present. But this his heart refused to do ; and ever, as he floated on the great sea of life, he looked down through the transparent waters, checkered with sunshine and shade, into the vast chambers of the mighty deep, in which his happier days had sunk, and wherein they were lying, still visible, like golden sands, and precious stones, and pearls ; and half in despair, half in hope, he grasped downward after them again, and drew back his hand, filled only with sea-weed, and dripping with briny tears. And between him and those golden sands a radiant image floated, like the spirit in Dante's Paradise, singing '*Ave Maria*,' and while it sang, down-sinking, and slowly vanishing away.

"In all things he acted more from impulse than from fixed principles, as is the case with most young men. Indeed, his principles hardly had time to take root; for he pulled them all up now and then, as children do the flowers they have planted, to see if they are growing. Yet there was much in him that was good; for underneath the flowers and greensward of poetry, and the good principles which would have taken root, had he given them time, there lay a strong and healthy soil of common sense, freshened by living springs of feeling, and enriched by many faded hopes, that had fallen upon it like dead leaves."

The two friends pass the winter together at Heidelberg, enjoying among their books a great deal of literary and philosophic dissipation, discussing all manner of subjects, legends and history, metaphysics and the Rhine wines, literary fame and Goethè, and ranging through every region, from cloudland to the "beer-scandal" of German students with cream-coloured moustaches, and learned revels that end in a duel. They separate at last, and how it fares with each is easily guessed. The Baron, "in se teres atque rotundus," rolls through life, taking in new impressions, and adding to the sphere of his being without suffering any wear and tear. His friend, though more of a poet, is less protected, for he has affections as well as imagination, and as he pushes his way through the thicket, is ever leaving some of his fleece behind him on the briars. He travels through Switzerland; and as he gazes forth from the aerial chambers and snow-cumbered roofs of the mountain palace, over a subject world, descried through vapour in dim infinity, the cure which time had nearly effected receives its completion, and old sorrows drop off like the winter spectres of dead leaves pushed away by their rivals of the Spring. The mountain air excites him; white peaks shining in stillness from ethereal regions beckon him to endless rest. Pine forests sing in his ears lullabies softer and vaster than those of plangent seas; and the sonorous water-falls echoed from cliff to cliff, call him on into the labyrinthine depth of gorge and ravine, and impart to him the freedom of the Alpine city. He stands before the Jungfrau, and as the "virgin mount," "the bride of heaven," sits, clad in white, above the worlds of cloud and pine, his thoughts take refuge in her snowy cloisters, and share her repose. The silence of the mountain plains subdues every wayward thought. Conscience alone dares to follow the wanderer there, and cast a shadow.

on the pellucid pavement of the temple. He descends... tracks the raving torrent, as, accompanied only by the storm of wind sucked along its storm of waters, it bounds beneath the suspended arch into the black gulf, shaking the walls of the defile, and bedewing the waving boughs that fringe them. In the horror of the place, a human being is to him precious, and the shepherd whom he casually meets receives from him, without asking it, an alms equal to half his year's wages. He passes by the glacier of the Rhone, the "gauntlet of ice," which winter threw down "in defiance of the sun,"...leaves behind him gladly the "lake of the dead," with its ink-black waters...feels his heart dilate as he dips again into the widening and softening valley, sprinkled over with orchards, gardens, and homesteads, and countenanced like a human being...pursues his way by Meyringen, with its bowers of cherry-trees, to Interlaken, with its comfortable hotels...and falls in with Mary Ashburton.

She is a person who might well prove dangerous even to one whose imagination had not been recently let loose on the mountain tops, and whose heart had not "begun to uncongeal" amid the valleys. The young English maiden, though still "sitting in the lap of womanhood," (she had counted but twenty summers,) was already as stately as a queen. Though not perfectly beautiful, her still, calm face had a noble elevation, "with the light of the rising soul shining peacefully through it; sorrowful at times, but illuminating sorrow with the *angelico riso* of Laura. Her eyes, large and dark, "shone like the planets with a steady lambent light, luminous, but not sparkling." Every step seemed inspired by the soul within; every swan-like movement modulated by a spiritual music;—the whole form and visible presence seemed but the soul itself made visible and embodied. "And what a soul was hers! A temple dedicated to heaven, and like the Pantheon at Rome, lighted only from above; and earthly passions in the form of Gods were no longer there, but the sweet and thoughtful faces of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and the saints." Fleming walks with her, talks to her, and reads poetry to her while she is drawing. Her unconsciousness and simplicity draw further on into the toils a victim but too willing to deceive himself. She thinks of all that he says, and does not think of him; he admires a little *Essay on the Artist's Life at Rome*, because it is written by her, and never asks himself

what personal interest inspired her pen: He wonders how any one can deny that she is beautiful, and thinks "how sweet a thing it would be to possess one who should seem beautiful to him alone." Warnings come in vain: she tells him that she wonders he does not go to Chamouni; yet he lingers beside her still. Finally, he is so incautious as to make his proposal at a great distance from home. One day as she sits sketching in the ruins of an old castle, he recounts to her a mythical love allegory, and announces at the end that he is himself the hero of it. She cannot become an extempore heroine. They have to walk home silently through the green meadow. Paul Fleming finds again his stout-hearted and benevolent English friend, (an old oddity, who eats his breakfast every morning in a tub of cold water) and tells him all. Berkley tries in vain to console him by recounting his own misadventures. "I was once as desperately in love as you are now; I adored, and was rejected. 'You are in love with certain attributes,' said the lady. 'D—— your attributes, Madam,' said I, 'I know nothing of attributes.' 'Sir,' said she with dignity, 'you have been drinking.' So we parted. She was married afterwards to another, who knew something about attributes, I suppose. I have seen her once since, and only once. She had a baby in a yellow gown. I hate a baby in a yellow gown. How glad I am she did not marry me! One of these days you will be glad you have been rejected. Take my word for it." The younger lover is not so easily consoled. He sets forth again on his travels, and is ere long overtaken by a violent fever. The sorrow of the soul is mitigated by the suffering of the body; and he rises from his couch a wiser and a stronger man than before, resolved to be no more the sport of accident, but to depend on himself, and do in each hour the duty of the hour, without brooding on the past, or musing on the future.

There is another and sadder love-episode in *Hyperion*, that of Emma of Ilmenaw; but the main interest of the work is not connected with any continuous narrative. *Hyperion* is a sketch-book of thought. Innumerable disquisitions on innumerable subjects are thrown into the form of brief dialogue, or rapid soliloquy, and gain infinitely from being divested of all the pomp and parade that belong to dissertations in which the long approach leaves the reader footsore before he has made his way to the

vestibule of the subject. On the other hand, in the speculations and suggestions so abundantly thrown out, there is no attempt at balance or completeness. Views there are many, but opinions few ; or rather opinions are dramatized, and each is allowed to make out as good a case for itself as can be done in a few words. The mystic Professor at Heidelberg, who lectures for more than two hours over the bottles and pipes, disclosing his views on the nature of things, and contemplating the universe with all its systems, physical and religious, from an imaginary elevation, "lifting his head boldly to the threatening mountain-tops, and to the roaring cataract, and to the storm-clouds swimming in the fire-sea overhead, and saying, I am eternal, and defy your power," is the only person who thinks himself privileged to make a discourse. He indeed is as long-winded as "the sturdy old Puritan, Cotton Mather, who, after preaching an hour, would coolly turn the hour-glass on the pulpit, and say, 'Now, my beloved hearers, let us take another glass.'"

He is however well punished, for the Baron quietly disposes himself to sleep in the middle of his harangue, while Fleming informs him, at the end of it, that his reveries are as old as Plato, and that the most admirable thing in his whole system is "the cool impertinence with which an old idea, folded in a new garment, looks you in the face, and pretends not to know you." Human life finds, however, in Hyperion as large a space as speculation, and is exhibited in touches as brief and delicate. All the little incidents with which this prose-poem is diversified are significant, and most of them are touching ; but they are unconnected ; and though traced by a vigorous hand, and selected by a happy tact that ever rejects the superfluous, there is about them a slenderness of effect analogous to that which belongs to outline engravings. It is a book of hints and suggestions ; and as such it is very artistically composed, even when it seems but a collection of fragments. Except, however, when it is read carefully, and with something of a congenial spirit, it will not escape the charge of incoherency. As a compensation, another class of readers will doubtless give it credit for a profounder philosophy than belongs to it—one of the temptations that belongs to a mode of writing for many reasons both alluring and dangerous.

The chief defect in Mr. Longfellow's works is a fragmentary character which seems to us to arise from the

absence of a complete and consistent method of thought. His mind is too many-sided to be content with narrow systems; and that one which combines vastness with unity and consistency, he has not ventured to commit himself to. The consequence is, that his poetry and prose alike abound in premises rather than conclusions; and that the various views in which they are so rich want definiteness, and are harmonized rather by a pervading spirit of kindness and humanity, than by a philosophy capable of reconciling them. Without such a philosophy, a superficial writer, dealing with but the externals of things, can, of course, amuse to an indefinite extent; but so thoughtful a writer as Mr. Longfellow finds himself subjected to graver necessities, and is sometimes reduced, when the problem approaches solution, to break the thread off short, and take refuge in irony, or imagery. It is only from convictions at once profound, consistent, and definite, that a large-minded writer gains that fixedness of aim, and that courage, in the absence of which brief touches may be full of significance, but we miss the long and flowing line that belongs to art in its sublimer forms. From the same source is derived a masculine simplicity which, in the midst of variety, rejects alike the merely ornamental and the heterogeneous, and communicates to each separate work that total effect and directness of tendency which makes it a living power energizing among men. In these respects America is not likely to gain as much by the influence which Germany seems to exercise over a portion of her literature, as she might gain from the great writers of Italy, Spain, and mediæval Europe. The sympathy thus manifested between the most practical and the most speculative of races, is singular enough. It admits, however, of explanation. The "go-a-head" character of American society doubtless of itself produces a reaction, disposing the higher order of intellect to abstract reverie. The Anglo-Saxon mind, at either side of the Atlantic, must also preserve with the Teutonic the old affinities of race; while the American love of liberty and progress, must find something to sympathize with in the very lawlessness and changefulness of German philosophy. Notwithstanding, if American literature is one day, as Mr. Longfellow suggests, to unite as many national elements as are to be found in the American race, we cannot help thinking it will owe more eventually to Dante and to Cervantes, than

to Goethe. In the classics of the Southern countries it will find the qualities complementary to its own, the qualities which it is deficient in. Even in influences which it would probably regard as narrowing, it will probably find but that restriction which gives concentration and vigour. An unlimited expansiveness is not more fatal to action than to genius, which needs compression before it can address itself to its practical tasks. The growing fertility of American literature gives an additional importance to such considerations as these. Mrs. Wetheral's works, "The wide, wide World," and "Queechy," may be named among those which are sure to be read with interest in this country; but the number of such is every day increasing.

The relation of American literature to Catholicism is a subject of deep interest, though one into which our present limits prevent us from entering at large. Our preceding observations will, however, indicate our conviction that in Catholicism the literature, as well as the political and social well-being, of our Transatlantic brethren finds its best hope. In it America will meet all that is best in the traditions of the old world, all that gave birth to whatever of precious and revered remains among us, divested of those accidental relations calculated to fascinate the imagination, but likewise to denationalize it, and to make it less prompt in discerning the poetic element among things nearer home. In Catholicism will be found an influence capable of spiritualizing what is material, imparting the venerable sanction of duty to things novel, introducing stillness into disquiet, order into confusion, grace into life. In Catholicism the fountains of purity, meekness, and humility, spring up perennially beside the dusty thoroughfare; from her cloisters and churches go forth the harmonies in which the clamour of the dock-yards, the halls of debate, and the Babel-like confusion of sects, is in all ages and nations tempered and subdued. Chivalry, and the mediæval empire, with both of which the imagination and a narrow philosophy are apt to associate Catholicism, have passed away. They were but human in origin, and when the need for them ceased, they vanished; but the Church remains, extending itself daily into new regions, and under all circumstances alike exerting the same influences, at once humanizing and elevating above mere natural humanity. That Mr. Longfellow feels many of its

beneficent influences his writings prove. Yet all others are but trifles compared to that influence which must be imparted to the literature and philosophy of America, from an attribute of the Church higher than all these...its Truth. In the absence of religious truth, the whole mind of a nation lacks its support and stay. Thought loses its purpose; the striking, the fascinating, is therefore sought and prized on all subjects not the true. Speculations, which have nothing solid to authenticate, and nothing permanent to steady them, dance in the wind till they are weary, then lie down and die. Moral energy is lost with moral orthodoxy; and art itself loses its way, following the footsteps of a vagrant beauty, not of that primal and un-fallen Loveliness which is as intimately connected with truth as colours are with light. In this, its primary point of view, Catholicity is never contemplated in Mr. Longfellow's works. Much of what belongs to her he has sympathies for; herself alone he never seems to consider...hardly even to see. Whether she is true or false is never the matter in question. Imagination and feeling stand as arbiters; and what is beyond their province seem discarded as irrelevant. How far Christianity itself has, in our day, become a sentiment, not a conviction, is evinced by too many characteristics, both of America and of England. To contemplate it in its relations to Faith is not, in the long run, consistent with that private judgment which renders it impossible to distinguish between the probable and the certain, or to ascertain what doctrines are included in a creed even when that creed is accepted. Among us, consequently, Christianity is constantly approved of, or disapproved of with hardly any reference to its truth, but according as it presents itself to the sympathies or the imagination, the instincts of hope or fear, and as it is accounted, a social security, or an enemy to progress. It is no wonder if Catholicism be frequently weighed in the same balance. That thoughtful writers should insensibly fall into a habit more dangerous than any heresy, in proportion as to discard Truth itself is more dangerous than to reject any special truth, and to sophisticate the very nature of faith is worse than to mistake any of its objects, we cannot but regard as one of the worst signs of the time.

Imperfect, however, as is Mr. Longfellow's appreciation of Catholicism, we have no doubt that his works must promote its progress. Almost the whole imaginative and

historic literature of our time has more or less had that tendency, wherever there has been enough of genius about it to rise above conventional views, and the prejudices of a narrow tradition. Among the writers whose works have proved auxiliary to the Catholic cause, will be counted hereafter many who denounced what they called Popery, in verse and prose, but who yet could not help removing the rubbish, and lifting into the light much that was buried beneath it. Scott could not write his novels without letting out the secret, that all the greatness of England did not begin with the revolution; nor Coleridge introduce into his philosophy the terminology of the schools, without disclosing that the schoolmen thought of other matters beside the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle. Such disclosures are as dangerous as Mr. Southey's discovery, that there was an element of good in the monasteries; M. Guizot's, that the Church in the middle ages was the chief defence of European civilization and freedom, both of which, without the Papacy, must have fallen beneath feudal barbarism or the Moslem yoke; and Dr. Maitland's, that "*Fox's Book of Martyrs*" is a pack of lies. Such discoveries not only destroy the Puritan theology, the aggressive and only strong form of Protestantism, but do a yet more irreparable mischief to that cause, by throwing doubt upon old authorities, discrediting venerable nursery tales, and breaking the charmed wand of prejudice. Imaginative Literature has a privilege higher still. Drawn by a natural gravitation to what is Catholic, it tends, in proportion as it touches on what is deepest in humanity and in Christianity, to illustrate the mode in which Catholicism, like outward nature, is adapted to man. Quietly, but perpetually, it urges in favour of the Church that argument from analogy with which Butler vindicated Revelation generally, and clothes it in a form neither the less forcible, nor the less appropriate, from not being syllogistic. If Poetry is often too lawless a spirit to bear a salutary yoke, there is also in it a spirit of freedom which will not be cooped up within unmeaning and narrow restrictions, an insight which discerns the good, and a tongue which cannot choose but proclaim it. It was so in early, and it is so in recent times. The Reformation, from the pregnant circumstance of the revolt having broken forth just at the period when English literature, whose early spring had been checked

by the wars of the Roses, was beginning to bloom, protestantized the great mass of that literature, and thus acquired an influence which it could not otherwise have retained so long. Yet the poetical part of that literature in no small degree escaped the blight. Milton is indeed a Protestant as well as an Arian Poet, and the only great religious Poet Protestantism has put forth; but the spirit of Shakspeare is Catholic, at least as far as it is Christian; and Spenser, however dutifully he may have intended to celebrate Elizabeth as Queen Gloriana, and however fervently he may have aspired to unmask the Papacy in his allegory of the counterfeit Duessa, is obliged to draw his images of heroism from the Catholic middle ages, is unable to divest them of their Catholic character, gives in his "House of Faith" an exact delineation of the Church, with all its ascetic and contemplative discipline, and, in short, writes far more like a Catholic than either of the Catholic Poets, Dryden and Pope. The same may be said of Herbert Drummond, Gyles, and Phineas Fletcher, and others among the earlier English Poets. Our best modern poetry has either had a Catholic or a Pantheistic tendency, according as it recognized Christianity, or sought for the supernatural in the woods. In the greatest of modern Poets both strains are to be found. Mr. Wordsworth has, in his Ecclesiastical Sketches, celebrated the Crusaders, the Monks, and the Schoolmen, deplored the fall of the Monasteries, uttered a half lamentation over the ruined shrines of the Saints, vindicated in philosophic, as well as poetic verse, the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and even confessed, in attending Fisher and More to the scaffold, that that Papal Supremacy, the keystone of Christendom's great dome, was "not utterly unworthy to endure." Time will show whether his Sonnets in honour of the services special to the united Church of England and Ireland, proceeded from as deep a fountain of inspiration; and determine also the application of the very remarkable poetic prophecies contained in two of his most striking Sonnets, one beginning with the line, "I saw the figure of a lovely maid," and lamenting the phantom's dissolution into air;—the other celebrating the advent of a mightier power, "Methought I saw a temple like a cloud." Even the Pantheistic poetry of modern times is a thing less wholly unspiritual and dead, though not less dangerous, than the sordid secularity of the preceding age.

It gave a generous, if a blind impulse to the human mind ; and, teaching that "we live by admiration, love, and hope," it suggested that for these emotions some more authentic object must exist than Parliamentary religion. In an age of materialism, half Catholic, like half Christian books, have their own subordinate functions ; they are adapted to those who occupy a place one degree lower on the ladder, and pass them on to the step just above them. There are many degrees and orders among those whose faculties, though struggling toward the light, are still held back ; and while some can feed upon the strong meat, others must be nourished on milk.

For this a provision seems to be made by the different degrees in which influential writers have themselves attained to the light. Such poetry as Mr. Longfellow's has one very important function, that of so exhibiting the character of Catholicism in its details, as to assist the mind in at least *apprehending* it as a whole. This is more or less the function of all religious Art, which thus consecrates the Imagination by making it a handmaid of Faith : and this office is rendered the more important from the circumstance, that as the great objects of the Faith, from the circumstance of their including an element of the Infinite, do not admit of a complete scientific analysis and demonstration, we should stand too far below them to catch even a momentary or partial view of them in their true proportions, if we were not thus instructed by a teaching analogous to that by Parables. To know, with respect to Catholicism, even as much as the intuition of genius can discern without the eagle ken of Faith ; to have learned something of its beauty, its humanity, and its power ;—this is much, and it leads to more. A man might perhaps rest here if the Catholic religion could be disposed of as an ideal dream, the enthusiasm of a recent and local sect. Those, however, who have read history, and learned that the Church which includes these attributes is wide as the world, and had moulded the civilization of the world before the sects, the philosophies, the arts, or the nations of the modern world were heard of, will be disposed to ask further. A manly mind will demand some proportion between effect and cause. It will inquire whether a religion which, while it has ever grappled with the most terrible realities of conscience, and faced the gravest labours of life, has been found in permanent sympathy also

with the moral imagination of man, may not be able to stand the test of reason equally; and whether a religion coextensive with our total nature may not come from the Creator of nature and of man. It will ask, also, whether in a religion truly divine, the senses would not find many things with which to quarrel; human pride, many things at which to scoff; human littleness many things, to misconceive; and whether the Church of Christ is not likely to be one which the world can never dethrone, and yet which, as when it plotted in the Catacombs, never seeks to escape the scandal of the Cross.

ART. III.—*The Charitable Trusts Bill.*—1853.

CHARITABLE trusts, in the largest sense of the term, are as old as Christian Charity, and their origin is coeval with that of Christianity. In the history of the infant Church, we read, that those who had lands or houses, sold them, and offered the price, and entrusted it to the Apostles, for administration among the faithful, who had all things in common.* And then we read further, that some murmuring about their being neglected in the distribution of alms, “seven men,” full of the Holy Spirit, and of wisdom, were chosen specially for this work, and ordained to it by the Apostles.”†

These “Deacons,” the highest authority asserts, were “the coadjutors of the Apostles, and official assistants of the Bishops;” and, according to the expression of the apostolical constitutions, “the Deacon was the ear and eye, the mouth and hand, of the Bishop, the executor of his will, as the Priests were members of his council.”† The especial office of the Deacons, we are informed on the same authority, was “to collect the offerings of the faithful.” But they had holier duties than the mere adminis-

* Acts of the Apostles, iv, 34.

† Ibid, c. vi, v. 1—6.

‡ Dollinger's Church History, Period, I. c. 3, sec. 2, p. 236.

tration of alms; and it is added that they were the "elders," (*seniores Ecclesiæ*,) of whom mention is made by the fathers. These were "virtuous laics, who assisted the Clergy in the administration of the ecclesiastical revenues."²*

It is abundantly obvious, from these facts and authorities, that the earliest administration of charitable funds was conducted under Episcopal auspices. This is expressly laid down, indeed, in the Apostolical constitutions, in which occurs the following passage: "It is for you, laymen, to *contribute* liberally; it is for the Bishop, as the administrator of ecclesiastical matters, to *dispense*. Beware lest you wish to call the Bishop to account, for he has God to call him to account." The Bishop, of course, was bound to administer the property of the Church according to the law of the Church; and was subject to his Metropolitan and the Holy See.† Where, as was usually the case before the Church was established, the property he was entrusted with was placed absolutely at his disposal, of course the disposition of it would be in his discretion. In the sixth century a Council declared that "the pastors of the Church possessed the goods of the Church, not for themselves, but for others, for the honour of God, and the advantage of the faithful;" but it is clear that this purely spiritual obligation could only be a matter of conscience, or of spiritual censure. When the gifts of property were *expressed* to be for *specific purposes*, of course they would constitute trusts; but still, if the purposes were spiritual, the trusts would be spiritual, and of spiritual cognizance. How they could be administered under such authority is plain from the principle laid down by Pope Gregory, who speaks of the "will of the founder" in a way clearly showing his sense of the obligation of adhering to it;‡ an obligation always recognized by the canon and common law of England, so long as the former existed to regulate, and the latter continued to recognize, Catholic spiritual or charitable trusts.

It is evident, that the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues must have been at the absolute discretion of the

* Ibid, p. 235.

† Thomassinus *de Nov. et Vet. Discip. Eccles. T. ii, lib. 5.*

‡ S. Gregory *Opera Omn. Lib. viii, Ep. 31, v. 2, p. 92.*

Bishops, assisted by the counsels of the Elders, or Deacons. The essence of the trust was episcopal authority, the funds being vested absolutely in the Bishops, and their duty in respect thereto essentially ecclesiastical, and of spiritual cognizance. The donors lost all legal power over the funds, and could not control the application. Thus the Apostle said to the fraudulent donor who had concealed the amount of the proceeds: "*While it was in thine hands, was it not thine own?*" implying that when it was dedicated to charitable purposes, it ceased to be so. And had the question been submitted to the Roman Civil Law, the same conclusion would have been reached; for although that law gave cognizance to the courts in matters of trust, it was only where the trust was for the benefit of a private party.* And we need hardly say that *charitable* trusts were unknown to Pagan Rome, and were the first-fruits of the Christian faith, the earliest offerings of the Catholic Church.

In our own country it is matter of history that similar principles were established, from the very foundation of the Catholic Church. When Augustine, Bishop of the Church of Canterbury, wrote to Pope Gregory concerning Bishops, how are they to behave towards their Clergy? or into *how many portions the things given by the faithful to the altar are to be divided?* and how is the Bishop to act in the Church? the Pope writes in answer thus: "It is the custom of the Apostolic See to prescribe rules to Bishops newly ordained, that all emoluments which accrue are to be divided into four portions; one for the Bishop and his household, because of hospitality and entertainments; another for the Clergy; a third for the poor; and a fourth for the repair of churches. But, as for those that live in common, why need we say anything of making 'portions, or keeping hospitality, and exhibiting mercy;' inasmuch as all that can be spared is to be spent in pious and religious works."† It is obvious that the Pope considered the question one purely spiritual; and indeed it could scarcely be otherwise, since it was only by religious obligation that bishops or abbots were bound to distri-

* See Dr. Bowyer's learned and luminous *Commentaries on the Civil Law*, c. 25.

† Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, B. i, c. 27.

bute the goods they received to the poor, any more than other persons ; and although they were thus bound to distribute the goods of the Church in alms, the very nature of *alms* implies the absence of any legal *claim*. So, though these were trusts, they were only *spiritual*. The nature of a trust depends upon the obligation which creates and enforces it, whether it be a temporal or spiritual obligation. The temporal or legal obligation cannot exist where the parties to benefit by the trust are not only indefinite and undetermined, and dependent on the discretion of the almoner, but have no kind of claim by the terms of the donation. The same principles are embodied in the Anglo-Saxon laws, which express the pristine policy of the Christian realm of England, when, in the beautiful language of Mr. Manning, the Divine kingdom of the Church had descended on our Saxon soil, and embraced in its bosom all the secular sovereignties until blended into one under the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See. Even before this consummation of a temporal unity under one Crown, England enjoyed ecclesiastical unity under one Archbishop ; and hence, in the laws of the separate Saxon states the same principles are embodied as in the laws of the united realm. The same spirit pervades the laws of Ethelred, of Alfred, of Edgar, and of Edward. Thus, "in the ordinance that king Ethelred and the *ecclesiastical* and lay *witan*" have chosen and advised,* we read thus: "that men of every order readily submit to the law which is appropriate to them ; and let canons, where their benefices keep them, minister rightly, and with purity, as their rule may bind ; or it is right that he forfeit his benefice who will not do so." It is clear, that though the enforcement of the rules might be aided by the secular power, the *administration* of them was purely spiritual ; for almost the next clause is, "let no man reduce a Church to servitude, nor unlawfully make Church-mongering, nor turn out a Church minister without the *Bishop's consent*." So it is afterwards enacted thus:† "If for a God bot, (i. e., a spiritual offence,) a pecuniary penalty arise, as secular laws may have established, that belongs lawfully, *by the direction of the bishops*, to the

* Laws of king Ethelred. *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i, p. 304.

† Ibid, p. 329.

behoof of the poor, and to the reparation of churches, and to the instruction of those who minister to God, and for books, and bells, and church garments, and none for worldly idle pomp, but as a secular donation for Divine purposes." Thus even where the secular power imposed pecuniary penalties for spiritual offences, the distribution of them was left to the episcopate.

So in the laws of Edgar we find him speaking of such funds thus: "I will that those God's dues stand everywhere alike, and that the priests who received the monies we give to God, do that which the pastors of our souls teach, that is, the bishops, whom we ought never to disobey in any of those things which they teach us on the part of God."* Both Edgar and Alfred direct the payment of tithes to the parish priests, as Ethelred, and other Saxon kings, had done before them; and it is plain that the supervision of the disposition and application of these, and all ecclesiastical revenues, was confided exclusively to the Bishops and Abbots.

When Edgar endeavoured to reform the abuses which existed, he addressed himself thus to them: "It is for me to see that the ministers of churches, the confraternities of monks, and communities of virgins, have what is necessary; it is for you to see that they live according to their rule.† I grasp the sword of Constantine, you hold the sword of Peter.‡ My ancestor bestowed a tithe of his lands upon the churches and monasteries; my progenitor, Alfred, enriched the Church, and was unsparing in his donations from his treasures, his patrimony, his goods, and his lands. It is not unknown to you how much the Church was enriched by my grandfather, Edward, with gifts from his paternal estate. It is fitting also that you recollect what will-offerings have been made on the altars of Christ by my father and brother. To *you*, then, I confide this affair, in order that, by your *episcopal censure*, and the royal authority, (i. e., *enforcing* those censures,) *you* may remove evil doers from our churches, and supply their places with those who live in accordance with the ordinances of religion."§ It is scarcely necessary to

* Laws of king Edgar. *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i, p. 273.

† Mac Cabe's *Catholic History*, vol. ii, p. 562.

‡ Ibid, p. 564.

§ Ibid, p. 567.

say that a similar spirit pervaded the laws of the Confessor. So stood the law, as to "charitable trusts," under the Saxons. They were considered purely spiritual, and exclusively of spiritual cognizance.

So, under the dynasties of the Conqueror and his confessors, so far as the *law* was concerned. Too many of them cared not for the law, and *against* the law plundered and oppressed the Church. And after some time, when craft succeeded outrage, and iniquity, united with hypocrisy, sought the disguise or excuse of *legality*, the law was warped and altered, so as to make it, as much as possible, in harmony with the corrupt and sordid spirit of those covetous sovereigns and courtiers who looked to the temporalities of the Church simply as sources of so much wealth, and sought to have them in their gift, and to bestow them upon such corrupt and sordid prelates and priests as would be subservient to their pleasures, and indulgent to their sins. Hence the contests of St. Anselm with Henry I., and of St. Thomas with Henry II. Hence the statutes of *præmunire*, which proved precursors and instruments of the schismatical statutes separating England from the Holy See. The source of all was that love of money, which is the root of all evil. The desire for Church plunder, which first led the Normans to pillage the Church in open contempt of law, led their more subtle successors to oppress the Church by means of law, and ultimately to commit plunder and spoliation, under pretence of preventing abuses of spiritual trusts. We shall see this spirit pervading all the laws relating to the temporalities of the Church, from the earliest times. For a long period the law did not openly profess to dispute that the disposition and application of all ecclesiastical funds was of purely spiritual cognizance, but still insidiously sought to introduce an opposite principle, and in such a way as clearly to show that the occult purpose was to procure the control of Church monies for *the sake of spoliation*. Judas-like, the spirit of all legislators upon Church property can be shown to have been that of the traitor; "not that he cared for the poor, but because he bore the bag, and what was put therein." We shall find the illustration of this most striking from the time of Henry I. to the time of Henry VIII., or the age of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, or the Stuarts; from the Conquest to the Reformation; from the Reformation to the Revolution; from the Revolution

to the era of Reform. What we propose to prove is, that spiritual administration of ecclesiastical funds was, upon the whole, faithful, and *therefore charitable*; and that, in proportion as the temporal jurisdiction encroached upon the spiritual,* the administration became unfaithful, and ceased to be charitable; in truth, became downright spoliation. How could it be otherwise? Have we not shown, that from the age of the Apostles the law of the Church was, that the administration of her funds should be spiritual? And how should those who cared not for her law care for her property? That exemption of the Clergy from secular citation, which existed from the time of Charlemagne,† and was, as we have seen, the principle of our Saxon laws, which Coke, and all our lawyers, recognize as the source of our common law, would alone, of course, have protected the ecclesiastical administration of Church property. Hence those royal ruffians who reigned after the Conquest were perpetually trying to enjoin their own jurisdiction upon the Clergy. This was from no regard for theory; our Norman rulers were of far too practical a turn of mind; their sole care was for pelf, and their history shows they spared neither cruelty nor craft to win it, whether from laics or clerics. The most politic of all these plunderers, Henry II., sought, by the contributions of Clarendon, to do this very cleverly. He introduced many clauses for this purpose. One was, “that clerks *accused of any crime* should be summoned by the king’s justice into the *king’s court*, to answer there for *whatever the king’s court shall determine they ought to answer there.*” Another, “If a dispute shall arise between a clerk and a laic about a tenement, *which the clerk claims as eleemosynary*, but the laic as lay, it shall be *settled through the chief justice.*” “The Archbishops and Bishops shall hold their possessions of the king, and *answer for the same to the king’s justices.*” “When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory, of the king’s demesne shall be vacant, it shall be in his hand, and *he shall receive from it all the revenues and proceeds.*” “And when the time shall come for providing for that Church, the king shall

* See a series of papers in the *Rambler* for 1852. *Encroachments of the State on the Church before the Reformation.*

† Cap. Carl. M. a. 801, s. 39, col. 355.

recommend the best person to it."* How long it would be before the king, who, while the sees or abbacies were *vacant*, received the revenues, would be likely to think that "the time had come for providing for those Churches," may be easily imagined, and it can also be easily conceived that the sort of kings who kept sees vacant that they might receive the revenues, would probably recommend, as the best persons to fill those sees, such as would connive at these peculations. In point of fact, it was the demand made by John, of St. Anselm, to pay him a thousand marks for his election to the Primacy, which caused the contest between the crown and that great saint,† enduring through two reigns, and ended under Henry by the confiscation of the entire revenues of the see.‡ So the contest between Henry II. and St. Thomas arose really as to the endeavours of the king to possess himself indirectly of the Church property, (the real scope of the constitutions of Clarendon,) and the issue was, with him also, the sequestration of the revenues of the see.§ The recitals of all the great charters amply prove that this system continued under all the Norman monarchs, up to the era of the statutes of *præmunire*, which carried out, after a protracted struggle, the principles of the constitutions of Clarendon, in opposition to which St. Thomas was a martyr; and the essence of which might be described in a single sentence, secular administration of ecclesiastical property. For, as history shows, the Norman sovereigns cared only for the *temporalities*, and on their side that was all the contention. By the common law it was now settled that the crown was guardian of the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and the patron of those of abbacies or benefices; what kind of guardians, and what was the nature of their administration, need hardly be told.|| The simple fact that they strove to keep the sees vacant as long as they could, showed in what manner *lay* administration of spiritual property was managed, and how little it had of the *charitable* in it.

What a contrast is presented in the *spiritual* administration of ecclesiastical property as described by contem-

* Roger de Wendover, A. D. 1164.

† Ibid 1094.

‡ Ibid, 1104.

§ Ibid 1164.

|| See the great Charters in *Thomson's Essay on Magna Charta.*]

porary history ! Whether we look to the bishops or the abbots, their administration of the revenues of their abbacies and sees was equally characterized by charity and by ability. In regard to *ability*, although the vulgar idea is that ecclesiastics are unfitted for the administration of finances, the testimony of our own history attests the reverse. From the Saxon times to the Reformation, *experience* proved that ecclesiastics were the ablest administrators even of the national revenues. Thus William of Malmsbury states that under Ethelwulf the Great, ruin would have befallen the country, had not St. Swithin, and Alstan, Bishops of Worcester and Sherborne, come to the aid of the state and the management of the finances. The Confessor committed the regency of the realm to the Primate Lanfranc, and his example was repeatedly followed by his successors. When the Pope complained of this, the answer was that it was necessary for the welfare of the country; for that, as ecclesiastics surpassed others in virtue and wisdom, so were they more efficient in the administration of affairs.* Under the Plantagenets, even in the reigns of wise kings like our first and third Edward, the offices of Chancellor and Treasurer were almost invariably filled by ecclesiastics; † and though Popes over and over again remonstrated, they yielded to the earnest representations of the sovereign as to the welfare of the state. And singularly enough, as the first rupture between St. Thomas and Henry II. arose from the prelate's relinquishing the Chancellorship, so the last and worst of the statutes of *præmunire* under Richard II., represents as a great grievance the withdrawal by the Pope of certain prelates from the king's councils. Prelates qualified to administer the finances of a nation, were not likely to lack ability in managing the revenues of a see. Nor were they any less noted for *charity*. St. Thomas used to employ the whole revenues of his see in alms; so of St. Anselm, St. Edmund, and a host of sainted prelates, whose names are too numerous to mention, and who, albeit their sanctity was heroic, were looked upon as only, in respect of *charity*, fulfilling, in a high degree, the proper functions of their office, and as presenting the proper type of the episcopal order. And so of hundreds other saintly if not sainted, from Peckham

* Baron. Ann. 1176.

† See article in the Rambler for 1852, "Lives of the Chancellors."

down to Wareham,* it is in substance the same character we find, so far as liberality and charity are concerned; with some rare exceptions, it is not for avarice they can be reproached. They might vary as to the degree of personal asceticism, or as to the mode in which they dispensed their revenues; some entirely in the more modest way of almsgiving, some in a more munificent manner, founding colleges, or endowing schools, or rebuilding churches and cathedrals; but they did not spend their revenues upon *self*. So of the monasteries. The history of Glastonbury, Romsey, Crowland, or any of the old English monasteries, was a history of hospitality. We have not space to cite scores of specimens. In the thirteenth century, for instance, we find an abbot of Glastonbury devoting the spare income of his abbacy to repairing all the churches of the county. Again, most great monasteries founded and endowed colleges at the universities, and maintained hundreds of poor scholars there. Thus, in the reign of Henry IV., we read of Crowland Abbey having then scholars studying at Cambridge, and so we repeatedly read of other religious houses. This same monastery of Crowland reclaimed vast tracts of fen lands, and so of other religious houses.† So varied, and so valuable were the labours of the religious houses in this respect, that there is extant in the History of Crowland, the record of a suit at law having been actually instituted against the monastery for damage sustained through some defect in the embankments; a suit which the court dismissed because there was no *legal* obligation on the monastery any more than on any *other* landowners, though their greater benevolence and energy had given rise to the idea of some peculiar obligation upon them, as in truth there was; but it was solely spiritual, and one of which no temporal court could take cognizance.

In the reign of Henry II., Bracton lays it down that where property was given to religious houses, it was held on a distinct tenure called "free alms," importing that there was no temporal tribunal which had cognizance of its application; ‡ and although the law encroached afterwards

* See Mac Cabe's Catholic History vol. i. And see article in the *Rambler*, 1853, "*Robberies of Religion*."

† See Finlason's *History of the Mortmain Laws*.

‡ Bract. Lib. ii. c. 10.

upon such lands as to their *acquisition*, no attempt was made to interfere in their administration. It was by the common law held impossible to sue an abbot or prior for a cessation of any religious services, in respect of land held in "free alms." * A statute indeed passed, by which it was enacted, that "if a man give land unto a religious house, or unto another man, to find a chaplain to sing divine service, or to find certain tapers to burn before such an image, or to distribute certain bread and beer every week to poor men—if these services be not done for two years, nor sufficient distress upon the land to destrain for them, then he (or his heirs) who gave the lands should recover them." And by which it was further provided, that "if the lands were given in free alms, and the abbot alienated them, the donor or his heirs might recover them." †

But from the very passing of these statutes, it is plain that at common law there was no such recovery of the property; and it is clear that this could not at all fulfil, but must defeat the intention of the donor, which the temporal law did not attempt to carry out, simply because it could not do so, as it was purely of spiritual cognizance. All that the secular law did was to seize upon the property, and give it to the heirs, which was not carrying out the trust for pious uses, but destroying it. Whereas, in the spiritual courts the spiritual trusts could be enforced, and the continuance of the services or distribution of the alms compelled, by ecclesiastical censures. The cognizance of testaments and trusts, (which are closely connected, for testaments are but the trusts of the dead,) was always in the spiritual courts, although to *recover* the property the temporal courts had to be resorted to. In the *administration* of the trusts, testamentary or otherwise, they never interfered. And when a man left no executors, the bishop was *ex-officio* his administrator, the reason assigned by the old lawyers being, that spiritual men were of better conscience than laymen, and knew best what was good for the soul of the deceased. Shallow Protestant writers represent sarcastically that the bishops always thought it best for his soul that his property should go to pious uses, and that statutes were passed to prevent this, and give it to the creditors and relatives. This only evinces the malice of

* 18 Assize.

† Stat. West. ii. c. 41.

those who invented the story, and the ignorance of those who repeat it. The law of the Church, as it would compel a person while alive, under pain of mortal sin, to pay his debts first, and then provide properly (so far as possible) for his wife and children, would impose of course a correlative duty on those who represented him when dead. The difference, however, between the canon and the common law lay in this, as to what were *deemed* debts, and what was the *proof* of debts. Thus the former might deem obligations of *conscience* debts, the latter only obligations of *contract*: and, on the other hand, the former might receive any credible evidence of payment, while the latter would require strict technical proof. That this was so is clear to those at all acquainted with the two laws, or who read Fortescue's "Commendation of the laws of England," in which he has to defend the common law from charges founded on these very differences. And the scope of the statutes, which it is absurdly represented by Blackstone and his copyists were designed to secure creditors and children from the rapacity of the bishops, was to enforce on the bishops the administration of the property of the testator, or intestate, according to the rules of the common, instead of the canon law. If the legislature had deemed the bishops bad administrators of these trusts, as to their honesty or good faith, it would have deprived them of it, whereas it continued unfettered until after the Reformation. For legacies the only remedy was in the spiritual courts; and if a man left a sum for the repairs of a church, it was in those courts it was recovered. So the bishops could compel executors to submit accounts to them, and could superintend the disposition of what was left for pious uses. So it was in the spiritual courts alone that abbots, or priors, or persons could be sued for dilapidation or devastation of the property they held in right of the Church; and it was only by the bishops or superiors that deprivation could be inflicted for such wasteful administration. And the law of England, both common law and statute, recognized in the superiors of religious orders the power of visitation over the houses of their respective orders, and in the bishops a similar power over hospitals or chapels, as well as their jurisdiction, as ordinaries, over the secular clergy.

It is clear from the ancient laws of this realm, that the ecclesiastical tribunals alone had cognizance of causes

relating to *temporalities annexed to spiritualities*. This is laid down by Bracton in those very terms. *

In the reign of Edward I., it was recited by statute † that monasteries and religious houses had been founded that charitable deeds might be done, and that the superiors of such houses had alone the right of visitation. †

In the reign of Edward II., it was declared, § that of the “fitness of a person presented unto a benefice the adjudication belongs to a spiritual judge; and so it hath been used heretofore, and shall be hereafter: and that spiritual persons whom the king presents to benefices, if the bishop refuse them for lack of learning, or *for any other reasonable cause*, shall not be under the examination of laymen, but may apply to a spiritual judge for remedy.” || Thus, even as to benefices *in the gift of the crown*, the bishop had right of refusal for any reasonable cause, of which the *spiritual* courts alone could judge. This law remains to the present day in the Established Church, as exemplified in the case of the *Bishop of Exeter v. Gorham*; although, as the crown appoints the archbishops of that Church, and the appeal from him was to the Privy Council, the law is stultified.

So in the reign of Edward III., the deprivation of the clergy, and the rescinding of benefices, was affirmed to pertain to “Holy Church.” ¶ In the same reign, Parliament solemnly recited that the Church had been endowed to make hospitalities and alms, and other works of charity; ** but though the right of *patronage* was treated as pertaining to the secular courts, the payment of tithes was enforced in the spiritual courts, and, as already seen, the courts spiritual had exclusive power of *deprivation*. ††

In the reign of Henry V., ‡‡ an act passed as to hospitals, providing for the visitation for those of royal foundation, but leaving other hospitals to the bishops, who should

* See Finlason's “*Catholic Hierarchy*,” p. 23.

† 35 Edw. I.

‡ “*Catholic Hierarchy*,” p. 34.

§ 9 Edw. II.

|| *Cath. Hier.* p. 19.

¶ Statute 19, Edw. III., Yearbook, 25 Edw. IV.

** Stat. 25 Edw. III.

†† Yearbook, 29 Edw. III. 16; 43 Edw. III. 32; Hen. IV. 7.

‡‡ Statute 2, Hen. V. c. i.

inquire into abuses, and make correction thereof, according to the laws of Holy Church.* And in the reign of Edward IV., Littleton, our great oracle of the common law (after Bracton), laid it down in his celebrated "Commentaries," that when religious houses held land as "free alms" (*frank al moyne*), though they were bound to offer prayers and masses for the souls of their founders and donors; yet if they did *not* do so, it was only to the *visitors* (that is, superiors or bishops) that there could be any appeal.† And though he adds that where certain specific services were expressed, as to sing Mass in a certain chapel, &c., the donor could distrain on the land; yet no case can be found in the Yearbooks of any action at law for non-performance of such services, save where the prior or the person had *covenanted* to perform them, in which case of course it became a mere contract.‡

There is, of course, a clear distinction between trust and contract. Of any contract the law took cognizance, whether the thing to be done were spiritual or temporal; but no trace can be found of the secular courts enforcing spiritual trusts. Bills in Chancery to enforce trusts *temporal*, can be traced as far back as the reign of Edward IV., § but not the slightest trace of any *spiritual*. On the contrary, it is clear that temporal trusts were originally of spiritual cognizance, and that testamentary trusts still continued so, whether spiritual or temporal. || If the trusts were spiritual, the only remedy was in the courts spiritual. ¶ In the reign of Edward IV. a case occurred, bearing remarkably on a species of bequest very common since the Reformation. It was said by the court, "If I give twenty marks to a prior to pray for the soul of my father, this money *he has in his own right*; and if he waste it or spend it, the bishop cannot deprive him:" intimating, that if it had been a *trust*, the bishop could

* *Cath Hier.* p. 34.

† Littleton's Commentaries, section on "Tenant by *frank al moyne*."

‡ Yearbook, 42 Edw. III. Hil. 14. 2 Hen. IV. 25; and see note to *Magnay v. Edwards*, 3 Com. Law Reports.

§ Yearbook, 5 Edw. IV. 7, 4 Edw. IV. 37.

|| Yearbook, 9 Edw. III. 17.

¶ Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*.

have deprived him, and that anyhow the bishop alone had jurisdiction. * And though we read of a bill in Chancery to *recover* money which a party had deposited with another to dispose of after his death for the good of his soul, and which the receiver had delivered over to another, we read of no suit to *administer* it. †

Cases could be cited from the Yearbooks in abundance, clearly showing that the temporal courts claimed no cognizance in any of these cases, even when concerning the *temporalities* of the Church. And the statutes repeatedly recognize and recite the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops or abbots over their sees. Even when the Court of Chancery assumed an enlarged jurisdiction, and began, as a "court of conscience," presided over by ecclesiastics, to control the administration of trusts, although we find bills in Chancery to recover property given for pious uses, we find no trace of bills for its administration. That the administration of spiritual or charitable trusts was, under ecclesiastical cognizance, satisfactory, can be shown most triumphantly. Long after the Reformation, cases constantly occurred of trusts confiscated as "superstitious," which had been founded in the reigns of Edward III., or Henry IV., and had continued from their times: and the very Parliament which confiscated the smaller houses, left on record their solemn affirmation, that in the larger houses (thanks be to God) religion was right well observed. The Council of Trent recognized the old canons as to the distribution of the goods of the Church; and Cardinal Pole, as legate of the Holy See, reminded the clergy in 1566 of the charge of Pope Gregory to St. Augustine, to which we have already alluded, and declared that the "ministers of Holy Church ought ever to be the Fathers of the Poor." †

Very great is the contrast at the Reformation. There was a feeble attempt to represent the wholesale spoliations that then took place as mere alterations and commutations of the trusts the founders had created, and power was given by Parliament to apply the property confiscated to educational or charitable purposes, yet very little escaped the

* Yearbook, 9 Edw. IV. Mich. 9.

† Yearbook, 4 Edw. IV. 37.

‡ *Mores Catholici*, b. i. c. 3.

rapacity of the king and his courtiers, and we need scarcely say how far the reverse of "charitable" was *their* administration of all this ecclesiastical property.

At this era the Court of Chancery became secularized, and lay lawyers took the places of ecclesiastics in the possession of the Great Seal. Partly perhaps from this, but principally from the universal relaxation of morality, Parliament had to interpose at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, for the protection of such charitable trusts as had survived the wreck of the Reformation. Religious houses no longer existing, the foundation of hospitals, almshouses, and schools, was encouraged to the utmost, in order to supply the awful void their destruction had left in the land. Parliament did not know what to do with the poor; and so, from selfish and economical principles, became charitable. Hence the celebrated act of Charitable Uses, which recited great frauds and breaches of trust in the misemployment of property given for such purposes. And it is very remarkable that the remedy was provided not in Chancery, but in a partial restoration of the old episcopal jurisdiction over charitable trusts. The Chancellor was to issue commissions to the bishops of each diocese, his chancellor, and some other proper and discreet persons, who without expense were to enquire into and redress these frauds and breaches of trust. Such commissions were issued and enforced under some of our greatest Chancellors, from Bacon to Clarendon, and from Clarendon to Nottingham, even until and after the era of the Revolution, and in the age of Cowper and Hardwicke. And the cases occurring under the act of Elizabeth equally show the abuses which existed, and the efficiency with which they were redressed by the Charitable Commissions issued under that act.* After the Restoration, however, when the prevailing tone of the public mind was far less favourable to charity than in the reign of Elizabeth, chancellors arose who discontinued issuing charitable commissions under that act, so the control of charities came exclusively under the court of Chancery, the procedure in which had by this time become elaborate, dilatory, and expensive. The chancellor at last became sensible of this, and Chancery lawyers grew ashamed of the alterna-

* See the article in the *Rambler* on the subject, in the last volume.

tive now offered to charities, either to be ruined by frauds and breaches of trust, or to be ruined by tedious and costly suits to redress them. Lord Chancellor Thurlow on one occasion said what Lord Chancellor Coventry had said a century and a half before,—that Chancery suits were too costly and dilatory for charities. And Sir S. Romilly attempted improvement, in a measure for *facilitating* applications to Chancery, which proved rather a palliative than a corrective of the evil, the application by petition being only allowable in a limited class of cases, and Chancery suits being still the ordinary remedy for breaches of charitable trusts, a remedy to which it is plain no one but a rare patriot or philanthropist would be likely to resort for the good of others, and which would be so perilous and expensive that probably even a philanthropist, if prudent, might deem it preferable to found a new charity in place of running such a risk with a view of reforming the old one.

It was not only the delay and expense which rendered Chancery unsuited for charities: it was the literal, almost technical strictness, with which the terms of the founder's directions were regarded, and the hard way in which they were construed, rather according to the letter than the spirit, and very often defeating instead of furthering his intentions. Thus in one case, where money was left to build a church at Wheatly, in Oxfordshire, the bishop and the parish differing about it so as to prevent its being built there, the court held that as it could not be built there it was to be built nowhere, and gave the money to the next of kin. No reasonable man can doubt that it would have been more in conformity with the testator's intentions to have built the church in a neighbouring parish rather than not at all. Upon these principles, however, if in such a case the trustees had built the church out of the parish, they would have had to refund to the heir as for a breach of trust or a fraud! Such decisions realize the spiritual expression: "*the letter killeth!*" Such, however, was the spirit of the court of Chancery, which, when it became secularized, ceased to be, in an enlarged sense, a court of "conscience," and became, in a great degree, fettered by legal rules, it being a maxim that equity *followed law*.

Our business, however, is more with Catholic charities, which, of course, had become proscribed, and, therefore, secret at the time of the Reformation. There is abundant

evidence in the legal records of occasional confiscation of property supposed to have been left on secret trusts for "recusants," that a system of secret Catholic trusts had commenced with the Reformation, had been kept up until the Revolution, and continued thence down to the present time. It was not until near the present century that the penal laws were at all relaxed, and not until Mr. O'Connell's act, in 1832, that gifts for Catholic chapels or schools, &c., were formally legalized, and to this time the law of "superstitious uses" remains. During this long period of secret trusts up to that time, what became of them? and what has become of them since?

It is obvious that the law of the Church Catholic had not been altered by the Reformation, and as from the earliest times, (as we have seen,) the cognizance of religious trusts was exclusively spiritual, it continued so still, and the secret trusts of the faithful were by that sacred law placed under the control of the Bishops. It mattered not that the secular law no longer enforced their decrees, it did not recognize their existence, and it affected the one no more than the other.

The canon law, of course, went with the established Catholic hierarchy to which it was incident; the common law had no cognizance of what it refused to recognize. There was nothing, therefore, to control the discretion of the Bishops, and they remained *de jure, per legem Christi*, sole and absolute administrators of Catholic charitable trusts, as in the age of the apostles. It is clear that this was so, and that this has been so, and that this is so and must be so, except so far as any re-establishment of the canon law, any restoration of the common law, any rules of Chancery, or any enactment of the statute law may control their powers. England being a mere missionary country, the primitive discipline of the Church applied in this respect, and Catholic testators or donors or founders must be presumed to have understood this, and to have made their particular directions when they left any, subject to the discretion of the Bishops. Suppose, for instance, a testator left in 1718, land for the maintenance of a priest at Kendal, and the value of the lands so much increased, that whereas when given it was not more than sufficient for the priest, it rose to upwards of £300 a year, of which say £50 was sufficient for the priest, (with the offerings of the congregation,) and so that there was a surplus of £250 a year,

will any Catholic who has followed our statements as to the primitive practice, doubt that by the law of the Church the Bishop would have the direction and disposition of the surplus? And if the Bishop had no endowment, and was reduced to such poverty that not only he had no means of training priests, but no means of supporting himself, except by applying the surplus to these purposes of his own support and the support of some small seminary for priests, will any sensible Catholic say that this would be a misappropriation of the funds? If so, then this absurd consequence would follow: a priest being fixed at Kendal, would have to live in luxury on the £300 a year, and the Bishop might be starved out of the country, and the seminary of the diocese put a stop to; so that when the particular priest died, there would be no one to ordain or appoint another, and the trust would utterly fail. Surely the testator would say of such as performed his trust in that way, that they "kept the word of promise to the ear, and broke it in effect."

More serious questions, however, arise upon the Catholic trusts. The trustees in some cases actually denied the Bishops not merely the disposal of the funds, but the appointment of the priests, and arrogated to themselves not only the temporal but spiritual control of the trusts. It is plain that this was not originally so. In a case which has acquired some notoriety from having been brought before the Committee on Mortmain, it appeared that a long while ago the Vicar Apostolic always managed the fund. Afterwards the heir of the trustee claimed the right of exclusive administration, and not only so, but of uncontrolled *presentation*. He pretended occupation of a "living," and as such to be possessed of a "right of patronage," and by virtue thereof to be entitled to "present" to the living any priest he pleased; but then, with strange inconsistency, denied the Bishop the right of objecting to the presentation, which, if it were governed by the rules pertaining to regular right of patronage, clearly the Bishop was entitled to, since to this day the Bishops have much power, even in the Established Church. If it were not a "living" on the score in which regular right of patronage could attach to it, it was a private trust to pay only the funds to the Bishop. That was the substance of it. The Bishop alone could carry out the trust. The Bishop alone had the power to appoint a priest to a par-

ticular place, and give him faculties, and the Bishop alone could remove or replace him after he had been appointed. Instead of this, the lay trustee assumed the absolute management, and not only so, but desired the power to appoint whom he pleased without any consent of the Bishop. This was claiming far more than the administration of a charitable trust which of right belonged to the Bishop. It was claiming the right of episcopal jurisdiction. It was assuming to confer *mission*,—the very thing which the schism of the Reformation gave to the Crown. And as, in looking at the outrageous aggressions of our Norman sovereigns on the Church, in respect to the right of patronage, we found the real reason was a desire to grasp the temporalities, it was in perfect conformity with the examples thus imitated by lay Catholics of the class alluded to, that they betrayed the same disposition, and it has been disclosed in this way. When the Bishop declined to advocate his episcopal office by delegating his pastoral powers to a presumptuous layman, the lay trustee in many cases refused to submit, encouraged the unhappy priest to rebel, induced him to stand out when suspended from the exercise of sacerdotal functions, (so that it was impossible for him to execute the trust,) and then, paying him perhaps some portion of the fund, *retained the rest in his pocket*. The parallel is painful between this sort of proceeding and that pursued by those royal plunderers of the Church to whom we have referred in an earlier portion of our article. Nor did the parallel end there. The refractory patrons and rebellious priests would appeal to Rome, and when they had, as of course they could not fail to have, decrees against them,—following the fatal example of all schismatics, from Photius to Cranmer, refused to acquiesce with decisions of the authority which they had themselves invoked, and protested against the jurisdiction to which they had themselves appealed! So true is it that, as Scripture says, “the sin of rebellion is as the sin of *witchcraft*.” Its fatal fascination carries a man on from one pitfall of guilt to another and a deeper. Beginning with disobedience he goes on to open rebellion,—defying his Bishop; he ends with defying the Holy See, and happy is he if he fall not at last into heresy or schism.

There is one illustration so striking of the spirit which pervaded these pastors and the source whence it emanated, and which tends so strongly to show “what manner of

men" they are who could act thus, that we must state it, without mentioning any name, which might perchance give pain to some who have found the grace of repentance. A priest is suspended by a Bishop; he declines to obey or to give up his "living;" he takes counsel of a Protestant attorney, who says: "*You stick to the property.*" And he does so. He defies episcopal censure. He "sticks to the property." The chapel is shut up; he cannot officiate; the poor people lack spiritual ministrations; the Bishop is ready to appoint another priest, but the refractory one refuses to move; he still "sticks to the property." And now we come to the climax. These very parties,—the rebellious patrons and priests who set at nought their Bishop, prevent him from appointing such pastors as he thinks best, turn round and reproach *him* with having defeated the testator's intentions, and destroyed the trust! And like their prototypes, the framers of the statutes of *præmunire*, these persons rail at the See of Rome for interfering in such matters, which they pretend are purely temporal, because concerning temporalities. As if the appointment of a pastor was the less a spiritual matter because the pastor receives an endowment! As if the endowment were to deprive the Bishop of his proper episcopal powers! Why in that view endowments would be a detriment and a bane, and as fast as they were founded would tend to destroy the Episcopate!

The Bishop and the Holy See spoke out plainly upon the subject. One of the Bishops wrote thus to a refractory Priest, who had, at the instigation of his "patron," persisted in retaining a "living," contrary to his Bishop's direct command: "The grounds on which I require you to leave are these. Because, when there was a dispute concerning the right of presentation to the mission, you took possession of it on the presentation of one party, the other not being consulted; and although the other party, the Bishop, refused you faculties when applied to, you continued to remain in the mission; and because, when ordered by me to retire, you refused, although the Holy See had declared that you could not lawfully hold the place without such institution." The words of the Sacred Congregation were: "The right to the nomination does not pertain to the lay trustee; and if it did, the Priest could not, without the institution and approbation of the Bishop, assume the mission." Thus, at the distance of

ten centuries we find the Holy See asserting just the same principle as by the pen of Pope Gregory when writing to St. Augustine; so perfect is the harmony of all that emanates from Rome as to that Church, which alone realizes the poet's conception:—

“Serene amidst the blood and dust of ages,
Never waxing old; but on the stream of time, from age to age,
Casting bright images of heavenly things.”

Such was the state of things when O'Connell's act, in 1832, legalizing Catholic Churches, opened the doors of Chancery to Catholic charitable trusts; a questionable boon, but the best that could be got. The first case that occurred, the memorable case of *West, v. Shuttleworth*, will show of what value was the boon; and will illustrate the present position of the law as to such trusts. One class of the bequests there were to priests absolutely, and without any words indicating that they were not for the personal benefit of the priests; and it was added, that the testatrix hoped to have the benefit of their prayers. The Chancellor (the late Lord Cottenham) confiscated these, because he said it was plain they were not for the personal benefit of the priests, but for masses for the repose of the testatrix's soul. Another part of the will, devised property to trustees to promote the knowledge of the Catholic religion, and the court held this legal under the act of O'Connell, and referred it to the Master, to settle a scheme for carrying it out. It seems to have occurred not unnaturally to the counsel, who argued against the bequest, as strange, that it should be referred to the Master, pretty certain to be a Protestant, to draw a scheme for diffusing the Catholic religion. But so it was. And so it must be on any occasion in which a Catholic charity is “thrown into Chancery.” And when there, of course it is administered on precisely the same principle as Protestant charitable trusts. Let us look a little at those principles, as to what *constitutes* a trust, and how it is to be *administered*.

Nothing is clearer than the rule of the court of Chancery, that a *trust* is not created (i. e., in legal construction, so as to render the party responsible to that court) except by words *imperative*, and pointing to *specific sub-*

jects and objects ;* as, if a testator leave property to the intent that the party will dispose of the same, for the benefit of certain persons, for charities, mentioned by name ;† but if it were merely “in confidence,” could, in a legal sense, be no trust.‡ It need hardly be added, that it is not *possible*, that where there are *no directory or precautionary words at all*, but the bequest is in terms *absolute*, there can, in such a sense, be any trust. And accordingly in the case of *Middleton, v. Sherburn*,§ it was laid down, as the rule of the courts of equity, that a bequest to a priest in the terms absolute, and in the face of it not explained at large, may be open to the suspicion of undue influence, on the very ground that it is absolute, and for his own benefit. Yet Lord Cottenham confiscated the legacies to priests in *West, v. Shuttleworth*, although they were in terms absolute, because he chose to suspect or suppose a species of spiritual trust for superstitious uses, a decision surely not reconcileable with the principles upon which the courts acted on this subject. And still further, it is clear that a bequest, even to a Bishop, to lay out at his discretion in purposes of benevolence, liberality, &c., would not constitute a trust in a legal sense ;|| for “this would be an uncontrollable power of disposition, which would be an ownership, not a trust :” a doctrine laid down by the Master of the Rolls in 1804. And he went on to lay it down, that “charity, in its widest sense, denotes all the good affections which men ought to bear to each other ; and in its most restricted sense, relief of the poor ; but the word is not employed by the court in either sense ; the signification of the word charity being now derived from the act of Elizabeth, which enumerates all the purposes deemed charitable, or, by analogy, within its spirit and intendment, to some of which every charitable bequest shall be applied. In no case has a bequest been deemed charitable if the testator did not use that word, or point out some object which the court considers

* *Knight, v. Knight*, 3 Beav. 148.

† *Raikes, v. Ward*, 1 Hare, 445.

‡ *Webb, v. Wools*, 21, Law J., Ch. 625, 2 Sim., N. S. 267.

§ See Finlason's *History of the Law of Mortmain*, 102.

|| *Moore, v. Bishop of Durham*, 1 Vesey, jun. N. S. 339.

charitable." The definition of charity now is enlarged, so far as respects Catholic charities, by the act of O'Connell, which expressly recognizes not only trusts for educational, but ecclesiastical purposes unconnected with "superstitious uses." And a Catholic bequest for "charitable uses" generally, would be construed as a trust to be administered under the court of Chancery.*

As to the *administration* of charitable trusts, it has been held in a recent case that, whether ecclesiastical duties acquired under a charitable foundation are properly performed, it is not in their, the province of the court of Chancery, to determine, it being a matter which belongs to the ecclesiastical authorities.† This, of course, would be a principle equally applicable to Catholic as to Protestant charities; and therefore, on a reference to the Master,‡ as to the management of such charities with reference to religious duties, it would be to Catholic ecclesiastics the "Master" would have to appeal. This may serve to show the unsoundness of the views of the Erastian Catholics, to whom we have alluded, who dispute the rights of the Bishops to determine as to appointments or removals of priests. Why the Court of Chancery, far wiser than they, would, in an appeal to its jurisdiction, refer such questions through "the Master" to those very Bishops! In respect to *Protestant* bishops, many charitable foundations have them for visitors; and it is a settled rule at law and equity, that no court can interfere with a visitor's jurisdiction.§ Hence it was that, in the notorious case of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, Mr. Whiston failed, both in the Court of Chancery and the Queen's Bench, because the Bishop was visitor. This however, is, a doctrine which at present has no practical application to Catholic charities, because visitors must be corporate persons, with perpetual succession, as Protestant Bishops are, but, thanks to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, Catholic Bishops are not. Catholic charities, then, must come into Chancery; eccle-

* *Attorney General, v. Herrick*, cited in Duke, p. 501.

† *Attorney General, v. Smithies*, 1 Keen, 289.

‡ The late Chancery Reform Acts have abolished masters in Chancery, whose duties however are performed by chief clerks, so that the argument equally applies.

§ *Attorney General, v. Lubbock*, 1 Coop. 15.

siastical questions to be ruled by Catholic ecclesiastics the legal questions by the principles the court of Chancery applies to all charities. The fundamental principle is, that the *terms* of the founder's will are to be pursued as literally as possible; and though some expansion of the terms is permitted in case of a surplus, yet, if the application of the gift is directed to be in a particular way and locality, it will be restricted thereto by the court, however overloaded the place may be with a particular species of charity, and however great the necessities of other places. It is only necessary to mention two places, one in England, and the other in Scotland, to illustrate this; Bedford and Edinburgh* are overrun with charities of a particular species, which seem to have become the rage; but there is no power, either of altering the application of the funds in those places, or of applying any part of them to similar purposes in other places. Still, where there has been a mistaken construction, and a consequent application of the funds to purposes not strictly warranted, the court will not charge the trustee with a breach of trust.†

It has, however, been held, within the last few years, that it is a misapplication of a charitable fund left for the poor of one parish, to apply it to a charity extending over other parishes.‡ And where trustees and their predecessors have, for a long course of years, erroneously administered charitable funds, the usage is no defence;§ though, where there has been no corrupt intention, the court will consider, not merely the terms of the gift, but the circumstances under which it was accepted, and the charity established.||

Applying these principles to the Catholic secret gifts for pious purposes made in modern times, it is plain that such of them as are simple and absolute, the court of Chancery can have no concern with. And that, as to such as were

* See Evidence of Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Mortmain Committee, 1850.

† *Attorney General, v. Exeter*, 3 Russ. 395.

‡ *Attorney General, v. Brandreth*, Law Jour. c. c. 200.

§ *Attorney General, v. Christ's Hospital*, 4 Beav. 73.

|| *Attorney General, v. Caius College*, 2 Keen, 110.

so specific and imperative, as that, if not unlawful, they would have constituted trusts, they will now be legal trusts, unless associated with superstitious uses. But in the administration of them the court would consider, not merely the *terms*, but the *circumstances* of the trusts, especially the circumstances under which they were created and accepted. And further, the court would, on all ecclesiastical questions, be ruled by the opinions of Catholic ecclesiastics. This being so, it seems pretty plain that no charge could be sustained in the court of Chancery against Catholic trustees under secret trusts for any misapplication of the funds, provided the applications were *bona fide*, and in pursuance of the *general* intention of the donors, however *particular* directions might be disregarded. It would be equally iniquitous and ridiculous to apply the strict rules of canon, or common law to trusts created, accepted, and administered, without any right conferred either by the one or the other; without recognition from the one, or protection from the other. And testators, or founders, who might naturally be supposed to have contemplated a strict adherence to their intentions, under the responsibility of law, had their trusts been *recognized* by law, and created under the sanction of a regular system, and an established Church, could scarcely be supposed to contemplate that this would be the case with respect to trusts created in secrecy, obscurity, persecution, and confusion, to be carried out, as far as practicable, amidst the perils of penal laws, and all the urgent exigencies of a missionary country.

In 1845, a Charitable Trusts Bill passed the Lords, reciting that in numerous cases property of small amount is held subject to charitable trusts; and it is expedient to provide for the due administration of such property, without incurring the expense of proceeding in courts of equity, and authorizing the Crown to appoint Commissioners, who were to enquire into breaches of trust, in the management of any charity, the revenues of which did not exceed £100, a year, and to "make any order" thereon, and "establish such scheme for the application of the revenues as they should think fit," and who were also to enquire into the administration of *any* charities. There was no special reference to religious charities in the bill; but in the year 1847 Sir J. Romilly brought in a bill for the better administration of charitable trusts relating to Roman Catholics.

This bill recited the penal laws, including that of superstitious uses, and then recited, "that from periods for the most part anterior to the passing of those acts, property has been given for Catholic charitable uses, which, at those times, were unlawful; and in order to prevent the discovery of such uses, and the forfeiture of such property, the administration thereof has been exercised without express provision being made, or order taken for the due administration of the property in conformity with those uses, whereby it has happened in sundry cases that the property has been *diverted* from those uses;" a recital, as to which this remark obviously suggests itself, that it would be unreasonable that the law should hold parties responsible, *ex post facto*, for diverting property from "uses" which, at the time, the law declared it unlawful to apply it to! The bill went on, however, to recite that "it is expedient to provide for the better and public administration in time coming, as well of the said property, as of any other property, now, or hereafter, to be holden for any Catholic charitable uses; and in order to make such provision the more effectual, it is necessary that all doubts touching the lawfulness of such uses be taken away;" and then it enacted that Catholic charitable trusts should not be accounted superstitious or unlawful if in conformity with their religion, (which repealed virtually the law of superstitious uses,) and that they should not be invalid because the founder, or person enjoying the same, should be a Monk or Jesuit, which removed the disabilities imposed by the "Emancipation Act" as to religious orders. Then the bill proposed that where there was property left for the benefit of Catholics without any express declaration of trust, the usage of administration for twenty years, so far as in conformity with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome, should be conclusive as to the uses for which this property was given; but that usage should not prevail *against* any express declaration of trust. Then the bill proceeded to provide that the property should be held subject to the *canons* and discipline of the Church of Rome; and that, in particular where the enjoyment was dependent upon the title to exercise any spiritual office or function, the interest in the property should cease so soon as the party lost that title, and should be determined according to the canons and discipline of that Church and,

should not vest in any person not having obtained such title, or having been deprived of it by competent ecclesiastical authority, according to those canons and discipline of the Church, for some specific misconduct or neglect. The effect of this would have been that, in the case we have referred to, of disputes between lay trustees and the Bishops, the refractory priests would have had no right to the property if canonically convicted of any specific misconduct; and disobedience to any lawful episcopal command, or contempt of episcopal authority, would, it is presumed, have amounted to such misconduct. The bill proposed further that restitution should be made of the capital of misapplied funds, but not of the income, if *bona fide*, spent in charity; not of any income beyond twenty years, nor in any case where the uses were not of a "*specific and ascertained nature*." And there were provisions for summary application to the court of Chancery, upon petition, for the execution of the measure, and compelling the production of accounts of any charities for the benefit of Roman Catholics.

Let it be particularly observed, that this Bill related to all gifts and bequests for "the benefit, (spiritual or temporal) of Roman Catholics," (whether in a legal sense *trusts* or not,) and it is scarcely necessary to observe how obnoxious many of its provisions would have been,—for instance, the one last mentioned, as to accounts. In introducing it, Sir J. Romilly had been induced to believe, by persons like Mr. Anstey, the champion of the lay trustees, to whom we have referred, that it would be acceptable to the Catholic community. He was soon undeceived, and dropped it; as it was not his intention then to do anything in otherwise than a friendly way. The Bill was then re-introduced by Mr. Anstey, showing at once its *real parentage* and true character. We need not say that it excited the most decided opposition to some portions of it. In the "Report of the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury," it was condemned as un-Catholic in various respects, and it was said "to compel a Catholic bishop or other ecclesiastic to produce an account before a Protestant and lay tribunal where the donor has imposed implicit confidence in him, and has left his discretion unfettered, would be in the highest degree oppressive. In many cases the best possible application of the fund might be for purposes which no Bishop worthy of the name would consent to d^e lose, and which no threats nor compulsion of the

court of Chancery, or any other human tribunal could wring from him.” “Where the donor has not imposed implicit confidence in the trustee, but has marked out the specific appropriation of his charity, there can be no objection to strict legal security against misappropriation. But where the donor has taken no such precaution, we object to the interference of any civil tribunal in matters strictly private and confidential. It appears to be intended by the Bill, that where the property has been left to the unrestrained discretion of the Bishop, hereafter its application is to be confined by reference to the usage of twenty years ;—a most unjustifiable interference with the donor’s gift. What if there has been no uniform usage for that period ? Is it to be left to the judgment of the Chancellor, and the questionable discretion of the Master’s office, to fix what the Master has left indeterminate ? Under this Bill again the usage, if it exists, is to be sanctioned by the court so far as is consistent with the doctrines and canons of the Church of Rome ; by which a Bishop can be compelled, by a suit instituted by any layman,—or of his own rebellious subjects it may be,—to appear before a Protestant court, and prove to its satisfaction that his administration has been in accordance with, ‘the discipline, and canons, and even the doctrines’ of the Church. When any charitable property has been wholly or in part diverted from the uses to which it was given, the Bill gives the Chancellor power to order its total or partial restoration. That is to say, if some twenty years ago, a Bishop diverted certain mission funds from the immediate purposes of the trust to the buying and building of a college, the Catholics of England are made by this Bill to request the Lord Chancellor to consider whether it would not be well to sell the college to replace the funds of the mission. Surely this is not the way in which Catholics should seek to adjust whatever may have been erroneous in the past arrangement of their affairs.” And we may add, that it would have been scarcely consistent with the principles upon which the court of Chancery itself has acted in respect to charitable trusts, as we have already explained them. In fact, the scope and purpose of the Bill was to place the Bishops in a *worse* position than the court would put them in *without* the Bill, for it made them responsible where there was *no trust, in a legal sense*, in the first place, and in the next, it made them responsible upon the express terms of the

trust, (where any had been created,) without reference to the circumstances under which it had been created and accepted. And in both these respects the bill was an insidious attempt to ensnare and injure Catholic charitable trusts, under pretence of protecting them! Well might Cardinal Wiseman say: "An enemy hath done this!" The enemy, however, happily, did not succeed. He was baffled and defeated. But though he failed in doing a great *harm*, he succeeded in preventing a great *good*,—the passing of a good Charitable Trusts Bill, prepared with the approval of good Catholics, under able auspices, and he conceived, from his defeat, feelings of resentment, which years after he visited upon His Eminence when circumstances placed it in his power, in a manner proving rather the strength of his recollection than the generosity of his character.

We must, however, hurry on in our history. In 1848, a general Charitable Trusts Bill passed the Lords, establishing no commission, but placing charities under £30 in the hands of the County Court Judges, and empowering the Court of Chancery to refer to those judges, in *any* cases, such inquiries as ordinarily are referred to the Master's office. It is to be particularly observed, that both this and the former general bill of 1845 (unlike Mr. Anstey's bill), applied only to such charitable trusts as were so in a legal sense. So of a somewhat similar measure which passed the Commons in 1850, brought in by Sir G. Grey. None of these bills however passed. And now we come to the Bill of 1852, prepared and brought in (need we say with what *animus* ?) by Sir G. Grey, Sir A. Cockburn, and Sir Page Wood, the authors of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, amidst all the excitement of "Papal Aggression." But as it was, however, it was not so bad as Mr. Anstey's, in fact, was harmless in comparison with it, for it did not apply to any other except trusts *in law*. But as to all such trusts it gave the most obnoxious powers of inquisition, intended to disclose any defects in title under the statute of superstitious uses, or the modern Mortmain Law, and the most dangerous facilities for enforcing these statutes. And while it gave the Commissioners unlimited powers of inquisition, it gave them no power of *adjudication*, rendering them only purveyors to the Court of Chancery. There can be no question that Mr. Anstey had some hand in the concoction of this mea-

sure; he had been the most active member of the Mortmain Committee, appointed in 1851, with no small craft and malice; and a glance at the proceedings of that Committee, with respect to this subject, will serve to illustrate it.

The very appointment of the Committee was a fraud. It professed to have reference to the *acquisition* of charitable property; it was directed in a great degree to its *administration*. The chairman by some casuistry brought himself to disclose that it was directed against no religious community; it was directed exclusively against the *Catholic*. The great object of the prime mover in this part of the business, Mr. Anstey, appeared to be to throw obloquy upon the Catholic prelacy, in respect to the administration of property confided to them for pious purposes; and with this object, he and his friends came forward and made various statements, which turned out to be utterly unfounded; as, for instance, that Ushaw College had been established out of funds belonging to certain missions, the truth being that it was founded out of funds properly belonging to it. These gentlemen maintained this proposition, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in *Catholic* cases, pertained to the secular courts of the country, *i. e.* the Courts of Chancery! a jurisdiction which, as we have seen, these courts disclaim even as respects *Protestant* cases, and which was the very contest at the Reformation, the object of the Crown in claiming the royal supremacy being only that the sovereign might be "over all causes, civil and *ecclesiastical*, supreme." Here we have *Catholics* actually supporting a claim tantamount to the assertion of the royal supremacy over the Catholic Church! a claim not made by the crown itself, and solemnly abandoned by the Emancipation Act, which gives Catholics an oath of *secular* supremacy alone. The inconsistency of the views entertained by these gentlemen, not only with Catholic principle, but even with the doctrines of the Court of Chancery, is exceedingly striking. One of them, himself a Chancery barrister, said: "In this country, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belongs to the courts of this country, and the spiritual jurisdiction to Rome; consequently, the Master, in the case of a Catholic charity referred to him, would only take into consideration the power which the Roman See has over *spiritual* matters, and not over ecclesiastical. But then, in a roundabout

way, we arrive at very much the same result: for suppose a case in which the Roman authorities," (very Anglican language!) "make a law that no minister of that Church shall hold a living, or enjoy any temporal property belonging to a living, without a written approval or certificate of the Bishop: then, on a reference to the Master upon a charity, the Master would say: 'The primary and principal object of the charity is to afford spiritual consolation to the congregation; and if I am shown that on account of this rule or regulation of the Roman Catholic Church, that spiritual consolation cannot be administered without the certificate, the smaller object must submit to the greater, and the consequence would be, that the right of the lay trustee would not be recognized.'" Exactly so; a conclusion palpable to common sense, and creditable to the Court of Chancery, and one which it is melancholy to see a Catholic rather *reluctantly* recognizing! And he proceeds thus: "In the case of a trust created a long time ago, if internal ecclesiastical legislation took place, altering the powers and rights of bishops and priests, the Master would have to report it; and if a Roman Catholic bishop gave evidence that these changes were according to the Roman Catholic Church, the master would have to report that it was so: and it would be the duty of the court to make a decree, carrying the trusts of the charity so altered into execution." So after all, the Court of Chancery, it seems, is more sensible on such matters than Catholics of a certain school.

Their great object in this Mortmain Committee, was to get Cardinal Wiseman before it for examination. In this they succeeded, but, to use a phrase of the courts, "did not take anything by their motion." When they got His Eminence there, it was clear their object was to endeavour to make out, that property left absolutely to Catholic ecclesiastics, was received as in trust for pious purposes, so as to bring it within the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, as upon trusts in law. In short, their purpose was to make out that *spiritual* trusts were *legal* trusts.

The whole subject can be summed up in one or two questions and answers. "In your Church, is it not generally a distinct understanding, that a legacy given to bishops *as* bishops, or ecclesiastics in their character *as* ecclesiastics, is intended by the donor to be applied to ecclesiastical purposes?" We pause to remark, that even

if it were so, the personal support of the bishop or priest might be strictly "ecclesiastical purposes," if *required* for that purpose; for tithes were ecclesiastical, and yet the support of the clergy was the main object of their institution. Hence the answer of His Eminence is obviously indisputable: "The question is purely one of *conscience*, though a *bishop has no interest in any property beyond the good that he may do with it.*" A noble answer, worthy of the successor of a St. Anselm, a St. Edmund, and a St. Thomas.

The case of property left *absolutely* was so clear, that the Committee could not touch it. They took another class of cases. "Supposing money to be left absolutely, and, combined with that, a letter to be sent to the party after the death of the testator, stating the wishes of the testator that it should be applied to certain purposes, but still leaving it in terms absolutely in the discretion of the donor—do you think there is any impropriety in the trust being kept secret?" It is to be observed, that here it is astutely assumed that there *would* be a trust, which, as we have seen, would depend upon the precise terms of the letter: and we may remark, that the whole character of these questions, addressed to the illustrious ecclesiastic after careful and skilful concoction between a couple of Chancery barristers, Messrs. Anstey and Headlam, remind us irresistibly of those queries to our Lord, by which the Pharisees strove to "catch Him in His talk." They did not catch the Cardinal, however, it is clear. The answer of His Eminence here, as always, was plain and prompt: "I do not know that there is any impropriety in it; because, if it were the will of the person who made the disposition that it should be kept secret, I do not see any impropriety in complying with that person's will. *If there be no trusts, there is nothing for law to deal with.*" The Cardinal, when asked about their publicity, said: "For a long time Catholic trust property, instead of being protected by law, was attacked by law, and that may have led to endeavours to secure property, without its being under the control of the law; and Catholics might have difficulty as to the publicity of their trusts without security against what has been the unjust operation of the law in respect to them for several centuries."

In their Report the Committee betray the real purpose of all their labours upon this head:

“Your Committee have had evidence given to them concerning the prevalence of what is called spiritual wills, or secret trusts; that is to say, gifts or decrees of property, which appear to be absolute, and free from any trust whatever, but which are nevertheless accompanied by some declaration of the intention of the donor or testator, in such a form as to be binding upon the conscience of the party to whom the property is given. In such cases the instructions are not disclosed, either when the gift takes effect, or afterwards, in the administration of the property; and in some instances the instructions are communicated verbally, or if in writing, are carefully framed, so as not to constitute a trust within the rules of a court of equity. Your Committee think this a subject of deep regret.”

..Why?.....“Because, they think that the heirs or other persons who in the absence of such gifts would be entitled to the property, ought to have the means of ascertaining whether it has been legally disposed of.” In other words, *the means of taking it away.*

Such means the Bill of 1852 proposed to give as far as possible. It was defeated by the exertions of Mr. Monsell and Mr. Moore in the House, aided by Dr. Bowyer, Mr. Bagshawe, and others, out of the House. This session another bill has been brought in upon the subject by the Lord Chancellor. In the ability, liberality, and integrity of Lord Cranworth we have considerable confidence; and his bill contains very valuable provisions, combined with some which without care would prove dangerous if not obnoxious. But no Charitable Bill can be just to Catholic charitable trusts which does not relieve them from the direct operation of the law of superstitious uses as to the future, and its indirect operation as to the past, in conjunction with the modern Mortmain Law, in preventing registration of gifts of landed property. Moreover, no bill can be efficient except in proportion as it approaches to the simple and admirable model of the act of Elizabeth. Under that act—so far as Church of England charities are concerned—commissions charitable would issue to-morrow to the Bishop of Exeter, or Oxford, or London, empowering them and other proper persons, clerical and lay, to inquire into and redress all breaches of charitable trusts in their respective dioceses: and were it not for the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the spirit of the Emancipation Act would require that similar commissions should issue to the

Archbishop of Westminster, the Bishop of Southwark, or the Bishop of Birmingham, giving the same power with respect to Catholic charities. It is not just that Catholic charities should be administered by Protestant tribunals. It is not well that *any* charities should be administered by exclusively secular tribunals. In the first of these propositions we are supported by natural justice, common sense, and equal rights: in the other we are sustained by the voice of history, by the traditions of the common law, by the authority of our wisest legislators, and by the requisitions of Catholic theology. And these propositions embrace what we hold to be the elements of sound views on the subject of Catholic Charitable Trusts.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M. A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M. A. 2 vols. 4to. London : Longmans, 1852.

2. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By Thomas Lewin, M. A. 2 vols. London : Rivingtons, 1851.

THE voice of the Church from the earliest antiquity has accorded a very exalted position to the apostle St. Paul, and has ever been united in the estimate which it has formed of his inspired writings. From the days of Clement, the companion, and fellow-labourer, and disciple of St. Paul,—that “Clement whose name,” as we learn from Holy Scripture, “is written in the book of life,” (Phil. iv. 3.)—down to the days of St. Augustine and of St. Bernard, and even to our own time, the saints of every age and country have agreed in assigning to the great Apostle of the Gentiles the very highest post in the glorious economy of the Christian Church, which is compatible with a due regard to the especial and incommunicable privileges and prerogatives conferred by divine authority on the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter. The abundance of those writings which have come down to us from the pen of St. Paul, as compared with those of any other inspired writer of the New Testament, and exceed-

ing, as they do, in length, the united productions of all the other Apostles,—their boldness and energy, their learning and eloquence, and the earnest exhortation and sound dogmatical instruction which they combine in such pleasing variety, their very difficulties, and the controversies to which they have given birth,—all and each of these points have conspired in affixing to them a peculiar interest, not only with every class of readers in the Church of God, but also to a very great extent among our separated brethren in the various Protestant communities. Indeed, as if to show how great the honour in which they hold his name, it has been the custom of the saints of the Church to couple the name of St. Paul with that of St. Peter in their panegyrical discourses; not, indeed, in order to rob the latter of his proper honour, but to exalt the former to a more elevated and distinguished place, and the more forcibly to impress upon their hearers and readers the greatness of the dignity which St. Paul merited and attained. Thus Clement, writing to the Corinthians, says: “Through envy and hatred the greatest and most holy pillars of the Church were persecuted unto death. Let us place before our eyes the holy apostles. Through unjust envy Peter bore, not one or two, but many persecutions; and so, having borne his witness, he has gone to that glorious place which was his due. Through the same envy Paul bore off the prize of endurance, having been seven times cast into prison, and driven into exile, and stoned. In the East and in the West he became the herald of the Word, and so, gaining a noble report by his faith, he instructed the whole world in righteousness, and came to the furthest parts of the West, and bore his witness in the face of rulers. Thus did he leave this life, and thus he went to his holy place, having become the most perfect example of patience.” (1 Ep. v.) Thus St. Chrysostom, alluding to the great blessedness of the city of Rome in having within it the bodies of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, speaks of the latter: “If we hear him here, we shall certainly see him hereafter; if not as standing near him, yet see him we certainly shall, ‘glistening near the throne of God. Where the cherubim sing the glory, where the seraphim are flying, there shall we see Paul, with Peter, and as a chief and leader of the choir of saints, and shall enjoy his generous love.....And as a body great and strong, it

(Rome) hath, as two glistening eyes, the bodies of these saints. Not so bright is the heaven when the sun sends forth his rays, as is the city of Rome, sending out these two bright lights into all parts of the world. From hence will Paul, from hence will Peter be caught up." (Hom. xxxii. Oxf. Transl.) And again, St. Maximus, (Hom. v. de Nativ. Pet. et Pauli.) "Therefore, the blessed Peter and Paul are eminent among all, and have a kind of peculiar precedency; but between themselves, which is to be preferred to the other is uncertain. For I think they are equal in merits, because they are equal in suffering." And again, in the same Homily: "'To Peter as to a good steward, He gave the key of the kingdom of heaven. On Paul, as on an able teacher, He enjoined the Mastership of the teaching of the Church: that is, that whom the one has instructed unto salvation, the other may receive into rest; that Peter may open the kingdom of heaven to those whose hearts Paul hath opened by the teaching of his words." And in like manner St. Augustine writes: "When one says 'the Apostle,' without saying what apostle, no one understands any but Paul, because he is best known from the number of his epistles, and because he laboured most." (ad Bonif. cont. Ep. Pelag. Lib. iii. ch. 3.) And St. Gregory, (L. i. Dial. ch. 12.) "The apostle Paul is brother in apostolical pre-eminence to St. Peter, the chief of the apostles." And lastly, the following is the testimony of St. Chrysostom: "Why should one speak of his zeal, his gentleness, his constant dangers, his cares upon cares, his soul perpetually cast down concerning the Churches, his sympathy with the weak, his many tribulations, his persecutions ever new, his deaths daily? For what place is there in the habitable world, what land, what sea, but knows the labours of that just one? Yea, and even the untraversed parts knew him, for they often received him in his dangers.....But were I to ask for the smoothness of Isocrates, the grandeur of Demosthenes, the gravity of Thucydides, and the lofty style of Plato, still it would be needful for me to bring forward this testimony of Paul.....And whence is it that through all the world he is in the mouths of every one? that not among us alone, but also among Jews and Greeks, he is admired above all others? Is it not from the excellence of his epistles, by means of which he profited not only the faithful of his own day, but also those from that day to

this, and will profit them even to the coming of Christ, and will never cease to do so as long as the human race continues? For like a wall of adamant, his writings build up the Churches in every part of the world; and like some noble prince, he stands even now in the midst, 'subduing every thought to the obedience of Christ,' and pulling down human reasoning, and every lofty thing which exalts itself against the knowledge of God. And all this does he work through those wondrous epistles which he has bequeathed to us, filled with divine wisdom." (*De Sacerdotio*. B. iv. ch. 7.)

Such being the case, as Catholics, we cannot but welcome the appearance of two works, even though they are not written by members of our communion, which profess "to give a living picture of St. Paul himself, and of the circumstances by which he was surrounded," drawn partly from the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, and partly from his own epistles. It is hardly fair, however, to give our readers to understand that Messrs. Conybeare, Howson, and Lewin, have limited themselves to these two sources; for they have each drawn very largely from collateral histories, such as those of Josephus, Tacitus, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus; while an immense amount of geographical information, bearing more or less nearly on the journeys of St. Paul and the places of his sojourn, has been gathered by them, not only from the pages of Strabo, Quintus Curtius, and Pliny, but from the modern researches of Humboldt, Müller, Laborde, Fellowes, and other travellers and geographers too numerous to mention. But Messrs. Conybeare and Howson shall state the plan of their work in their own words:

"In order to present anything like a living picture of St. Paul's career, much more is necessary than a mere transcript of the Scriptural narrative, even where it is fullest. Every step of his life brings us into contact with some new phase of ancient life, unfamiliar to our modern experience, and upon which we must throw light from other sources, if we wish it to form a distinct image in the mind. For example, to comprehend the influences under which he grew to manhood, we must realize the position of a Jewish family in Tarsus, 'the chief city of Cilicia'; we must understand the kind of education which the son of such a family would receive as a boy in his Hebrew home, or in the schools of his native city, and in his riper youth 'at the feet of Gamaliel' in Jerusalem; we must be acquainted with the profession for which he was to be prepared by this training, and appreciate the station

and duties of an expounder of the Law. And that we may be fully qualified to do all this, we should have a clear view of the state of the Roman empire at the time, and especially of its system in the provinces; we should also understand the political position of the Jews 'of the dispersion;' we should be (so to speak) hearers in their synagogues; we should be students in their Rabbinical theology. And in like manner, as we follow the Apostle in the different stages of his varied and adventurous career, we must strive continually to bring out in their true brightness the half-effaced forms and colouring of the scene in which he acts; and while he 'becomes all things to all men, that he may by all means save some,' we must form to ourselves a living likeness of the *things* and of the *men* among which he moved, if we would rightly estimate his work. Thus we must study Christianity rising in the midst of Judaism; we must realize the position of its early Churches with their mixed societies, to which Jews, proselytes, and heathens, had each contributed a characteristic element; we must qualify ourselves to be umpires (if we may so speak), of their internal divisions..... We must trace the extent to which Greek philosophy, Judaizing formalism, and Eastern superstition blended their tainting influence with the pure fermentation of that new heaven which was at last to leaven the whole mass of civilized society. Again, to understand St. Paul's personal history as a missionary to the heathen, we must know the state of the different populations which he visited; the character of the Greek and Roman civilization at that epoch; the points of intersection between the political history of the world and the Scriptural narrative; the social organization and gradation of ranks, for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he sought not vainly to imbue with the loving spirit of the Gospel; the quality and influence, under the early empire, of the Greek and Roman religious, whose effete corruptness he denounces with such indignant scorn; the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the operation of the Roman law, under which he was so frequently arraigned; the courts in which he was tried, and the magistrates by whose sentence he suffered; the legionary soldiers who acted as his guards; the roads by which he travelled, whether through the mountains of Lycaonia, or the marshes of Latium; the course of commerce by which his journeys were so often regulated; and the character of that imperfect navigation by which his life was so many times endangered." (Introduction, pp. 3-5.)

With reference to this very work of which we are here speaking, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* remarks, that he "sees every reason to hail the kind of attention that is now being bestowed on the study and illustration of the

New Testament ;” and concludes his paper by repeating this remark, together with the reason which leads him to make it.

“We regard it,” he says, “as a sign for good, that just now attention should be directed to the biography and character of St. Paul. No study could prove so effectual an antidote to the assumptions of hierarchical pretension—none will afford a more grateful relief from the tinsel of that frippery Christianity which is just now so ostentatiously imported among us. He is above all things the apostle of individual religion ; of those things which are true, and honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report. His course was a lifelong and simple-hearted striving after one glorious purpose, with no side aims or reservation. *The more such a character is known and appreciated, the better Protestants shall we be, and the better Christians.*”—p. 118.

‘ For ourselves, we are free to confess, that if we agree with the Edinburgh Reviewer in regarding the increased attention which is now being bestowed upon a critical examination of the New Testament as a sign of good, it is because we firmly believe that while here, as in other matters, “a little learning is a dangerous thing” to its possessors, all deep and laborious researches into the Holy Scripture, and subjects strictly collateral and subservient to it, will but redound eventually to the honour and glory of God, by forcing upon our Protestant brethren a conviction that what our Blessed Lord and His apostles founded upon earth was not merely that which is termed “Christianity,”—a mere notional code of morality and practice to be called by His name,—but an actual and visible corporate body, that should last through all time, and teach all revealed truth by His authority ; and further, that the Catholic Church is the only existing body which bears stamped upon it the lineaments and features of that little band which came forth from the upper chamber at Jerusalem upon the day of Pentecost, to preach the Cross of Jesus Christ to both Jew and Gentile. In fact, it is because we firmly believe that the Catholic religion alone will bear the test of Holy Scripture, and because it alone can receive and believe *the whole of Scripture* as certain truth, that we regard with so much pleasure the immense amount of pains and labour spent, even by our opponents, upon the illustration of the history of St. Paul, and, consequently, of the history of the first ages of the Church. We whose faith is built upon the rock, and whose holy

religion furnishes us with a living, infallible voice to guide us aright in matters of doctrine and belief, and who know how miserably the writings of St. Paul have been "wrested," both in ancient and modern times, by "the ignorant and unstable," to "their own destruction;" we can rejoice at the appearance of any work which, by bringing forward the occasions and circumstances under which each epistle was penned, the habits and modes of thought prevailing with those to whom it was addressed, and the various significant meanings which are latent beneath the surface of the text, must contribute in some degree to disabuse prejudices, and to remove the false impressions which a superficial study of the sacred writings is sure to impart to the reader. To use a phrase, not unmeaning in the ears of our Protestant friends, it is because individual Christians have been content to skim the mere surface of Holy Scripture, instead of diving into its depths and "searching" there for its hidden treasures, that they have been content to put up with so shallow and shadowy a thing as Protestantism. The Catholic Church, we repeat, has nothing to fear from any spirit of deep and intelligent enquiry. It is mere shallow and superficial sophistry that can hope to assail her with a temporary success. We have yet to learn that St. Chrysostom or St. Augustine, by their deep study of the writings of St. Paul, became "better Protestants;" and Estius, Theophylact, and a hundred other commentators on his works whom we could name, in spite of all their learned labours, lived and died most firm advocates of the Christian hierarchy, and devoted sons and subjects of the Holy See. But it is time to come to a more close examination of the books whose titles we have prefixed to our present pages.

Both Mr. Lewin's volumes and those of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson travel over the same ground, and with the same object in view. Both of them proceed upon the same principle,—that of bringing St. Paul as an individual vividly before us by means of a biographical memoir, drawn up from a minute comparison of his remaining writings with the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, and illustrated by such passages of profane history and geographical details as antiquity can afford in answer to modern researches. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that there should be a striking identity in many parts of their respective narratives; and that, especially in the more strictly

historical chapters of their works, we should find a great sameness in the conclusions at which each author arrives. It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to add, that in each case the result, wherever it is the same, has been arrived at by an independent process. The authors speak and write wholly independently of each other; there are no traces of a collusion between them; and, consequently, to those Protestants who are seeking for proofs of Christianity in the internal evidence afforded by the narrative of St. Paul's history, the combined testimony of these two distinct works must be regarded as convincing to the fullest possible extent.

Perhaps one of the best executed portions of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson's work, is the very masterly sketch which they give us in Chap. I. of the way in which the ancient Jewish religion, Grecian intellectual refinement, and Roman policy combined together to pave the way for the rapid rise and spread of the Christian faith. We do not remember ever to have met with a more simple and lucid statement of the way in which God's providential arrangements, as shown in the circumstances and condition of the civilized world at the commencement of the Christian era, were made markedly subservient to the purposes of His religion. In allusion to the inscription upon the Saviour's Cross being written in "letters of Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin," as conveying a spiritual meaning, and having first reminded us that at this time the Jew, the Greek, and the Roman, divided the world between them, our authors write as follows:

"The condition of the Christian world in general at that period wears a similar appearance to a Christian's eye. He sees the Greek and Roman elements brought into a remarkable union with the older and more sacred element of Judaism. He sees in the Hebrew nation a divinely laid foundation for the superstructure of the Church, and in the dispersion of the Jews a soil made ready in fitting places for the seed of the Gospel. He sees in the spread of the language and commerce of the Greeks, and in the high perfection of their poetry and philosophy, appropriate means for the rapid communication of Christian ideas, and for bringing them into ~~close~~ connection with the best thoughts of unassisted humanity. And he sees in the consistent union of so many incoherent provinces under the law and government of Rome, a strong framework ~~which~~ might keep together for a sufficient period those masses of ~~social~~ life which the Gospel was intended to pervade. The City of ~~God~~ is built at the confluence of three civilizations. We recognize

with gratitude the hand of God in the history of His world, and we turn with devout feelings to trace the course of these three streams of civilized life, from their early source to the time of their meeting in the apostolic age."—p. 4.

Mr. Lewin's work interweaves with his account of the early life of St. Paul a very accurate and interesting sketch of Jewish history, from the death of Herod the Great to the martyrdom of St. Stephen, together with a notice of the state of the Jews in heathen countries, and another chapter devoted to a sketch of the contemporary rise and progress of the Christian faith down to the same period. In a later chapter he brings down the narrative of Jewish history to the death of Caligula. A slight acquaintance with the position of the Jewish people collectively with respect to their Roman conquerors, no less than that of the two dominant factions the Pharisees and Sadducees, towards the sect which was just then beginning to arise and to make itself not only known but felt in Judea and Galilee, is absolutely necessary to any one who would attempt to take an accurate and yet a comprehensive view of the missionary exertions of St. Paul. And as we have said, Mr. Lewin gives us a very satisfactory outline of these matters, so far as they bear on the subject immediately before us. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson also traverse the same ground, and present us with, substantially, the same results; but owing to the far larger plan of their work,—(extending to two large quarto volumes of something like 500 pages each,)—they are able to add to their narrative a great amount of local information, such as geographical sketches and maps, pictorial illustrations of towns, coins, and such other things as throw some collateral light upon the subject which they are pursuing; added to which, we must remark that even the more strictly historical part of the latter book is enlivened by the adoption of a style more nearly resembling that of an essay or critique, than a mere record of events in their historical connection and mutual dependance. In fact, even setting aside the very beautiful original sketches of Mr. Bartlett with which Messrs. Conybeare and Howson have illustrated their volumes, there is a graphic touch in their descriptions of scenes and localities which often surprises us, and which if we do not find in Mr. Lewin's volumes to the same extent, we must remember that his volumes are less ambitious and pretending, and that, therefore, we must not expect at his hands what he does not

even profess to supply. The first chapter of Mr. Lewin's book contains a short sketch of the birth and education of the youthful Pharisee of the tribe of Benjamin, and traces him through the routine steps of a Jewish education, first at Tarsus, and afterwards under Gamaliel at Jerusalem. We extract from it one or two passages, in which Mr. Lewin's conjectures are somewhat at variance with those of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in order that our readers may judge between them. The point in question is one which has long been under dispute, and, we fear, will for ever remain undecided.

"As Saul was intended for a Rabbi or Doctor, Tarsus, however famous for heathen learning, was not the place where a Jew could be imbued with any abstruse knowledge of the mysteries of his own religion. At Jerusalem only could he be properly initiated, and thither it was resolved that Saul should be sent. He tells us that he was 'brought up' at Jerusalem from his youth, 'from the very first;' and we may therefore conclude that he arrived there at an early age, perhaps at about twelve or thirteen. As Saul passed the next seventeen years of his life at the Jewish capital, and his sister married and settled there, we may hazard the conjecture that the whole family removed with him from Tarsus, and took up their abode at Jerusalem.....It was most probably while Saul was studying at Jerusalem that he acquired his knowledge of Grecian literature. He had quitted Tarsus at too early an age to have made any progress in the world of letters. But, in the Jewish capital, as his faculties developed themselves, he could not have remained insensible to the flights of fancy and the bursts of eloquence which have captivated each succeeding generation for now nearly three thousand years. His master, Gamaliel, too, the most enlightened man of his day, and familiar with heathen learning, would doubtless encourage a taste so congenial to his own."—pp. 8, 12.

On the other hand, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson argue, and we think with a greater amount of probability, that

"We cannot assume that Saul had remained all these years continuously at Jerusalem. Many years," they add, "had elapsed since he came, a boy, from his home at Tarsus. He must have attained the age of twenty-five or thirty years when our Lord's public ministry began. His education was completed, and we may conjecture with much probability that he returned to Tarsus.....It is hardly conceivable that if he had been at Jerusalem during our Lord's public ministration there he should never allude to the fact. In this case, he surely would have been among the persecutors of Jesus, and he would have referred to this as the ground of his

remorse, instead of expressing his repentance for his opposition merely to the Saviour's followers. (See 1 Cor. xv. 9. Acts xxii. 20.) If he returned to the banks of the Cydnus.....in the schools of Tarsus, he had abundant opportunity for becoming acquainted with that Greek literature, the taste for which he had caught from Gamaliel."—pp. 69, 70.

We only bring forward these extracts in order to show how great are the difficulties with which the most careful biographers have to contend, in giving an account of the early history of Saul; and, indeed, it is clear that in the absence of more information, it is impossible to write with confidence on the matter in dispute. We may add, with reference to this point, (as we are informed in a note by Messrs. C. and H.) that Benson thinks that Saul was a young student at Jerusalem during our Lord's public ministry, and that he places a considerable interval between the Ascension of our Lord and the martyrdom of St. Stephen. Lardner is of another opinion, and holds that he might have been at Jerusalem at the time mentioned above, but that the restraint and retirement of a student life may have kept him in ignorance of what was going on in the world around him.

What we have here brought forward is enough to show the ordinary reader, that if in their arrangement of facts and materials there is little room for much difference between the two works which we are reviewing, still there is ample opportunity and scope for a variety of opinion as to the inferences which they warrant, and the side to which the weight of probability inclines. Both Mr. Lewin and Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, as might be expected, exhibit considerable ingenuity in their inferences, as we shall hereafter have occasion to show; the very slightest hint contained in a casual epithet, or a Greek article, or in the mere collocation of a word, being sufficient to furnish a text for much novel and interesting discussion, to say nothing of occasionally valuable results.

One of the most pleasing features of the work from which we have already quoted so largely, is the great accuracy of the geographical descriptions which it contains. As we follow the narrative, we feel that, after reading the pages of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, we are hardly strangers to the localities to which they introduce us; and we feel heartily obliged to them for the minute and persevering care with which they discharge their office of *cice-*

rone towards us, as we traverse in their company the plains of Cilicia, and the deserts of Syria, or reconnoitre the ancient famous cities of Antioch, and Tarsus, and Damascus in the East, or the still more classic abodes of Athens and Corinth. In each place, too, the historical associations are pleasantly interwoven with the narrative itself in a way which we think must be admitted on all hands to have a peculiar charm, which is enhanced by a variety of illustrations from the pencil of Mr. W. H. Bartlett. As an instance we select their descriptions of Tarsus, famous in our days as the birthplace of Saul, but well known to Roman ears nearly two thousand years ago, as a metropolis of heathen literature and learning.

"Situating near the western border of the Cilician plain, where the river Cydnus flows in a clear and rapid stream (Strabo, xiv. 5.) from the snows of Taurus to the sea, was the city of Tarsus, the capital of the whole province, and "no mean city" (Acts xxi. 39) in the history of the ancient world. Its coins reveal to us its greatness through a long series of years,—alike in the period which intervened between Xerxes and Alexander—and under the Roman sway, when it exulted in the name of metropolis—and long after Hadrian had rebuilt it, and issued his new coinage with the old mythological types. In the intermediate period, which is that of St. Paul, we have the testimony of a native of this part of Asia Minor, from which we may infer that Tarsus was, in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean, almost what Marseilles was in the Western. Strabo says, that in all that relates to philosophy and general education, it was even more illustrious than Athens and Alexandria. From his description it is evident that its main character was that of a great city, where the Greek language was spoken, and Greek literature sedulously cultivated. But we should be wrong in supposing that the general population of the province was of Greek origin, or spoke the Greek tongue. When Cyrus came with his army from the Western coast, and still later, when Alexander penetrated into Cilicia, they found the inhabitants 'barbarians.' Nor is it likely that the old race would be destroyed, or the old language obliterated, especially in the mountain districts, during the reign of the Seleucid kings. We must rather conceive of Tarsus as like Brest in Brittany, or like Toulon in Provence—a city where the language of refinement is spoken and written, in the midst of a ruder population, who use a different language, and possess no literature of their own."—Vol. i. pp. 24-5.

"But though a cloud rests on the actual year of St. Paul, and the circumstances of his father's household must be left to imagination, we have the great satisfaction of knowing the exact features of the scenery in the midst of which his childhood was spent.

The plains, the rivers, the mountains, and the seas, still remain to us. The rich harvests of corn still grow luxuriantly after the rains in spring. The same tents of goats' hair are still seen covering the plains in the busy harvest. There is the same solitude and silence in the intolerable heat and dust of the summer. Then, as now, the mothers and children of Tarsus went out in the cool evenings, and looked from the gardens round the city, or from their terraced roofs, upon the heights of Taurus. The same sunset lingered on its pointed summits; the same shadows lingered in its deep ravines. The river Cydnus has suffered some changes in the course of 1800 years. Instead of rushing, as in the time of Xenophon, like the Rhone at Geneva, in a stream of 200 feet broad through the city, it now flows idly past it on the East. The channel which floated the ships of Anthony and Cleopatra is now filled up; and wide and unhealthy lagoons occupy the place of the ancient docks. But its upper waters still flow, as formerly, cold and clear from the snows of Taurus; and its waterfalls still break over the same rocks, when the snows are melting, like the Rhine at Schaffhausen. We find a pleasure in thinking that the Apostle often wandered by the side of this stream, and that his eyes often looked on these falls..... Gamaliel was celebrated for his love of nature; and the young Jew, who was destined to be his most famous pupil, spent his early days in the close neighbourhood of much that was well adapted to foster such a taste. Or.....let the youthful Saul be imagined on the banks of the Cydnus, where it flowed through the city in a stream less clear and fresh, where the wharfs were covered with merchandize, in the midst of groups of men in various costumes, speaking various dialects.....in this mixed company Saul, at an early age, might become acquainted with the activities of life, and the diversities of human character; and even in his childhood make some acquaintance with those various races which in his manhood he was destined to influence."—pp. 52-3.

' We feel sure that our readers will pardon us for making these extracts, for which they will perceive at once that, at all events in one point, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, have carried out the profession with which they started, and redeemed their pledge of setting before our eyes "a living picture of St. Paul himself, and of the circumstances by which he was surrounded."

With these remarks we pass over most of the early incidents in the life of Saul of Tarsus, regretting that we have not space sufficient for more copious notices of very many interesting matters relative to his parentage, youth, and education. On one point, however, we must address a few words to our readers. It is as to the peculiar school of opinions among his Jewish brethren, to which Saul was

attached, no less from birth and early education, than from the natural tendency of his ardent and enthusiastic character as it stands developed in his after life. It is well known, we suppose, to all that the family of which St. Paul came, were Pharisees, of the tribe of Benjamin. "A Hebrew of the Hebrews," is the phrase by which he designates himself; (Phil. iii. 5,) and still more plainly he tells us that he was a "Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee." (Acts xxiii. 6.) If, then, we think of his earliest life, we are to conceive of him as born in a Pharisaic family, and as brought up from his infancy in the 'straitest sect of the Jews' religion.'" His childhood was nurtured in the strictest belief. The stories of the Old Testament—the angelic appearances—the prophetic visions—to him were literally true. They needed no Sadducean explanation. The world of spirits was a reality to him. The resurrection from the dead was an article of his faith. And to exhort him to the practices of religion, he had before him the example of his father, praying and walking with broad phylacteries, scrupulous and exact in his legal observances. And he had, moreover, as it seems, the memory and tradition of ancestral piety; for he tells us in one of his latest letters, (2 Tim. i. 3,) that he "served God from his forefathers." Thus all influences combined to make him "more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers," and "touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless." Everything tended to prepare him to be an eminent member of that theological party to which so many of the Jews were looking for the preservation of their national life, and the extension of their national creed." (p. 37.) For a full account of the distinguishing features in the character of the Aramaic Jews, and of those who are generally known as Grecians, or Hellenists, we must refer our readers to Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, (vol. i. pp. 38-44,) contenting ourselves only with remarking that while the former class represented the strong national feelings of devotion for the land and language of Palestine, and for the ancient traditions of the Hebrew race, the Hellenistic school rejoiced rather in a more cosmopolitan idea, namely that of accommodating Jewish doctrines to the minds of the Greeks, and of making the Greek language express the mind of the Jews. It was therefore the endeavour of Hellenistic Jews, strictly so called, to disengage their religion as much as possible from local and national

conditions, and to present them in a form adapted to the Hellenic world. It is almost needless to add a word as to which of these two rival parties was that whose cause was espoused by St. Paul. It is equally needless to explain how, though as far as the place of his birth goes, he was a Hellenist, he was no Hellenizer. If we wish to picture to ourselves the position of St. Paul at his first entrance into life, we must fancy a Hebrew family of the very strictest religious principles and national feelings settled in a foreign commercial town, and though speaking both the language of its father-land and of the land of its adoption also, still living a life of comparative seclusion, and looking with intense veneration and enthusiasm to the Temple at Jerusalem as the sun and centre of its religious being. Messrs. C. and H. compare the position of Saul's parents at Tarsus with that of a French Huguenot family settled in London after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We should consider that perhaps a case more closely parallel might be found in the family of some Spanish or Italian gentleman settled in London some century or two ago, for commercial purposes. And as such a family would naturally keep up the use of its own native tongue together with the English language, so we may suppose that the youthful Saul was brought up in the daily use of the vernacular Hebrew of Palestine, and at the same time have grown familiar with the more refined Greek tongue, which was spoken by his fellow-citizens.

But we must hasten on. The conversion of St. Paul is certainly one of those events recorded in Holy Scripture which admits of most graphic description. Messrs. C. and H., (and we may add Mr. Lewin also,) have certainly done justice to it in their narrative, so far at least as is possible. We rejoice to notice that they each earnestly repudiate the infidel idea that the revelation conveyed on this occasion to the Apostle of the Gentiles can be regarded as a mere subjective impression made on the mind of Saul during a trance or ecstasy. The clearness and minute distinctness of the Scripture narrative forbids so unworthy a thought; and the after character of St. Paul, and the terms in which he himself alludes to the event in his Epistles, make such an interpretation wholly untenable by one who is not prepared to go the length of asserting that the Bible from first to last is a tissue of mythical fables. Lord Lyttelton's well known "Observations on the Conversion of St.

Paul," were written to prove that this one event is sufficient to prove Christianity a Divine revelation. And though we may possibly dissent to the principle asserted, or rather implied, by Messrs. C. and H., that "the importance which we are intended to attach to particular events in early Christianity is to be measured by the prominence assigned to them in the sacred records," still we believe that there is a sense in which the conversion of St. Paul may be regarded as perhaps the most important in its practical consequences of all recorded events, next after the Incarnation, the Passion and Resurrection of our Blessed Lord, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and the other mysteries of Redemption. However this may be, we know from his Epistle to the Galatians that the first step of Saul, after his three years solitary sojourn in Arabia—years doubtless spent in devout preparation for his apostolic mission in communion with God, and in the receiving of direct revelations from Jesus Christ, to which he so often alludes—was to go up to Jerusalem, to question or confer with (*ιστορίσαι*) Peter, where (adds the Apostle) "I tarried fifteen days." Mr. Lewin here remarks with considerable simplicity that "Peter, as a married man, had, we may suppose, the readiest means of affording entertainment, and so received him as an inmate in his house." (p. 79.) It would seem that Mr. L. has never heard of the very generally received opinion that not only St. Peter, but many others of the chosen twelve, were "married men" when called to the ministry by our Blessed Lord, but from that time gave up the married state. But one would think that he ought to have inferred as much from the significant expression of Holy Writ, where it is said that "they left *all*, and followed Him; for how could they have left their "all," if they did not leave their wives? A far better, and we may add, a far more probable solution of this passage, which one would think it is almost impossible for an honest mind to misunderstand, shall be given, not in our own words, but in those of the great Bishop Bossuet, addressed to the clergy of his diocese in 1632, as quoted in the Oratorian Life of St. Francis of Assisi, (p. 100.) "Paul having returned from the third heaven, came to see Peter, in order to give a form to all ages, and that it should be established for ever, that however learned or holy we may

be, were any of us another St. Paul, we must still see Peter.”*

With reference to the sudden change of the name of Saul into Paul, which occurs in the 13th chapter of the Acts, we are glad to see that both Mr. Lewin and Messrs. C. and H. adopt what in our opinion is the only tenable explanation. Although the opinion which makes St. Paul to have adopted the name by which he is known to us in consequence of, and by way of commemoration of, the victory which faith gained over the powers of darkness in the conversion of Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of the island, has on its side the great names of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, still we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that St. Paul would have adopted a new name out of mere compliment to any Gentile. Accordingly we cannot but think that Mr. Lewin is right when he refers for a solution of the difficulty to the well known practice among the Jews of that day, both those of the dispersion, and those who lived at Jerusalem, of bearing two names, of which the latter was generally a traslation of the former, or resembled it in sound, though occasionally the two names were wholly independent. “The circumstance that Saul was a Roman citizen was of itself an especial reason why he should bear a Roman name, and as he was freeborn, he may have had the appellation of Paul.....From that time (viz. of his first apostolical journey,) he took the name of Paul, that being a Roman citizen, and bearing a Roman name, he might be more acceptable to his heathen audience. The

* The author of the life of St. Francis quotes Bossuet's words in reference to the following circumstance. We give it as it stands in that saint's life. The servant of God, considering that the number of his brethren increased, thought seriously of forming a rule for them ; and having assembled...them, he said to them, ‘I see, my dear brethren, that God, in his infinite goodness, purposes to extend our society : it is therefore necessary that we should prescribe to ourselves a Rule of Life, and go and give an account thereof to the most holy Roman Pontiff ; for I am persuaded that in matters of faith, and in such as concern Religious Orders, nothing can be done, which is pure and stable, without his consent and approbation. Let us, then, go and find our Mother, the Holy Roman Church. Let us make known to our holy Father, the Pope, what God has deigned to begin through our ministry, in order that we may pursue our course according to his will, and under his orders.”

dropping of the Jewish, and the adoption of a Roman name, was also in harmony with the great truth which he was promulgating—that henceforth the partition between Jew and Gentile was broken down.” (pp. 140-1.) It is suggested by Messrs. C. and H. that some previous good services done by Saul’s family to some member of the Æmilian gens, whose name was Paulus, may have procured him admission into that noble family at Rome; or else, in accordance with that beautiful idea of St. Austin and others among the fathers, that his humility, which led the saint to deem himself unworthy to be called an Apostle, because he once persecuted the Church, “may have prompted him also to take the name of Paulus, (i. e., *the Little*.) for a similar reason. Be this as it may, the commonly received opinion on the subject is now almost universally given up.”

We wish most sincerely that our narrow limits enabled us to follow St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their Apostolic mission, and that we could accompany them in their tour through the classic island of Cyprus, where they were destined to found a purer worship and a more acceptable sacrifice than that which polluted the altars of Paphos and Salamis;—that we could stand by them and witness the miracle wrought by St. Paul upon the sorcerer Elymas, the repulse which drove the Apostles from Pisidian Antioch, their refusal of heathen honours, the stoning which awaited them at Lystra, and their subsequent return to their head quarters of Antioch. Would that we could sit with the apostolic band in the Council Chamber at Jerusalem, and hear the words of divine prudence and wisdom which there fell from Peter and James, as well as from Paul himself. But this we cannot do in detail. It will be enough to refer our readers to the 7th chapter of Messrs. C. and H.’s work, where they will find a full and, we think, a very satisfactory explanation of the practical difficulties concerning the treatment of Gentile converts, which gave rise to the Council of Jerusalem. We may add that they adopt the more probable opinion on the well known contested point as to the second of the journeys to Jerusalem to which St. Paul alludes in his Epistle to the Galatians, (ch. ii. 1,) identifying it with the journey which stands third in the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, namely that which had for its end and object the presence of the Apostle at the Council. We must add, as

a testimony to the general impartiality of our Protestant authors, that although they do not mention the precedence given to St. Peter at the Council of Jerusalem, (see Acts xv.,) they do not endeavour to turn to good account, as a piece of Protestant ware, the contention of St. Paul with St. Peter, of which the former speaks in his Epistle to the Galatians, (ch ii. 11,) as we fear too many of their clerical brethren would not have shrunk from doing.

With this brief notice we must be content, begging our readers to pass over St. Paul at Antioch, and the earlier part of his second Apostolic journey through Lys- tra, Phrygia, and Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beræa, and to fancy themselves standing with us at the side of Mars' Hill at Athens, and listening to the words of wisdom and eloquence in which the Apostle addressed the assembled Areopagites. Wise as the serpent, he does not commence by assailing the national gods of the Greeks there, in the very stronghold of their worship, and in the midst of sanctuaries consecrated to them by a thousand associations of patriotic pride ; to do so would have been to lose a glorious occasion, and to preclude himself from all chance of gaining an effectual hearing. But he becomes as it were a heathen to the heathen, and gently, and step by step, draws away his hearers from their polytheistic notions by telling them that he will make known to them that God whom they worship in their ignorance. His hearers are the noble and illustrious of Athens ; philosophers from the rival schools of the Epicureans and Stoics, are sitting there ; schools, each opposed, not more to each other than to the new belief just now springing up at Antioch and Jerusalem. In their person the Apostle encountered at Athens the representatives of the two ruling principles of unregenerate human nature, *Pleasure* and *Pride*, the elements respectively of Atheism and Pantheism ; and over them he gained a victory, the import and meaning of which can scarcely be fully appreciated by any one who has not made himself acquainted with something of the history of philosophy down to the time of the Christian era. For some very excellent remarks upon this subject, and upon "the unknown God," whom the Apostle "declared" to the assembled Areopagites, we must content ourselves with referring our readers to the work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, (vol. i. pp. 385-399.) The pages immediately preceding are occupied

with an elaborate account of the geography and external features of Athens, the Piræus, the Long Walls, and the Acropolis, crowned with its colossal statue of the tutelary goddess, Minerva; and for the fidelity with which the editors have discharged their duty in the beautiful sketch which they have drawn, we have the undisputable authority of one who has been much at Athens, and who tells us that it is superior in effect to anything of the kind which he has read before. Certainly it places the various classic scenes and buildings in groups before our eyes so vividly, that we can almost fancy ourselves upon the spot as we read these pages. And this, surely, is a test of an author's descriptive powers.

But it is time that we introduce our readers to the grand scene to which we are alluding. We will do so in the words of Messrs. C. and H., premising that the Apostle is addressing the venerable body of the Areopagites, ranged under the Stoic and Epicurean schools respectively.

"The place to which they took him was the summit of the hill of Areopagus, where the most awful court of judicature had sat from time immemorial, to pass sentence on the greatest criminals, and to decide the most solemn questions connected with religion. The judges sat in the open air, upon seats hewn out in the rock, on a platform which was ascended by a flight of stone steps immediately from the Agora. On this spot a long series of awful causes, connected with crime and religion, had been determined, beginning with the legendary trial of Mars, which gave to the place its name of 'Mars' Hill.' A temple of the God...was on the brow of the eminence; and an additional solemnity was given to the place by the sanctuary of the Furies, in a broken cleft of the rock, immediately below the judges' seats. Even in the political decay of Athens, this spot and this court were regarded by the people with superstitious reverence. It was a scene with which the dread recollections of centuries were associated. It was a place of silent awe in the midst of the gay and frivolous city. Those who withdrew from the Agora to Areopagus came, as it were, into the presence of a higher power. No place in Athens was so suitable for a discourse upon the mysteries of religion.....The Athenians took the Apostle from the tumult of public discussion to the place which was at once most convenient and most appropriate. There was everything in the place to incline the auditors, so far as they were disposed at all, to a reverent and thoughtful attention. It is probable that Dionysius, with other Areopagites, was present on the judicial seats. And a vague recollection of the dread thoughts associated by poetry and tradition with the Hill of Mars, may have solemnized the minds of some of those who crowded the stone steps

with the Apostle, and clustered round the summit of the hill, to hear his announcement of the new divinities.....If we think of the mere words uttered that day in the clear atmosphere on the summit of Mars' Hill, in connection with the objects of art, temples, statues, and altars, which stood round on every side, we feel that the moment was, and was intended to be, full of the most impressive teaching for every age of the world. Close to the spot where he stood was the temple of Mars; the sanctuary of the Eumenides was immediately below him; the Parthenon of Minerva facing him above. Their presence seemed to challenge the assertion in which he declared here, that 'in temples made with hands the Deity does not dwell.' In front of him, towering from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis—as the...brazen statue of the armed angel, which from the summit of the Castle S. Angelo spreads its wings over the city of Rome—was the bronze colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield, and helmet, as the champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade, he pronounced that the Deity was not to be likened either to that work of Phidias, or to other forms in gold, silver, or stone, graven by art and men's device which peopled the scene before him. Wherever his eye was turned, it saw a succession of such statues and buildings in every variety of form and situation. On the rocky ledges on the south side of the Acropolis, and in the midst of the hum of the Agora, were the 'objects of devotion' already described. And in the northern parts of the city, which are equally visible from the Areopagus, on the level spaces, and on every eminence, were similar objects...and especially that temple of Theseus, the national hero, which remains in unimpaired beauty, to enable us to imagine what Athens was when this temple was only one among the many of the city which was wholly given to idolatry. In this scene St. Paul spoke, probably in his wonted attitude, 'stretching out his hand,' his bodily aspect still showing what he had suffered from weakness, toil, and pain, and the traces of sadness and anxiety mingled on his countenance with the expression of unshaken faith. Whatever his personal appearance may have been, we know the words which he spoke.....The mouth spoke out of the fulness of the heart."—pp. 401-405.

The short but impressive address of the Apostle, spoiled as it is in the Protestant authorized version as well as in our own, by the mistranslation of the word *δαιμονιότεροι*, which St. Paul applies to the Athenian people, not by way of censure, but of graceful courtesy, acknowledging the religious character of the city as evinced by its outward appearance, in the fittest and most appropriate way—is well brought in by the authors of the work above quoted, and the suitableness of his arguments to

the congregation whom he was addressing is very well drawn out in the remarks which precede and follow it. It is clear that if the Apostle was to make way with an Athenian audience, he must not begin by shocking their religious prejudices. He must, as it were, take them on their own ground, admit, as far as might be, their own principles, argue from them as truths admitted on both sides, and show that they involved certain ulterior and higher truths. By so doing he was most likely to edify some—to build up an edifice of true faith upon the religious foundation already laid—and if he could not convince any of his hearers of the truth of the great doctrine which he propounded, thus only could he hope to be heard with attention and respect. Paul and Barnabas adopted, it is true, a somewhat different line of conduct, when they remonstrated with those who called them Gods, and would have offered sacrifice to them at Lystra, (Acts xiv.) for in that case the Apostle simply unfolded a lesson of natural theology: while here assuming the truths of natural theology to be already known, he uses them as a foundation on which to lay the supernatural truths of revelation, the spiritual yet personal nature of the Godhead, and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. Here we cannot fail to see a remarkable instance of the wisdom and prudence of the Apostle; and one would only feel inclined to wonder at hearing that St. Paul was dismissed by some with indifference, and by others with derision, did we not take into account, on the one hand, the stumbling-block which intellectual pride is apt to lay in the way of simple faith; and on the other, the consequent conversion of Dionysius, of whom tradition asserts that he was the first Bishop of Athens. As to the scantiness of the results of Paul's speech before the Areopagus, it should be remarked that its effects upon philosophic schools of thought may have been, and probably have proved in fact, most extensive, though not immediate; and we cannot but admit that it is an instructive fact that the "mercantile population of Thessalonica and Corinth"—the rich and luxurious Corinth—"received the message of God with greater readiness than the highly educated and polished Athenians. Two letters to the Thessalonians, and two to the Corinthians, remain to attest the flourishing state of those Churches. But we possess no letter written by St. Paul to the Athenians; and we do not read that he was ever in

Athens again." So true is it that the preaching of the cross of Christ is "foolishness" to the Greeks, and that God, while he "gives grace to the humble," always "resists the proud."

We must now pass on to the chapter in which our authors treat of the spiritual gifts so often mentioned by St. Paul in his epistles to the Corinthians as commonly known to exist in the Church in his own time, and the possession of which, as sincere Protestants, Messrs. C. and H. regard as "the feature which most immediately forces itself upon our notice as distinctive of the Church in the Apostolic age." As to this subject, they add, that "our whole information must be derived from Scripture, because they appear to have vanished with the disappearance of the apostles themselves, and there is no authentic account of their existence in the Church in any writings of a later date than the books of the New Testament." (vol. i., p. 458.) These gifts they subsequently divide into ordinary and extraordinary; the former including the gifts of teaching, of government, and ministration; the latter comprising the well-known gifts of miracles, of tongues, of prophecy, of interpretation of tongues, and discernment of spirits. They inform their readers that the existence of these spiritual gifts was a fact repeatedly alluded to as notorious to all Christians, especially in these epistles, and as a matter of ordinary and daily occurrence. It is admitted on all hands that these gifts continued to exist in the Church during the life-time of the apostles, and also that we have no record of their actual cessation. Indeed, so far is this from being the case, that, as is well known, the Catholic Church,—(or at least what Messrs. C. and H. would admit to be by far the larger portion of the Catholic Church,)—lays claim to an uninterrupted possession of these spiritual gifts no less in the 19th century than she did in the first. Surely even Protestant writers of real intelligence and research, like those whose works we have under review, need hardly to be informed by us that no saint can receive canonization in the Catholic Church until it has satisfactorily been proved, by long and careful legal processes, that the holy person whose canonization is sought and discussed, has worked at least two miracles during his life-time, and that at least the same number have been worked by his intercession after death. These facts, we repeat, as often as a canonization takes place in

the Catholic Church, are established upon the most perfect human testimony, such as in every other case would compel belief, except, perhaps, among those who unconsciously act upon the infidel principles of Hume, and reject miracles *in toto*, as simply impossible. We, therefore, join issue here with Messrs. C. and H., and once for all protest in the name of the Catholic Church against such a position as that which we have above extracted from their pages, contenting ourselves with remarking, that the Protestant dogma which denies the permanent existence of miraculous powers in the Church of every age, at once paves the way for all the extravagancies of the Irvingite and Mormonite systems of imposture, as we have lately proved in our own pages, supporting our opinion by the disinterested testimony of the *English Review*.

With reference to the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, we are presented with some instructive results of a careful and elaborate enquiry, as well as to the office of deaconesses, evangelists, and prophets, the primitive administration of the Sacrament of Baptism to adults and infants, the celebration of festivals, and especially the Lord's Day, the unity of the Christian body, and of the schisms and heresies which from the first rent or defiled those robes which in theory were seamless and spotless. Our readers, we think, will pardon us for extracting the following passage as it stands, containing as it does some sound and sensible remarks upon the state of the Christian Church during the first century, calculated to check the morbid and unhealthy feelings so prevalent among certain classes of our Protestant brethren, namely that of reverting to the earliest ages of Christianity as of necessity the most pure and perfect. With many persons, doubtless, there is a bright hue thrown over the distance of time, just as the dullest objects look beautiful in the distant horizon; but a nearer view, in either case, will be found best calculated to dispel the *gratissimus error* of the mind. We have only to add a single word by way of protest against any phrase which may possibly be construed, on the part of our authors, as implying that we concede the possibility of any declension from or corruption of the one Catholic and Apostolic Faith taking place in any age of the Church of God, who now for more than nineteen centuries has pursued Her way on earth, under the guidance of Her heavenly Spouse and Head,

“One and the same through all advancing time.”

“It is painful to be compelled to acknowledge among the Christians of the apostolic age, the existence of so many forms of error and sin. It was a pleasing dream which represented the primitive Church as a society of angels, and it is not without a struggle that we bring ourselves to open our eyes and behold the reality. But yet it is a higher feeling which bids us thankfully recognise the truth, that ‘there is no partiality with God,’ that He has never supernaturally coerced any generation of mankind into virtue, nor rendered schism and heresy impossible in any age of the Church. So St. Paul tells his converts that there must needs be heresies among them, that the good may be tried and distinguished from the bad; implying that, without the possibility of a choice, there would be no test of faith or holiness. And so our Lord Himself compared His Church to a net cast into the sea, which gathered fish of all kinds, both good and bad; nor was its purity to be attained by the exclusion of evil, till the end should come. Therefore, if we sigh, as well we may, for the realization of an ideal which Scripture paints to us, and imagination embodies, but which our eyes seek for and cannot find; if we look vainly and with earnest longings for the appearance of that glorious Church, ‘without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing,’ the fitting bride of a heavenly spouse;—it may calm our impatience to recollect that no such Church has ever existed upon earth, while yet we do not forget that it has existed and does exist in heaven. In the very time of the Apostles, no less than now, ‘the earnest expectation of the creature waited for the manifestations of the sons of God;’ miracles did not convert; inspiration did not sanctify; then, as now, imperfection and evil clung to the members, and dogged the energies, of the kingdom of God; now, as then, Christians are fellow-heirs, and of the same body with the spirits of just men made perfect; now, as then, the Communion of Saints unites into one family the Church militant with the Church triumphant.” (vol. i. pp. 488,9.)

This is, perhaps, a proper place for adding a few remarks upon the English translations of the epistles of the Apostle, which Messrs. C. and H. as well as Mr. Lewin, have interwoven into their respective narratives. For this part of their task, after all, must have been the most difficult, and certainly required, if possible, a larger amount of discretion and care, to say nothing of scholarship and taste, than the rest of their labour put together. We know and feel that a perfect English translation of the New Testament is a work which still remains to be done. Our own Douay version, composed as it was under heavy difficul-

ties, and the greatest disadvantages, is upon the whole surprisingly accurate and exact, though confessedly far from scholar-like, as a literary performance, and as deficient in pure English idiom as the Protestant version is excellent in that particular. The Protestant authorized version, rich in its Anglo-Saxon style and pureness of idiom,* is miserably and notoriously unfair where doctrinal questions are at stake. Some of the most flagrant of its dishonest renderings† are rectified by Messrs. C. and H.

* On this subject we venture to offer to our readers the following extract from the Very Rev. Father Faber's admirable essay on "The Interest and Characteristics of the Lives of the Saints," prefixed to the recently published *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 116. (Vol. xxv. of the *Oratory series of the Lives of Modern Saints*, Richardson, 1853.) "Who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. Nay, it is worshipped with a positive idolatry, in extenuation of whose grotesque fanaticism its intrinsic beauty pleads availingly with the man of letters and the scholar. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent tradition of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments; and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled. It has been to him all along as the silent, but O how intelligible voice of his guardian angel; and in the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant, with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible. And all this is an unhallowed power! The extinction of the Establishment would be a less step towards the conquest of the national mind, than if it were possible (but we are speaking humanly and in our ignorance) to adopt that Bible and cancel it by the Vulgate. As it is, there is no beauty of the Church along with it; and who would dream that beauty was better than a blessing?"

† We allude more particularly to such well-known passages as 1 Cor. xi. 27. ὥστε ὅστις ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἢ πινῇ τὸ ποτήριον. "Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup,"—S. Matt. xix. 11. οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τουτον,

as we should expect from persons of candour and literary ability: but still the pruning-knife has not been used to a sufficient extent. But instead of adding any opinions of our own as to the way in which the task has been executed, we will give a sample of the translation produced by each of our authors.

Accordingly we subjoin in parallel columns the translation of some verses of the 6th chapter of St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, according to the Douay version, the Protestant version of king James I., and Messrs. C. and H., with the notes of the latter translation, from which our readers will be able to form a judgment for themselves as to their relative merits.

Douay Version.

12. All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful to me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meat for the belly, and the belly for meat; but God shall destroy both it and them: but the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord

English Protestant Version.

12. All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but

Messrs. C. and H.

12. [But some of you say] "All things are lawful for me." [Be it so]* But not all things are good for me; though all things are in my power, they shall not bring me under *their* power. "Meat is for the belly, and the belly for meat;" though death will soon, by God's ordinance, put an end to both. But

ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται. "All men cannot receive this word, save they to whom it is given."—Acts i. 8. Λήψεσθε δύναμιν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." Another instance occurs in Gal. i. 18. ἰστορήσαι Πέτρον, "to see Peter." These instances might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. As to the first of the above mentioned passages, which was meant to be used with such force against communion in one kind, we rejoice to find that both Messrs. C. and H. and also Mr. Lewin have the courage to restore the true reading, "Whosoever shall eat this bread or drink this cup," &c.

* See the explanation of this in vol. i. p. 479, and compare (for the true side of πάντα ἔξεστιν) Gal. v. 23. κατὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων οὐκ ἐστὶ νόμος. Also see below, chap. viii. v. 1. From what follows, it is evident that these Corinthian free-thinkers argued that the existence of bodily appetites proved the lawfulness of their gratification.

for the body. Now God hath both raised up the Lord, and will raise us up also by his power. Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid. Or know you not that he who is joined to a harlot is made one body? *For they shall be, saith he, two in one flesh.* But he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Fly fornication. Every sin that a man doth is without the body, but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body. Or know you not, that your members are the temple of the

for the Lord; and the Lord for the body. And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid. What, know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body? For two, saith he, shall be one flesh. But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body, but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What, know ye not

the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord Jesus, and the Lord Jesus for the body: * and as God raised our Lord Jesus from the grave, so He will raise us up by His mighty power. † Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ's Body? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them members of a harlot? God forbid. Know ye not that he who joins himself to a harlot becomes one body with her? As it is written, *they twain shall be one flesh.* ‡ But he who joins himself to Christ, becomes one with Christ in spirit. Flee fornication. [It is true indeed? that] all sin

* The body is for the Lord Jesus, to be consecrated, by His indwelling, to His service: and the Lord Jesus is for the body, to consecrate it by dwelling therein in the person of His Spirit.

† St. Paul's argument here is, that sins of unchastity, though bodily acts, yet injure a part of our nature which will not be destroyed by death, and which is closely connected with our moral well-being. And it is a fact no less certain than mysterious, that moral and spiritual ruin is caused by such sins, which human reason (when untaught by Revelation) held to be actions as blameless as eating and drinking.

‡ Gen. ii. 24. (lxx.) quoted by our Lord. Matt. xix. 5.

§ Literally, Every sin which a man commits is without (*καρὸς*, external to) the body. The Corinthian free-thinkers probably used this argument also, and perhaps availed themselves of our Lord's words, Mark vii. 18: "Do ye not perceive that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him, because it entereth not into his heart?" (See the whole passage.)

Holy Ghost, who is in you, whom you have from God, and you are not your own? For you are bought with a great price. Glorify and bear God in your body.

that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body (and in your spirit, which are God's.)

springs, not from the body, but from the soul; yet the fornicator sins against his own body. Know ye not that your bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit which dwells within you, which ye have received from God? And you are not your own, for you were bought with a price.* Glorify God, therefore, not in your spirit only, but in your body also, (since both are His.)†

Upon further thoughts we have thought it best not to give at length from Mr. Lewin's translation of the passage which we have given above, as it does not differ sufficiently from the authorized Protestant version to make such a proceeding necessary. The chief merit of his translation, we may here remark, seems to lie in the fact that he has supplied such connecting particles as are wanting in order to convey the meaning of the apostle's argument to a modern reader,—a meaning often rendered most obscure in every English version which aims at being faithful, by the suddenness of his transitions and the extreme vivacity of his hurried and forensic style. In Mr. Lewin's book we may add, every variation from the Protestant version is marked by *Italics*. In the passage from the 6th chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, which we gave on the preceding page, Mr. Lewin's variations from his received version are but four in all. He introduces the 16th and 19th verses with an "or" in the place of "what," thereby translating more literally the Greek original; in verse 20 he reads "*ye have been bought,*" for the Protestant "*ye are bought,*" which agrees with the

* The price is the blood of Christ. Compare Acts xx. 28, and Col. i. 14.

† The latter part of this verse, from *kai* down to *θεου*, though not in the best MSS., yet is implied in the sense.

Douay in this point, though it may be doubted whether the "*were*" of Messrs. C. and H. does not more adequately render the force of the Greek aorist tense. His other alteration of the "God forbid" into the tame "Be it not!" we cannot but think a very unnecessary departure from the well known phrase, as though it is certainly a more literal rendering of the words *μη γένοιτο*, it wholly fails in doing justice to the *spirit* of the original. We are far, however, from finding fault with Mr. Lewin upon the whole; occasionally, as for example in the Epistle to the Romans, he has shown great taste, and a clear perception of the drift of the Apostle's reasoning, in the manner in which he has supplied those little connecting links and particles, the want of which renders the Douay and the English version alike in places almost unintelligible.

At the outset we gave our readers to understand that it was not our intention to present them with a complete outline of the life of St. Paul, or of his labours in the cause of Christ and His Church. Our pages contain, and were intended to contain a few hasty sketches of the Apostle as he appears in some of the most remarkable points of his career. We must compare them only to the views in a scenic representation, passing before the spectator's eyes in rapid succession, and often without much of moral or logical consequence or connection. Would that we could boast of our success even in the mere painting of our scenes. Our object has been to set before our readers some of the most interesting and instructive portions of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson's work, in such a way as to tempt others to study the subject for themselves as it deserves. An increased amount of labour spent upon the inspired writings of the New Testament cannot, we think, be other than of service to every Catholic who aspires after a practical knowledge of the lives of those holy saints and servants of God who planted the first Christian Churches in Asia and Europe, to whom probably we owe the early existence of christianity in England, and who in most countries watered with their blood the Churches which they established!

We now come to that part of St. Paul's life which has always been regarded with especial interest, and upon which so much light has recently been thrown by the researches of Mr. James Smith of Jordanhill, whose inter-

esting volume on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul has been now for some months before the literary world, and has received, we believe, in almost every quarter of Europe, its proper meed of praise. The results at which Mr. Smith has arrived by his judicious combination of *à priori* probabilities with established facts, we observe, are adopted almost entirely both by Mr. Lewin, and also by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, as data upon which they may safely base their narratives. The latter gentlemen, we may here observe, in addition to the published volume of Mr. Smith, have been assisted by the free use of some valuable MSS. of the late Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, the first individual who examined the Voyage of St. Paul in a practical spirit. We know that the art of navigation was comparatively unknown at so early a period as that of St. Paul. It is an established fact that both the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with the use of the compass; and as the use of the quadrant and sextant was unknown to them, and as the first nautical charts were not invented until the middle of the next century, it is obvious that, excepting in fine weather, when the heavenly bodies were discernible, the sailors of the Mediterranean were obliged mainly to direct their course by the line of coast. Messrs. C. and H. show in detail that while in their appointments as to sails, rudders, masts, &c., they were infinitely inferior to those of our own day, still the trading vessels must have been nearly of the same size with our own, that they must have been able to sail, as the nautical phrase goes, within seven points of the wind, and at the rate of seven knots an hour with a fair breeze. Nor are these established facts merely matters of curious enquiry; but they are turned to a practical account by Messrs. C. and H. in settling, as they have done, what must have been the course of the ship which carried St. Paul, and establishing, by a consideration of the probable speed of the vessel at a particular angle to the wind which must have prevailed, combined with the distance traversed in the given time, and the actual soundings of the coast of the island at the present day, the generally received tradition which identifies the island of Malta with the Melita mentioned by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, and the bay close to Point Koura and to the lesser island of Salmonetta at the south of the western extremity of Malta, with the actual place where St. Paul suffered shipwreck. It is

true that from the earliest ages a tradition apparently unbroken, has existed in the island to the same effect, and the place to the present day is called St. Paul's bay. The house of Publius, according to local tradition, as we learn from Mr. Lewin's pages, formerly stood on the site of the present Cathedral of Civita Vecchia, the ancient Melita. A grotto is also shown in the vicinity of the town, where it is said the Apostle lived during his sojourn in the island. The most plausible objections which have been seriously raised against the identity of Melita and Malta, are two in number; one based upon the rival claims of another island of the same name in the upper part of the Adriatic, to the honour of having been the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck and sojourn; the other upon the entire absence of venomous reptiles upon the island at the present time. The former objection, however, will be of little weight with any one who remembers that the claim was put only by the inmates of a monastery on the Adriatic Melita, who naturally felt anxious to enhance the ancient glory of their island; and the latter is well answered by Mr. Lewin, who urges the parallel case of Great Britain, which at this day is wholly free from wolves, though but a thousand years ago, or even less, its forests concealed them in vast numbers. It is interesting here to record the tradition of the ancient Martyrologies, that Publius, whom St. Luke mentions as the Roman governor of the island, became himself a convert to the preaching of St. Paul, and became the first Bishop of Malta.

From Malta the Apostle's voyage was short to Syracuse, and a few days spent there, and at Rhegium, for the purposes of trade, did not long detain the Alexandrian corn ship from reaching its destination at Puteoli. From thence the land journey to Rome lay through Cumæ and Sinuessa, and so along the Appian way to Appii forum and the Three Taverns, until it brought the Apostle to the Capernian gate of Rome, which he reached about the middle of A. D. 59. During the two years' imprisonment which followed, the Apostle wrote his Epistles to the Churches at Ephesus, Colosse, and Philippi, as well as another to Philemon. To this day at Rome the house is shown in which St. Paul is said to have resided: and doubtless, as he was allowed to live in his own hired house or apartments, he was supported by the

contributions of the faithful Christians of Rome, as he had been at Philippi. The influence which St. Paul gained in Rome by his preaching there is very generally known. "The effects of Paul's preaching," says Mr. Lewin, "first began to show themselves in the Prætorium itself. The constant companionship of one of the soldiers as his keeper brought him into communication with the Prætorian troops, and the oftener the guard was relieved, the wider was the door opened. The gospel soon pervaded the whole camp, and even overflowed into the neighbouring districts."* To say nothing of the traditions which assert that the British king Caractacus met St. Paul at Rome during the period of his imprisonment, and that the philosopher, Seneca, conversed with him and became a Christian, it is certain that "Pomponia, the wife of Plautius, who had covered himself with laurels in Great Britain, had involved herself in trouble by adopting the new faith;† and at the date of the Epistle to the Romans,‡ converts had been made in the house of the celebrated freedman, Narcissus." At the end of two years the Apostle was brought up for judgment before the Emperor, and acquitted.

What became of the Apostle during the interval which elapsed between his first and second imprisonment, has long been a disputed point. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that Mr. Lewin on this point adopts a somewhat different opinion from that which is adopted by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. It is well known that in his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul had expressed an intention of visiting Spain; and the belief that the Apostle did actually visit Spain during the interval is so prevalent, and apparently so well founded, that the last mentioned gentlemen adopt it with scarcely any hesitation as probably true. Mr. Lewin's version is as follows: "Five years before, Paul, in writing to the Romans, had expressed his intention of passing through Rome into Spain; but he had not then contemplated a lengthened imprisonment; and, during the interval, his enemies had been busy in the Churches planted by him, and various

* See Philipp. i. 12, 13, iv. 22.

† "Superstitio externa." Tacit. Ann. xiii. 32.

‡ Rom. xvi. 11.

mischiefs required his remedial hand. He therefore felt himself under the necessity of abandoning, at least for the present, his original design, and resolved on visiting once more the scene of his former labours." This he argues from the Apostle's intention of seeing the Colossians in person before long, as expressed by him in his Epistle to Philemon, (verse 22.) while to the Philippians he expresses himself to the same effect even more strongly. (Phil. ii. 19, 23, 24.) And he confirms this view of the Apostle's plans from the words which occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews,* (probably written at this time from Puteoli,) and which most probably refers to the embassy of Timothy to Philippi, and the contemplated embassy of St. Paul to Jerusalem in company with Timothy, as soon as the latter should rejoin him at Puteoli. "Thus," Mr. Lewin proceeds to observe, "there would be no sufficient interval during which the Apostle could visit Spain."† But if St. Paul only recovered his liberty, as

* Ch. xiii. 23. "Our brother Timothy hath been sent on a mission, with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."

† We here append Mr. Lewin's note upon St. Paul's journey to Spain.

"It has been supposed by some that Paul, on his release, did in fact visit Spain. I am not aware of any argument that carries weight with it, except the following passage from Clemens Romanus, who was a contemporary of Paul, and must have known the truth. In his Epistle to the Corinthians he writes:—*Διὰ ζήλον καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῇν βραβεῖον ὕπασχεν, ἐπιτάκεις δεσμὰ φορέσας φονγαδευθεῖς, λιθασθεῖς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβε, ἐκαιοσύνην διδάσας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως ἔλθων καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον εἰσπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμος.* It is contended that τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως must mean Spain, as 'the boundary of the West' in ancient geography; but this interpretation is open to objection. The writer is evidently using very rhetorical language by saying that Paul had taught 'the whole world,' which, of course, was not literally true. It will also be observed that Clement says, 'having come to the boundary of the west,' and the writer was at Rome. His 'coming to the boundary of the west' is also coupled with the Apostle's martyrdom, καὶ μαρτυρήσας, &c.; and he certainly suffered at Rome. Clement had just spoken of Paul having preached in the East and in the West, and the words τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως may mean, not the boundary of the world, but the limit towards the west of

Mr. Lewin supposes, about March, A. D. 62, and was not sent back a prisoner to Rome, at all events, until the fall of the year 65, A. D., (compare pages 1092 and 1097,) we must frankly own that this objection as to a want of "a sufficient interval," in our opinion, cannot be maintained.

Mr. Lewin supposes that this interval was spent in a stay at Puteoli, where the Apostle awaited the return of Timothy from Philippi, and then sailed to Syria, and went up to Jerusalem; that from this central point he started on his fourth apostolic circuit, and passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus, where he wintered. Early in the year 63, according to this account, St. Paul must have visited Crete, and then have sailed to Macedonia by way of Ephesus. From Macedonia he went on to Corinth, and thence to Nicopolis in Epirus, where he wintered. The year 64, according to Mr. Lewin, was spent by St. Paul in preaching through Illyrium and Dalmatia; and it is not until after the martyrdom of St. Peter, which occurred on the 29th of June, in the following year, 65, that we hear of St. Paul returning from those parts by way of Troas to Ephesus, where he was arrested and sent to Rome, teaching by the way at Miletus and Corinth. (2 Tim. i. 17, 18, iv. 20.) In the early spring of the following year, 66, A. D., he wrote his second Epistle to Timothy, and suffered martyrdom on the anniversary of St. Peter's death.

On the other hand, Messrs. C. and H. fix the Apostle's liberation from his first imprisonment in the spring of 63, and suppose that, having spent the remainder of that year in Macedonia and Asia Minor, he went on his journey into Spain, in the following year 64, from which he did not return, according to their reckoning, until early in the year 66, when he went to Asia Minor, and that the year 67 was spent partly in Macedonia, and partly in Ephesus; and that after wintering at Nicopolis, he was conveyed to Rome, and again imprisoned in the spring of 68, where

Paul's preaching, this would be Rome, and the difficulty then vanishes. If Paul did visit Spain, it could have been only for a short time during the six months immediately following his release; and he must have returned to Puteoli, and there waited for Timothy. It appears to the author more probable, from a comparison of the Epistles to Philemon, the Philippians, and the Hebrews, that the Apostle was obliged to abandon his projected journey to Spain."

he was executed in the following June. We must own that on very many accounts we are inclined to adhere to this latter supposition, the more especially as it alone accords with the explicit statement of St. Jerome. "Hic ergo decimo quarto Neronis anno, (eodem die quo Petrus,) Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus sepultusque est." Now, as Nero succeeded to the empire in the year 54, this assertion of St. Jerome will bring the date of his martyrdom to the year 68.

It was, of course, obvious to Messrs. C. and H. to remark upon the "obscurity" which rests upon the latter portion of St. Paul's history as darkly contrasting with "the light concentrated upon that portion of it which is related in the latter chapter of the Acts of the Apostles." Beyond a doubt it is true that "the progress of the historian" here must of necessity be somewhat "hesitating and uncertain." Our authors, therefore, dismiss the narrative of his final imprisonment and martyrdom in a few short pages. They state that at Nicopolis he was probably arrested by the Roman duumvirs, on the charge of introducing a new and illegal religion, or perhaps of having had a share in the firing of the city of Rome, and so carried to Italy, and cast again into prison at Rome; that he was probably treated now, not with kindness, as before, but as a malefactor; but that he was imprisoned in the Mamertine prison, together with St. Peter, according to the legends of the Mediæval Church, "they would seem to disbelieve, (though asserted by Baronius,) on the ground that Onesiphorus, Claudia, and others, had free access to St. Paul during his imprisonment. They add that on this second occasion he was tried before the Præfectus Urbis, whose jurisdiction at that time had nearly superseded that of the ancient magistracy of the Prætors. The Prefect's court was in a Basilica, and a large attendance of heathen spectators were present. The Apostle was acquitted on the first charge, but upon the second he was condemned after some months' interval. "We have had no record of the final stage of his trial, and cannot tell the cause of its speedy conclusion. We only know that it resulted in a sentence of capital punishment." Messrs. C. and H. then add that the Apostle was beheaded as being a Roman citizen, and so spared the more ignominious death of crucifixion; and that he was led out to execution beyond

the city walls, upon the road to Ostia.* “Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths of the catacombs, where, through many ages of oppression, the persecuted Church found refuge for the living, and sepulchres for the dead.”

Thus far Messrs. C. and H. And the devout Catholic mind cannot but feel chilled at the cold and suspicious way in which they record the living traditions of the Church as to the Apostle's martyrdom. It would seem as if they had really been seeking how little they were bound to believe upon the subject. We give in full their note, or rather postscript, “on certain legends connected with St. Paul's death,” in order to contrast it with the warmer narrative of an ancient Catholic Christian.

“We have not thought it right to interrupt the narrative of St. Paul's last imprisonment, by notating the legends of the Roman Martyrology upon the subject, or by discussing the tradition which makes St. Peter his fellow-worker at Rome, and the companion of his imprisonment and martyrdom. The latter tradition seems to have grown up gradually in the Church, till at length, in the fourth century, it was accredited by Eusebius and Jerome. If we trace it to its origin, however, it appears to rest on but slender foundations. In the first place, we have an undoubted testimony to the fact that St. Peter died by martyrdom, in St. John's Gospel. (xxi. 18, 19.) The same fact is attested by Clemens Romanus, a contemporary authority.....but in neither place is it said that Rome was the scene of the Apostle's labours or death. The earliest authority for this is Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, (about A.D. 170) who calls Peter and Paul the ‘founders of the Corinthian and Roman Churches,’ and says that they both taught in Rome together, and suffered martyrdom about the same time. The Roman presbyter, Caius, (about A.D. 200).....mentions the tradition that Peter suffered martyrdom in the Vatican, which if he had

* Messrs. C. and H. state, in a note, that “the Great Basilica of St. Paul now stands outside the walls of Rome, on the road to Ostia, in commemoration of his martyrdom; and the Porta Ostiensis, in the present Aurelian wall, is called the Gate of St. Paul. The traditional spot of the martyrdom is the *tre fontane*, not far from the Basilica. The Basilica itself (S. Paolo fuor de' mura) was first built by Constantine.....Till the ‘Reformation,’ it was under the protection of the kings of England, and the emblem of the Order of the Garter is still to be seen among its decorations. The Church is described by Prudentius (Peristeph. Hymn. 12), ‘Titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis.’”

suffered under Nero, he very probably would have done. (See Tacit. Ann. xv. 44.) The same tradition is confirmed by Irenæus, frequently alluded to by Tertullian, accredited by Eusebius and Jerome, and followed by Lactantius, Orosius, and all subsequent writers till the Reformation. This apparent weight of testimony, however, is much weakened by our knowledge of the facility with which unhistoric legends originate, especially when they fall in with the wishes of those among whom they circulate: and it was the natural wish of the Roman Church to represent 'the Chief of the Apostles' as having the seat of his government and the site of his martyrdom in the chief city of the world. It cannot be denied, indeed, that St. Peter may possibly have suffered martyrdom at Rome: but the form which the tradition receives in the hands of Jerome, viz., that he was Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, from A.D. 42 to A.D. 68, may be regarded as entirely fabulous; for in the first place it contradicts the agreement made at the council of Jerusalem, that St. Peter should work *among the Jews*. (Gal. ii. 9. Compare Romans i. 13. where the Roman Christians are classed among *Gentile Churches*.) Secondly, it is inconsistent with the First Epistle of St. Peter, which from internal evidence cannot have been written so early as A.D. 42, when we find St. Peter labouring in Mesopotamia: and thirdly, it is negated by the silence of all St. Paul's Epistles written at Rome.

"If St. Jerome's statement of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is unhistorical, his assertion that the two Apostles suffered martyrdom on the same day may be safely disregarded. We have seen that upon this tradition was grafted a legend that St. Peter and St. Paul were fellow-prisoners in the Mamertine. It is likewise commemorated by a little chapel on the Ostian Road, outside the gate of San Paolo, which marks the place where the Apostles separated on their way to death. St. Peter's martyrdom is commemorated at Rome, not only by the great Basilica which bears his name, but also by the little church of *Domine quo vadis*, on the Appian way, which is connected with one of the most beautiful legends of the Martyrology. The legend is that St. Peter, through fear of martyrdom, was leaving Rome by the Appian Road in the early dawn, when he met our Lord, and casting himself at His feet, asked Him, 'Domine quo vadis?' To which the Lord replied, 'Venio iterum crucifigi.' The disciple returned, penitent and ashamed, and was martyred. This legend may be mentioned in advantageous contrast with that connected with the supposed site of St. Paul's death, marked by the Church of *S. Paolo alle tre fontane*. According to the latter, these three fountains sprang up miraculously, 'abscisso Pauli capite triplici saltu sese sustollentes.' The legend goes on to say, that a noble matron buried the body of St. Paul on her own land, beside the Ostian Road."—Vol. ii. pp. 505-7.

' Let our readers contrast with this criticism the following narrative of St. Paul's last years and death, which we extract out of the Bollandists, (June, vol. iv.,) entitled "*Commentarii de SS. Petro et Paulo ex MS. Medicæo Græco Régis Christianissimi, et Jacobi Sirleti interpretatione MS. in Bibl. Vaticana.*"

"Ch. vi. Thus far indeed have we the narrative of St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles,.....but as to all that followed after St. Paul left Rome, and went to Thebes in Bœotia, of this he is by no means the author. But Eusebius, who has accurately examined these points in the second Book of his Ecclesiastical History, says that Paul was acquitted after pleading his cause before Nero, and as soon as he was set free, began to preach the word of God at Rome, where he lived ten years, (*Romæ agentem, διατρίβοντα*) during which he is said to have travelled abroad into Spain, Gaul, and Italy, as a herald, and to have scattered the word abroad there, and to have led many away from the gods of their forefathers, and to have united them to the flock of God. But when he was in Spain, they say that something happened to him after the following manner:—

"A certain lady of noble family, and of wealth, as well as learning, having long listened to the preaching of the Apostles, was desirous to behold with her own eyes the herald of truth, and orally to be instructed by him in the doctrines of the true religion. Accordingly, by some Divine inspiration, she chose to take a walk into the forum at a time when Paul, beloved as he was by her from his fame only, was passing through it. She is said to have beheld him, walking staidly along, as one who had not only his general character, but even his very walk, full of divine grace; and by a Divine impulse to have told the matter to her husband, Protus, one of those who were of the highest rank in the state, and to have persuaded him to invite him, though a stranger, beneath his roof. After that he had been admitted to their house, it is said that a miracle of the following kind happened to the wife. With the unsealed eyes of her mind she seemed to behold upon the brow of her guest golden characters, which ran as follows: 'Paul, the herald of Christ.' On account of the unexpected nature of the vision, a mixed feeling of pleasure and fear came over her; and full of tears, she fell at the feet of the Apostle, and being catechised by him, first of all received baptism at his hands, and took the name of Xanthippe. Afterwards, however, her husband Protus, who was well known to Nero, then also Philotheus the prefect, and at last who dwelt in those parts, followed her example.

"But Paul openly declares in his Epistle to the Romans that he preached in Spain; for he writes, (xv. 28,) 'When, therefore, I shall have accomplished this, and consigned to them this fruit, I will come to you into Spain.' Since, therefore, he had it in mind

to preach in Spain, even before he had been at Rome, and as it happily turned out to him that he did reach the very first of cities, (*πρὸς τὴν πρώτην καταντῆσαι των πόλεων*,) he scarcely can have omitted (*οὐκ ἡμέλησε*, non neglexit,) that which he had previously determined, his journey into Spain, even though he returned back again to Rome, and there rested from his long labours. But how he did so, and on what account, I am now about to declare.

“When Nero had gone to the furthest lengths of madness, first of all he destroyed his own mother Agrippina; and besides her his own father’s sister, and his wife Octavia, and innumerable other persons who were in any way related to him. After this, however, he excited a general persecution against the Christians, and so he came to put the Apostles to death. For it happened at the same time that Paul, in the 36th year after the salutary Passion of our Lord, and in the 13th year of Nero’s reign, became a martyr, being beheaded with the sword. But a certain ecclesiastic, named Gaius, and Zephyrinus, a Roman Bishop, and Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, write, that Peter and Paul underwent martyrdom together, and at the same time, in the 30th year of the empire of Nero. They say that at that time Nero was excited against the Christians, not on account of Simon Magus, but on account of some women, who had professed the faith of Christ, and who had determined to live in virtue and chastity, and who therefore would no longer continue their intercourse with him. And the truth of their story is supported by the testimony of St. John Chrysostom, illustrious in things divine, and with a mind filled with the spirit, who thus writes in his speech against those who forbade men to enter the religious state:—‘Doubtless ye have heard of Nero; for he was a man notorious for his lusts, and the first who ever in such an empire as that found out new ways of debauchery. This Nero, then, attacking the blessed Paul (for they both lived at the same time) with the same kind of accusation with which you now assail these holy men;—for Paul persuaded the Emperor’s beloved mistress to receive the word of faith, and to free herself from that unholy life—in this way, I say, he accused him, calling Paul a corrupter and seducer, and all those names which ye now use, and first bound him and shut him up in prison; and when he could not persuade him to cease exhorting the woman, he cut off his head with the sword. And thus indeed speaks that holy and Apostolic man in life and discourse, concerning the blessed end of St. Paul.’

“These chief and divine apostles, then, as we have said, were consummated in the thirteenth year of Nero; but the execrable Simon Magus is said to have met with his most horrible death about the middle of the reign of Claudius. Some, indeed, say that Peter preceded Paul by the space of a year, and underwent that blessed suffering, so like that of his Lord, and laid down his life for the sheep; but that he was soon followed by that great apostle, Paul,

(as is asserted by Justin and Irenæus,) when for five years before their departure to Christ, they had held their sacred meetings and religious conferences among themselves; and I, for my part, am more inclined to believe them. But Eusebius Pamphilus says, that Peter having lived twelve years in the East, passed twenty-three years more at Rome, in Britain, and in the Western regions; so that the preaching of Peter must have lasted thirty-five years, but that Paul himself for twenty-one years preached faith in Christ, and spent two other years in prison at Cæsarea. To these he also adds the two former years, which he spent at Rome, and the last ten; so that the years of his ministry and preaching are in all thirty and five."

Such is the brief but touching narrative of a Catholic Christian not of the nineteenth century. In parting with the two works which we have had under our notice, we cannot but observe how coldly and with how little feeling of devotion or enthusiasm their respective authors look back upon the very saint whom Protestants are in the habit of regarding as peculiarly their own, and the study of whose character, according to the Edinburgh reviewer, will tend to make all people better Protestants and better Christians. For our own part, as we have already said, we can by no means subscribe to such a sentiment. We can rejoice in giving honour to St. Paul, and in invoking the aid of his powerful intercession, without feeling the least jealousy of other saints, or the least fear of giving birth to an unholy rivalry. It is not without a deep significance that the Church of God has interwoven the name of St. Paul with that of the Prince of the Apostles in all her solemn offices, so that we commemorate not the one without the other; thus raising the great apostle of the Gentiles to a higher place, not lowering the lofty elevation on which St. Peter sits without a rival as supreme. And the name of St. Paul comes to our ears, not as a mere subject of past interest, or of mere pleasing historical associations, nor as a mere object of distant admiration. In the communion of saints Paul lives still to us, converses with us, exhorts and warns us, directs us and intercedes for us. The chain with which he was bound was long preserved at Rome, and if St. Chrysostom, fifteen centuries ago could desire earnestly to travel from Antioch to Rome, to see and salute that chain, we too may desire to approach not merely the chain which bound him, but the saint himself; with the Church, we may recognize in St. Paul the fulfil-

ment of Jacob's dying blessing upon Benjamin, and learn to bless God for having "taught the whole world by the preaching" of the great apostle of the Gentles, and to beseech his prevailing intercession on behalf of ourselves and the whole Gentile world. One lesson, however, there is, which should not be lost upon us; how much more hopeful is the case of one who ignorantly opposes God's true faith than that of the lukewarm and indifferent worldling. There was one Gallio mentioned in the Acts, who "cared for none of those things" which were taught by the holy apostles. We do not hear of his conversion. But Saul, the raging and ravenous wolf, is changed by a miracle of grace, into the meekest and gentlest of the lambs of Christ, and lays down his life for the cause which once he so ignorantly and so vehemently persecuted.

ART. V.—1. *Difficulties in the Church.* A Sermon preached at the Re-opening of the Church of Longbridge Deverell. By EDWARD, Lord Bishop of Salisbury. London, F. and J. Rivington, 1853.

2. *Essays: chiefly Theological.* By the Rev. PATRICK MURRAY, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic and Moral Theology in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. 4 vols. 8vo. Dublin, Bellew, 1850-3.

3. *St. Peter, his Name, and his Office, as set forth in Holy Scripture.* By THOMAS W. ALLIES, M.A., author of "The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church," "A Journal in France," &c. 8vo. London: Richardson and Son, 1852.

IT is often amusing to observe how widely practice differs from profession. With those who are sincere in the profession of the all-sufficiency of Scripture, the whole science of theology should resolve itself into Biblical Hermeneutics. Even in that modified acceptance of the principle, which admits other sources of critical evidence as subsidiary to Scripture, it is plain that every doctrinal enquiry must, at the least, involve a full and careful investigation of the entire teaching of the Bible in reference to the subject in question. For one who draws his creed from the sacred volume, it becomes a clear and inevitable duty,

not only to master the true sense of particular passages, but to weigh carefully the bearing of each upon the other ; to consider the qualifying circumstances of all ; to contrast their statements when they are unharmonious and conflicting ; in a word, to employ every device of critical science so as thoroughly to exhaust the whole doctrine of the Scripture upon the subject. Without this, it is impossible to have even the semblance of "the teaching of the Bible."

On the other hand, if one were to accept the traditional imputation against Catholics, that, in their blind submission to the authority of the Church and her traditions, they make their teaching independent of that of the Scriptures, and perhaps even antagonistic to it, he might expect to find Hermeneutics entirely discarded in the schools of Catholic theology. If the voice of Scripture is to be silenced before that of the Church, it cannot practically be of much interest to discover what that voice may chance to be ; and, as Protestants are taught to believe that such is, if not in theory, at least in fact, the system of Catholic theology, we cannot wonder that they should regard us as utterly insensible to the importance of the science of biblical interpretation.

How unjust and unfounded is this supposition regarding Catholics, we have already shown in a series of papers in this journal. We need scarcely be at the pains of disavowing the imputation on which it is founded. It is true that Catholics do not regard the Scriptures as the sole depositary of God's revelation ; but nevertheless, far from setting it aside, or silencing its voice before that of the Church, they regard the Church, not as the rival or antagonist of the Scripture, but simply as its authoritative expositor ; and hold it as a fundamental principle that her teaching never can be out of harmony with that of the inspired deposit which the Divine Master has committed to her keeping. And hence, in the principles of the Catholic system, as the first office of the Church is to propose and to interpret, for the practical guidance of her members, the doctrinal and moral lessons contained in the word of God, so it is her first duty, and her holiest privilege, to ascertain its true and genuine interpretation. And although it is a fixed principle of our belief, that in infallibly ascertaining this interpretation, she is assisted by Him "who is with her all days ;" yet we also believe, that in arriving thereto,

she employs the arts of human learning;—just as, in administering the details of her external government she employs the agency of the ordinary human instruments.

Accordingly, in the papers already referred to, we have illustrated by a few out of numberless examples which might have been selected, the singularly rich and curious fecundity of interpretation, in which it is the privilege of the Catholic Church, and hers alone, fearlessly to indulge. We have seen how, in the wondrous and ineffably beautiful adaptation of all the parts of that divine system which she alone possesses in its fulness and integrity, she is enabled to discover deep sense and harmony where every other creed can but find unmeaning commonplace, or perhaps patent incongruity with its own principles;—how she can draw confirmations—often indirect, but yet not the less striking—of the great truths which she professes, from incidents and expressions which in themselves might not seem to bear even remotely upon them; how she can push to its furthest limits the exposition of our Lord's Parables, the minutest details of His miracles, the smallest and least considerable circumstances of the ordinary actions of His blessed life; and find in them all the most curious, but conclusive evidences of her doctrines, the most significant types of her institutions, and the most striking analogies with the practices, which, under the guidance of the Spirit of her Divine Founder, she has engrafted upon these doctrines, and maintained as a living and enduring exposition of their spirit;—above all, how, in the great deposit of her ancient and traditional wisdom, she lays up the smallest grain and fragment of hidden sense which has fallen from the lips of her Divine Master, finding propriety and beauty where those modern systems can but see confusion; detecting fitness and congruity in things which to other eyes are repulsive, or at least inharmonious; and recognizing a profound and instructive significance in acts and circumstances, which, for her, are speaking types, while, to all else beside, they present nothing beyond the ordinary relations of human affairs.

To us, who have been taught to know and understand the true nature of the Church's commission on earth, all this presents itself as natural and intelligible. It is but a perpetuation of the gift, which every one who has formed even a superficial acquaintance with the ancient expositions of Scripture in the Homilies, and commentaries of the

Fathers, has, a hundred times, had occasion to admire. To a Protestant mind it may, in some respects, be otherwise. But, at least, in all that regards the examination of the sense of Holy Scripture, for the purpose of discovering the true doctrines contained therein, Protestants, if they do not lay claim to a stronger consciousness of obligation, must, at least, feel with ourselves that it is impossible to exaggerate the necessity of a full, minute, and critical investigation. For those in whose eyes the Scriptures constitute the final tribunal, it is clear that to be content with a partial, an imperfect, or a superficial examination, would be a perversion of all order. In the many books which compose the Holy Scripture, as in every other collection of independent sources of information bearing upon the same subject, it cannot fail to happen that general statements are frequently to be qualified or restricted by particular exceptions; that the meaning which a passage, if taken in its isolation would seem at first sight to bear, is seriously modified by the incidents out of which it has arisen, the circumstances by which it is accompanied, or the subsequent explanation which it may have received; or that the signification which naturally attaches to a phrase or sentence is materially affected by a consideration of some peculiar use of language on the part of the writer by whom it is recorded. For *any* student of the Holy Scripture to neglect all of these considerations, is to expose himself to the danger of doubtful or false interpretation. But, whatever may be said of a Catholic who has the authority of the Church to fall back upon, for a *Protestant* to do so, is plainly to exhibit an utter indifference to the very foundation of his religious belief.

These observations have been suggested to our mind by a comparison of the very opposite methods of interpretation adopted in reference to the same passages of Scripture in the publications which are named at the head of these pages. Of these, the first is by a dignitary of the Anglican Church; the second and third are by members of our own communion. They all profess precisely the same object, namely, to discuss the scriptural evidences on which the alleged primacy of St. Peter above the other Apostles is made to rest. In all, the discussion is confined exclusively to the Scripture, except that in Mr. Allies' volume, which is a compilation from the larger work of Father Passaglia, there is an occasional reference to some of the interpre-

tations of the passages under examination, which have been adopted by the more remarkable among the Fathers. It would be difficult, therefore, to find a more apt illustration of the opposite methods of interpretation of Scripture—the Catholic and the Protestant—than may be drawn from a comparison of these works. The subject itself is one whose importance to both sides it is impossible to exaggerate; “one which,” to use the words of the Bishop of Salisbury, “we may safely assert to be the foundation of the whole system of the Church of Rome; as indeed the great controversialist, Bellarmine, explicitly declares that the whole of Christianity depends upon it,”* and to the consideration of which, if to that of any controversy by which Christians are divided, we may expect every resource of criticism to be devoted by the advocates of the rival opinions regarding it.

And, first, although it may strike an uninterested observer as extraordinary, considering the respective opinions of the parties as to the function of Sacred Scripture in deciding questions of faith, that the Protestant advocate should, in a few pages, dispose of the whole mass of scriptural evidence to which the writers upon the Catholic side have each devoted several hundred laborious pages, yet we do not mean to dwell upon this seeming anomaly. A lengthened discussion of the texts of Scripture on which the controversy turns, would, of course, be out of place, and, indeed, entirely impracticable, in a sermon addressed to a mixed congregation. But it is perfectly possible, nevertheless, for a writer, even in the space of a few pages, at least, to indicate the principles of interpretation by which he is guided, quite as completely as in a lengthened treatise; and we purpose to judge the Bishop of Salisbury by the principles upon which he decides the sense of Scripture in this particular instance, rather than by what he has actually written in defence of his interpretation. Now we cannot hesitate to say that it has seldom been our lot to meet such an example of captious and superficial interpretation, so much slurring over every inconvenient point, so much suppression of essential evidence, and so many of the familiar devices of polemical special pleading, as in the few but pregnant pages of his Lordship of Salisbury. We should not, of course, have expected him to enter into the

* Sermon, p. 17.

minutiæ of the various points arising out of the consideration of each of the texts which he considers ; but we hold him bound to have stated, or, at least, to have indicated the substance of, the main arguments which arise therefrom. Perhaps, too, it would be unreasonable to expect that he should have referred to each and every text which bears upon the subject ; but he should not at least have altogether suppressed one of the most important of the entire. Still more, he should not have excluded from the consideration of his hearers an entire class of passages, the whole scope and bearing of which are (from their connected character), perhaps of more importance than any isolated passage can be. Above all, while he does this he should not profess to exhaust the whole body of scriptural evidence on the subject, and assure his readers (p. 18) that no other passage of the New Testament "is capable of being wrested by any ingenuity, so as to support the pretension" of any right on the part of St. Peter "to governing the universal Church ; or any supremacy of power over the other Apostles ; or any larger insight into spiritual truths, or power of declaring it than they enjoyed." (ibid.)

Neither is it consistent with that fair and candid discussion to which every sincere enquirer, and particularly every advocate of the sufficiency of Scripture, is obliged, to dismiss a most important and vital passage, one which is, in truth, almost the Catholic stronghold in the controversy, with a sweeping and unceremonious assertion, that "no one," he presumes, "would say that in itself it describes an office which did not belong to the other Apostles as well as St. Peter." (p. 19.) The fact being, that every Catholic theologian, without exception, says precisely this, and nothing else ; and that *every* Catholic commentator on the passage, from the Fathers downwards, not alone unhesitatingly understands it as describing an office not common to the other Apostles with St. Peter, but as actually conveying to Peter a primacy above the rest—that peculiar privilege of the primacy which St. Ambrose * calls the "primacy of faith !"

Now, be it remembered, we are not speaking here of the case of a writer, who, relying on extrinsic authority as the main, or at least the ultimate, ground of his faith,

* De Incarnatione, c. 4. n. 32. *Opera*, II. 710.

should feel himself at liberty to accommodate the language of Scripture to the interpretation propounded by that authority. It is clear that, whatever we may hold as to the justice of the principles upon which such a writer proceeds, we cannot regard him as seeking to ascertain the genuine sense of the Scripture itself, as an independent source of divine faith: and at all events, such a proceeding is in direct antagonism to the position of one who, like the bishop of Salisbury, regards the authority of Scripture as in any way final in matters of controversy.

It is pleasant to turn from this weak and superficial reasoner to the two masterly performances which we have contrasted with his essay. With the authors of both our readers are long familiar:—with the first by his frequent and valuable contributions to the pages of this journal, and the long series of brilliant and original essays which have appeared from his pen during the last four years under the title of “The Irish Annual Miscellany;” with the other, by the learned and singularly candid work on the Anglican Church which preceded his secession from Anglicanism, and the admirable essay on the historical evidences of the Primacy of Rome which heralded his conversion to the Catholic Church.

Dr. Murray’s Dissertation on “The Supremacy of St. Peter and his Successors,” forms one of the *Theological Essays* of the Irish Annual Miscellany, and occupies no less than four hundred 8vo. pages of the third and fourth volumes of the series. Mr. Allies’s book is intended as a sequel, perhaps we should rather say a companion, to the volume on the Roman Primacy already alluded to.

Both works address themselves exclusively to the scriptural arguments for and against the primacy of St. Peter. They present, therefore, a fair specimen of the Catholic system of interpretation; and the course pursued in them may be regarded as not inaptly illustrating, by actual examples, the principles and practice of Catholic Hermeneutics.

One of the most curious circumstances connected with the comparison of these two works is, their complete independence of each other, both as to the general order of their reasoning on the passages on which in common they rely, and as to the heads of argument which they select from

each of these passages. In a subject which has so often been traversed by controversialists, and in which the sources of argument, both on the Catholic and on the Protestant side, may well be supposed to have been exhausted, it is of course hard to expect even a semblance of originality, strictly so called; and, indeed, Mr. Allies's work is avowedly but a compilation, adapted to popular use, from the scholastic lectures of the learned Jesuit Father Passaglia.* And yet we cannot but regard both of these new Essays, and especially the former, as displaying great originality, not merely in the manner of treating the argument, but even in the selection of the arguments themselves.

It will appear strange, too, that two authors writing on the same subject, without concert with each other, using the same common sources of information, adopting the same traditionary line of argument, and following the same established polemical precedents, should not in very many things have fallen into precisely the same track, and proved, upon the whole, little more than echoes of each other, or of some common original. And yet so it is. Notwithstanding the identity of their subject, the two works present but few points of resemblance; and it is a curious testimony to the originality of both, that a reader fresh from the perusal of the first, may turn with undiminished interest to the second, as to a new and perfectly independent treatment of the same subject.

Much of this, no doubt, is attributable to the different character of the writers themselves; but a great deal, too, is due to the unexhaustible fertility of the great subject which they treat in common. On the one hand, Dr. Murray has suggested and developed, with singular skill and felicity, more than one view of the argument from the celebrated passage of Matthew xvi., to which Mr. Allies has scarcely adverted, or, at most, has but incidentally alluded. On the other, the happiest and most successful portion of Mr. Allies's work is that in which he discusses a class of arguments which Dr. Murray has professedly abstained from considering;—those derived from what we

* Caroli Passaglia, e Societate Jesu, in Romano Collegio Theologiæ Professoris, Commentarius de Prærogativis Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis, Auctoritate divinarum Literarum comprobatis. Ratisbonæ: 1850.

may call the evidences supplied by the Scripture of the actual exercise, on St. Peter's part, of a primacy above the other apostles. And even on those topics which they treat in common, each will be found to have taken distinct and independent views, and each will suggest particular points, or particular views of points, which are less clearly developed by the other.

The great difference between them, however, consists in the manner of treating the evidence. Dr. Murray considers each argument analytically, Mr. Allies more commonly prefers to group them together; and, even where he treats them separately, he dwells more on the general scope and bearing of the text, on its objects and its circumstances, than on the absolute force of the words themselves. As a searching critical investigation of these celebrated passages, often as they have been subjected to examination, we know no work which we could compare with that of Dr. Murray. As a popular essay upon the moral force of the argument to be derived from them, in their entirety, Mr. Allies's volume is equally admirable.

We must not be understood, however, as implying that Dr. Murray's *Essay on the Supremacy* is not, in the best sense of the phrase, a popular book, and perfectly adapted even for the untheological reader. It is true that the author follows much more closely than is usual, in what is called popular theology, the really essential forms of scholastic reasoning. No schoolman of the most black letter age ever stated a question with more precision, or distinguished with more subtlety what is essential to Catholic faith, from what is free to the discussion of the schools. No one has observed more religiously all that is vital in the forms of scholastic argumentation, or turned to more signal advantage the lucid order and method which, for an unbiassed mind, outweigh the baldness and dryness, at the expense of which these great qualities are too often purchased by the scholastics. But, nevertheless, the ease and simplicity of his language, the brilliancy of his style, the felicity of his illustrations, the manly and dignified energy of his manner, would suffice to impart a simple beauty of their own to forms far more inelegant, and to give animation and vigour to the driest skeleton that ever issued from the workshop of the schools. We have had occasion already to express our admiration of this singularly happy union of qualities in many other of Dr. Murray's essays.

But it is especially remarkable in the present volumes, not only in the Essay on the Primacy, but also in those on "Infallibility," "Reason and Faith," and above all, that on "Equivocation and Mental Reservation."

We shall be able, however, to illustrate the varieties of method and style which characterize these two able writers, by placing them both in contrast with the flippant but superficial reasonings of the bishop of Salisbury.

We will not dwell upon the argument from the twenty-second chapter of St. Luke, and the charge of "confirming his brethren," which is there entrusted to St. Peter. This most striking and important passage is not only passed over in silence by the Protestant advocate, but is equivocally declared "incapable of being wrested by any ingenuity so as to support such a pretension." Now we can hardly explain to ourselves how any controversialist of the most ordinary information, could possibly be ignorant that this passage not only is used by every Catholic writer, as one of the main evidences of the primacy of St. Peter, (and especially of his "Primacy of Faith,") but is, moreover, the great stronghold of the ultramontane school, and their leading argument, as well of the papal infallibility, as of all the cognate privileges of the supremacy. There is not a single ultramontane divine, from the first to the last, —from Bellarmine to Passaglia—who has not pressed it into service. The later writers particularly, and those with whom we should expect a Protestant controversialist to be most familiar,—Roccaberti, Lupus, Zaccaria, the two Ballerini, Muzzarelli, Cappellari, (afterward Gregory XVI.) even Perrone, (and his views and opinions, at all events, might have been learned at second-hand, from Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*;)—all these place the passage from Luke xxii. so undisguisedly in the very front of their array of argument, that we can hardly imagine any one presuming to speak, much more to write upon the subject, and yet so ignorant of its very rudiments as not to be aware of the importance attached to this passage by them all. We would gladly place before our readers the full and elaborate chapter which Dr. Murray has devoted to the elucidation of this text. But it is too long to be extracted entire, and the force of the argument would be diminished by any curtailment.

We prefer to turn to the still more celebrated passage

from Matt. xvi. On this passage the bishop of Salisbury contents himself with the following flippant commentary :

" Suffice it to say, as to the first and more important passage, that in its terms it expresses not the actual conferring of a gift at the time itself, but a promise of it at some future time—a promise which in a following chapter is repeated to the Apostles collectively in the very same words which in this passage describe its practical effect when it is said by our Lord : ' Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.'—Matt. xviii. 18.) And, if we look further for the fulfilment of this promise, we find it nowhere made to St. Peter apart from the other apostles, but to him in common with them in the solemn words recorded in John xx. 22, 23 : ' Receive ye the Holy Ghost ; whose sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained.'"—*Sermon*, p. 18.

It is difficult to imagine special pleading like this—so shallow and so patent—compatible with even a shadow of good faith. The writer begins by suppressing what he could hardly have avoided knowing to be the strongest and most vital portion of the argument ; and he gets rid of the rest by a palpable evasion. The promise addressed to Peter contains three parts, expressed by three distinct metaphors ;—(1) that of the Rock on which the Church was to be built, and against which the gates of hell should never prevail ;—(2) that of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven ;—(3) that of the power of binding and loosing. Now of these the bishop of Salisbury coolly passes by the first and second altogether ; and he quietly disposes of the third by representing it as embodying the whole substance of our Lord's promise to Peter. We are bound to add, however, that in this suppression, gross and unjustifiable as it is, his Lordship's good faith has at least this defence, that the suppression is not for him original. He is in this but an echo of Barrow and of the entire body of Anti-Roman controversialists, inconsistent as the proceeding may appear with the professions as to the sufficiency of Scripture. Dr. Murray has formally anticipated this objection, and replies to it at length, (Vol. iv. pp. 218, and foll.) detailing with all that clearness and precision by which every emanation from his pen is distinguished, the plain and striking points of difference between the *four distinct promises* made to Peter alone, and the one promise (made to him also alone, but) made to him in common with the

other apostles. We can only afford space for the latter portion of his reply to Barrow's objection, which, of course bears equally upon the repetition of it in the bishop's *Sermon*.

"The power of binding and loosing, which was given to all the Apostles together, was, on a different occasion, given specially and individually to Peter, and specially and individually to him alone. He therefore received what no other Apostle received, nor all the rest together without him. For, as the power of binding and loosing, in the way in which it was conferred upon the twelve, made them the supreme ruling *body* over the whole Church, so, being conferred on Peter individually in exactly the same manner, in words of exactly the same import, it made him the supreme ruling *individual* over the whole. If twelve men are appointed in a body as officers over a newly formed regiment, and one of their number, and he alone, receives a distinct appointment as officer over the regiment, is it not plain that he has received not merely an honorary title, but a real power which no other officer has received? Is it not plain that while the twelve in a body are the *heads* of the regiment, he and he alone is the *head* of it? This is not the way in which appointments are actually made among men, whether in Church or State—the form of the institution of the Episcopate being in this respect peculiar—and therefore our minds, accustomed to take what we see as the type of our conceptions, do not at once take in the new idea in all its completeness and reality. It is necessary for us to abstract from those aspects in the every-day realities about us, which make the difference between them and the reality under consideration. Undoubtedly *if* a number of officers or magistrates or rulers of any kind, were appointed by competent authority over any body of subjects, as the Apostles were appointed over the whole Church, and *if* one of their number received the same specific appointment, distinct from his fellow-rulers, which St. Peter received distinct from the other Apostles—*if* such a thing occurred, undoubtedly men would at once interpret the relative jurisdictions of the one specially constituted ruler and of the rest, as I have interpreted the relative jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the Apostles, nor would it enter any one's mind to understand the matter otherwise.

"The power of binding and loosing is the only power conferred on the Apostles together, and conferred, *in the same form of words or under the same image*, separately on Peter alone. But the same principle applies to all that was given separately to Peter, and given to the Apostles collectively, whether given on both occasions in the same form or not."—*Irish Miscellany*, vol. iv., pp. 225—7.

A still more curious specimen of the flippant, we had almost said petulant, style of criticism, by which the

bishop disposes of the Catholic evidences of the promises of St. Peter, is to be found in this passage in which he deals with the argument from our Lord's charge to St. Peter, John xxi. to "feed His lambs," and "His sheep." He thinks it quite enough to say of this passage that "touching as it is, as a record of our Lord's loving compassion towards His fellow servant, no one, he presumes, would say that in itself it describes an office which did not belong to the other apostles as well as to St. Peter." And of both he asserts, that "we may safely assert, that according to any interpretation which can be put upon them, they do not declare in any precise terms more than some especial honour and dignity to be ascribed to St. Peter; a claim which may be freely conceded without at all affecting the question of his supremacy or power, or of any superior privilege over the other apostles in respect of the delivery of doctrinal truth." (P. 20.)

We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of contrasting with this superficial gloss of our Lord's words the full and searching criticism of their true import and signification, contained in Dr. Murray's most able argument upon the passage. We must confine ourselves to one single point, that in which he investigates the meaning of the metaphor, as employed both in the Scriptures and in profane writers.

"The words *to feed—to tend as a shepherd—to be a shepherd*, occur in the Scriptures, in both literal and metaphorical senses. Whenever they are used metaphorically and of men, in reference to men, that is, whenever a man is said, in a metaphorical sense, to be a shepherd of men, to feed or tend them as a shepherd, it is thereby invariably signified that he has authority over them; and if he be the one shepherd, of course that he has supreme jurisdiction over them. The sovereignty of God, of the Messias, of earthly monarchs, was thus designated.

"Then all the tribes of Israel came to David in Hebron, saying: Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh; moreover yesterday also and the day before, when Saul was king over us, thou wast he that did lead out and bring in Israel, and the Lord said to thee: Thou shalt feed (ποιμανεῖς) my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince (εἰς ἡγούμενον) over Israel.'—II. Kings, v. 1, 2. The same *Paralipom.*, xi. 2. See also II. Kings, vii. 7; I. Paralip., xvii. 6.

"The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy posses-

sion. Thou shalt rule (ποιμαίνεις) them with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.'—*Psalm* ii. 7, etc.

" 'The Lord ruleth (ποιμαίνει) me, and I shall want nothing.'—*Psalm* xxii. 1.

" 'Save, O Lord, thy people, and bless thy inheritance; and feed (ποιμανον—*Vulg.* 'rule') them, and exalt them for ever.'—*Psalm* xxvii. 9.

" 'For this is God, our God unto eternity, and for ever and ever; he shall rule us for evermore.' (ποιμανει ἡμας εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας)—*Psalm* xlvii. 15.

" 'He chose his servant David, and took him from the flocks of sheep.....to feed (ποιμαίνειν) Jacob his servant, and Israel his inheritance; and he fed (εποιμανεν) them in the innocence of his heart.'—*Psalm* lxxvii. 70, etc.

" 'Give ear, O thou that rulest (art the shepherd of—ὁ ποιμαίνων) Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep.'—*Psalm* lxxix. 2.

" 'Behold the Lord God shall come with strength, and his arm shall rule.....He shall feed his flock like a shepherd.' (ὡς ποιμην ποιμανει τὸ ποιμνιον αὐτου)—*Isaias* xl. 10, 11.

" 'And I will give you pastors (ποιμενας) according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine.' (καὶ ποιμανουσιν ὑμας ποιμανοντες μετ' ἐπιστημης)—*Jeremias* iii. 15.

" 'Is this man Jechonias an earthen and a broken vessel?..... Thus saith the Lord, write this man barren.....for there shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne of David, and have power any more in Juda. Wo to the pastors (ποιμενες) that destroy and tear the sheep of my pasture. Therefore, thus saith the Lord the God of Israel to the pastors that feed (ποιμαινωντας) my people, You have scattered my flock.....I will set up pastors over them, and they shall feed them (ποιμενας οἱ ποιμανουσιν αὐτους)And I will raise up to David a just branch, and a king shall reign (καὶ βασιλευσει βασιλευς)'—*Jeremias* xxii. 28, etc.; xxiii. 1. etc.

" 'Prophecy concerning the shepherds (ποιμενας) of Israel.....

Wo to the shepherds of Israel that feed (βοσκουνσι) themselves: should not the flocks be fed (βοσκοσι) by the shepherds.....My flock you do not feed (βοσκετε)I will feed (βοσκησω) my sheep and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God.....And I will set up one servant over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David: he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David the prince in the midst of them. (Καὶ ἀναστήσω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ποιμένα ἓνα, καὶ ποιμανει αὐτοὺς, τὸν δούλον μου Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ποιμην; καὶ ἐγὼ Κύριος ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεόν, καὶ Δαβὶδ ἀρχὼν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν)."

I might quote the whole chapter in full, for every verse of it shows in the clearest manner that the idea of shepherd of men involved that of general authority, superintendence, etc.

" In *Micneas*, v. 2, etc., occurs the celebrated prophecy regard-

ing the Messiah. 'And thou Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda. Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler (*αρχοντα*) in Israel: and his going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity.....And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord (*και ποιμανει το ποιμνιον*)'—See *Matthew* ii, 6.

"Feed (*ποιμανει*) thy people with thy rod, the flock of thy inheritance.'—*Micheas* vii. 14.

"See also *Zacharias*, xi., etc., etc., etc.

"Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to rule the Church (*ποιμανειν την εκκλησιαν*) of God.'—*Acts* xx. 28.

"Feed (*ποιμανατε*) the flock of God which is among you, taking care [of it] not by constraint, but willingly.'—I. *Peter* v. 2.

"And she brought a man-child, who was to rule (*ποιμανειν*) all nations with an iron rod.'—*Apoc.* xii. 5. See also xix. 15 etc. etc.

The word shepherd is frequently used with a similar metaphorical import in both the Old and New Testament. It is now unnecessary to quote farther, as the usage of Scripture language in respect of this metaphor must be abundantly evident from the citations already made. We have seen that to be the shepherd of men is, everywhere, to be the ruler of men; that the authority of prophets, of kings, and even of the Deity himself, is constantly symbolized by this metaphor. To appoint Peter, therefore, to be the shepherd of the whole Church, is to appoint him to be ruler and pastor of the whole Church.

The use of this metaphor was not so common among the ancient Greeks, and still less among the Romans. This, no doubt, arose partly from the fact, that the nomadic life which formerly prevailed in the East, and to this day prevails in several parts of Asia, was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It arose also from the fact, that in the East, the head of the tribe was also a shepherd, possessing immense flocks, as we see in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Hence, and also because of his relationship with the members of the tribe, and from other circumstances, his sway was regarded as of a paternal and pastoral kind; and his cruelties and other violations of duty were represented as violations of the office of a good shepherd. On the contrary, regal authority in Greece and Rome was the prize of superior cleverness or brute force, and had nothing of the father or shepherd associated in idea with it. So that the word (*τυραννος*), which was frequently used to signify an absolute sovereign, signified also a tyrant; and from it our word *tyrant* is derived. Nevertheless, in the most ancient of Greek writers—at that period when the traces of oriental imagery and phraseology were less faint than in after times—we find the metaphor not unfrequently used. Thus—

"Agamemnon is called the shepherd of the people: 'Ος φητε,

νικειων Αγαμεμνονα ποιμενα λαων.—*Il.* II. 243. So also IV. 414 : XIX. 35, 251 : *Odys.*, IV. 532: XIV. 497.

"Menelaus—Βῆ δὲ δια προμαχων' περὶ γὰρ εἶε ποιμενὶ λαων.—*Il.*, V. 566. So also 570. *Odys.* IV. 24.

"Atreus—Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄντε Πελοψ' ἔωκ' Ἀτρεΐ ποιμενὶ λαων.—*Il.*, II. 105.

"Nestor—'Οἱ δ' ἐπανεστησαν, πειθοντο τε τοιμενὶ λαων.—*Il.*, II. 85. So also XXIII. 411 : *Odys.*, XV. 151.

"Achilles—Πατρόκλος δ' Ἀχιλλεΐ παρίστατο ποιμενὶ λαων.—*Il.*, XVI. 2. So also XIX. 386.

"Hector— ——— Ἀλλ' οὐτις ἐδυνήσατο ποιμενα λαων
Οὐτάσαι οὐδὲ βαλεῖν.—*Il.*, XIV. 423. So also XV. 262: XXII. 277.

"Æneas—'Ηκε, καὶ ἐν στηθεσσι μένος βάλε ποιμενὶ λαων.—*Il.* V. 513. So also XX. 110.

"As to modern usage, we deal very sparingly in metaphors of this kind, nor are kings or other civil rulers to us, any more than they were to the ancient Romans, in the light of fathers or shepherds. Moreover, the office of shepherd, so highly honourable among the ancient Eastern nations, is with us purely menial. Hence, it is not to be wondered at, that we do not use this metaphor in speaking of regal or other exalted power. The only public office, with which, in our minds, is associated the idea of shepherd or father, is the priesthood. We call bishops and others who have the care of souls, *pastors*; though, as I have already remarked, the word is really no longer metaphorical, and coming to us in the consecrated traditional language of earlier times, rather witnesses to the former use of the metaphor, than furnishes an example of its modern use."—*Irish Miscellany*, vol. iv. pp. 87—94.

We pass over that portion of the argument in which it is shown that our Lord's charge to "feed His lambs and His sheep," implies a commission embracing all the members of His Church, in order to make room for one other extract. The Bishop of Salisbury contends that even admitting "that St. Peter in his own person had, beyond question, these attributes of pre-eminence and form which are claimed for him," it must still be held that "*these are personal gifts.*" The question still remains, he contends, whether St. Peter either "transmitted them to his successors, or was empowered so to do;" and on this point he holds that there is not one word in Scripture on which such a supposition can be made to rest. (p. 22.) We shall not offer any apology for the length of the extract which we propose to place in contrast with this hardy assertion. We offer it not alone for the sake of the light which it throws upon this most important branch of the controversy—the permanency of the institution of the Primacy, but also

and perhaps even more, as an illustration of the beauty and harmony of the Scriptural evidence of Catholic truth, and of the fearlessness with which a Catholic controversialist may pursue to their most hidden depths the investigation of those passages in which the great dogmas of faith have been delivered, not only without fear of discovering consequences at variance with the doctrine which they involve, but even with a perfect confidence that this doctrine will but meet the sure, and more harmonious confirmation, in proportion to the fulness of the development of the Scripture argument on which it is based.

After having explained the several arguments for St. Peter's Primacy contained in the celebrated passage of Matt. xvi., Dr. Murray proceeds to prove from a consideration of the office such as it is described in that passage, that it was designed by our Lord "to remain permanently and for ever in the Church." It will be seen that his argument is nothing more than a development of the natural force and meaning of the passage employed by our Lord in addressing St. Peter.

"FIRST: The image of *Rock* under which this supremacy is symbolized indicates permanency in the most forcible manner. The supremacy was, as we have seen, instituted by our Lord as an office, the supreme office in the Church. Peter, as invested with that office, was the Rock of the Church. It was not the flesh and bones of Peter that were the Rock; nor were his faith and love and other like supernatural endowments alone; it was moreover his Primacy. And this Primacy, typified by the Rock, must be a stable, enduring, unfailing thing; not to die with Peter, and follow his flesh and bones into the grave.

"SECONDLY: That the Church of Christ was designed to be not a temporary, provisional institution, like the Church of the Old Law, but a permanent institution to last to the end of the world, is a proposition, I presume, admitted by every class of Protestants to whom the present Essay would address itself. It is proved clearly from the very text before us, and from innumerable other parts of the Old and New Testaments: *e. g.* 'In the days of these kingdoms the God of Heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and his kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people: and it shall break in pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever'—*Dan. ii. 44.* 'Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world'—*Matth. xxviii. 20.* 'I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever'—*John, xiv. 16:* etc., etc. But I may here take the proposition for granted, without further argument.

"Now the Rock is here represented as essential to the Church ; just as essential to the existence of the Church, as the ground on which a house is built is to the existence of the house. Let the former be taken away, let it fail, and the latter instantly falls. The sovereign authority, the Primacy of Peter, is what the rock typifies. Consequently, as the Church is to last for ever, it is to last for ever.

"THIRDLY : The constitution of the Church, as fashioned and established by God, was destined to be unchangeable. He *alone* is the architect and builder and maker of the Church—'I will build *my* Church'—'The head Christ, *from whom the whole body* (*πᾶν τὸ σῶμα*) being compacted and fitly joined together'—*Ephes.* iv. 15, 16 ; etc., etc. It is not in man's power to alter God's institutions, any more than it is in man's power to alter God's law—indeed they *are* his law. Man's alterations in God's work, are not God's work, nor recognized by him. 'Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up'—*Matth.* xv. 13.

"But it has been proved that the Primatial office is a part of the constitution of the Church as moulded and established by Christ. Therefore the Primacy was designed to be perpetuated in the Church.

"FOURTHLY : We have proved that the Primacy was established for the support and defence of the Church : that it is through the Rock that the Church is to receive and retain her strength. But the Church was manifestly designed by God to be always strong and secure. Therefore the root and principle of her strength and security were always to remain with her.

"FIFTHLY : In continuation of the same, the Church is to be for ever at war with the 'Gates of Hell : ' between her, and the Devil, and the World, and the Flesh, there can never be peace or compromise. The Church is always victorious over these enemies : and we have proved that she is victorious *because* she is built on the Rock. From the Rock, through the Rock, by the Rock, she triumphs : as she triumphs always and for ever, therefore she has the Rock with her always and for ever.

"SIXTHLY : We have proved that the Rock was established for the purpose of imparting unity to the Church. On the Rock, through the Rock, she is unrent, undivided, not two churches, or many churches, but one Church—'I will build *my* Church,' not my churches, not my divisions or parts of a church, but *MY* CHURCH.

"But the Church was destined to be always One, as she came from the hands of her Maker. 'As thou hast sent me into the world, I also have sent them into the world. And for them do I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in truth. And not for them only do I pray, for them also who through their word shall believe in me ; that they all (*πάντες*) may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee ; that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which

thou hast given me, I have given to them, that they may be *one*, as we also are one: *I in them, and thou in me*; that they may be made perfect in one (τετελειωμενοι εις εν); and the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast also loved me'—John, xvii. 18, etc.

"Here we see that the unity for which Christ prayed was the unity of the whole Church; a unity of the most perfect kind, likened to the unity of the Divine Persons in one God; a unity so resplendent in the Church, that the world would see therein a proof of the *divine origin* of the Church, and of her *sanctity*; a unity which Christ characterized in such strong words, and so earnestly prayed for; a unity which was to be the mark of his Church; a unity which he therefore designed to be perpetual in his Church. I am not now discussing, I should rather suppose, the unity of the Church, as destined to be permanent; and therefore I abstain from further observations on it.

'Therefore the Rock, which is the principle of this unity destined to be perpetual, was itself destined to be perpetual.

"SEVENTHLY: The Primacy was *instituted* not for Peter's individual behoof, but for the benefit of the universal Church. It was indeed conferred on him in preference to the other Apostles, on account of his preëminent merits; just as a civil office is conferred on one man rather than another, on account of his superior fitness, but is not created for his aggrandizement, but for the common weal. That the office of Primacy was not *created* for Peter's aggrandizement, but for the common good of the Church, is manifest.

"I. From the nature of the thing. It is *prima facie* infinitely improbable that an office of such enormous magnitude would be established as the simple reward of the merits, however eminent, of any individual. Public offices of authority, especially of high and extensive authority, involve in their very idea the simple relation of the welfare of those over whom the authority is to be exercised. The creation of such an office for the primary or secondary purpose of rewarding individual services, jars with our conceptions of wise and just government. The ruler is for the people, not the people for him. I do not assert that it is absolutely repugnant in God to establish such an office for such end. But certainly when we have the simple establishment of the office, we are, as a matter of course, to understand it as for the common good, unless the contrary were clearly stated.

"II. I know of no instance in the whole Bible, and I am quite sure—as sure as I can be without examining the whole Bible for the specific purpose of ascertaining this point—that there is no instance of God or any of his divinely-commissioned delegates having created any office of jurisdiction for any individual's recompense. On the contrary, we see everywhere that offices of power are established directly and exclusively for the public good. Thus, 'If thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him

between him and thee alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother. And if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more.....And if he will not hear them, tell the Church..... Amen I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind on Earth, etc.—All power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth; going therefore, teach ye all nations, etc.—Go ye into the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, etc.—You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit, etc.—Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, etc. (*Matt.* xviii. xxviii. *Mark*, xvi. *John*, xv. xx.; etc.)

“Here the express object of the institution and conferring of these various powers, is to gain a brother, to bring to the faith, to cleanse from sin, etc.

“III. The very words in which our Lord confers the Primacy show distinctly the end of its establishment—to secure and consolidate the Church; which I have already explained at such length as to render any further exposition or application unnecessary.

“If then the office of the Primacy was established for the good of the universal Church; for the preservation of it, as we have seen, in its integrity and unity; there is no further and more explicit declaration required to signify to us its perpetuity. This follows from the nature of the thing. The Primacy was for the Church as *founded*: the Apostolate, as *such*, was for the Church as *being founded*, for the *founding* of the Church. As the latter would, from the nature of the thing, not pass beyond the original founders: so the former would, from the nature of the thing, continue as it began. Indeed, the Primacy would be more necessary after the Apostles had departed; and would naturally not come into full operation until after their departure. The Primacy was established for the good of the Church; and, as the good of the Church requires this office at all times, not only as much as in the Apostolic age, but far more, it was therefore to last for all time.”—*Irish Annual Miscellany*, vol. iii. pp. 319-327.

The length to which these extracts have run leaves us but small space for Mr. Allies's work, although, as we have already said, it may be regarded as almost an entirely independent treatment of the subject. It would be easy to produce from the portions of his volume, in which the texts from *Matt.* xvi., *Luke* xxii., and *John* xxi., are discussed, many various illustrations of the copiousness and variety of the evidences upon the Catholic side, by exhibiting the different arguments drawn from each of the texts, by the two writers, and the different method in which each has developed them. But we prefer to devote

the space which remains at our disposal to one particular portion of the argument which Mr. Allies alone has treated, and to which we have already referred. We are the more induced to do so, because it is a portion of the evidence in favour of St. Peter's Primacy, to which the Bishop of Salisbury has not once alluded, but rather, by implication, has altogether excluded from the case.

The argument in favour of St. Peter's Primacy to which we refer, is that which is supplied by *the history of its actual exercise* contained in the Acts of the Apostles. We must allow Mr. Allies himself to introduce the question.

"Take it as a still doubtful hypothesis whether there exist evangelical testimonies of Peter's *institution* to be head and chief of the Apostles. What needs it to turn this hypothesis into certainty? What should we expect of Peter, if he really had received from Christ the charge of leading the other Apostles? What but that he should never follow, but always be at the head; should close dissensions, weigh and terminate controversies, punish emergent offences, maintain the general discipline, give the support of his counsel and authority in need, and leave undone none of those functions which accompany the office of head and supreme ruler? Hence it is plain that there are two ways, the one absolute, the other hypothetical, by which a decisive judgment may be drawn from the history of the Acts, as to whether Peter's Primacy was instituted in the Gospels. Critics and philosophers are perpetually using both these tests. Thus, the former, 'if a certain work—say the epistles of the martyr Ignatius—be genuine, it ought to contain certain characteristics. But it does contain these, and so is genuine.' Or absolutely, 'a certain work, the Epistles of Ignatius, contains all which we should expect in a genuine work, therefore it is genuine.' The latter infer, 'If bodies be moved by the law of gravitation, they would pass through a certain space under such and such a condition. But this they do, and accordingly are moved by gravitation.' Or absolutely, 'Bodies left to themselves pass through space under such conditions as they would follow, if impelled by gravitation. Accordingly they are so impelled.' Now in the parallel case, 'If Christ in the Gospel pre-ordained a form of Church government, which gathered up the supreme power and visible headship into Peter's hands, the *exercise* of such *institution* ought to be found in the Acts. But it is so found. Therefore,' &c.—or again, 'No one would expect certain acts from Peter, unless he were the head of all the Apostles; and all would fairly expect those acts of Peter, if they recognised him as so set over all by Christ. Now in the general history of the

Apostles we find such acts recorded of Peter, and that not partially, here and there, but in a complete series."—St. Peter, p. 116—7.

Mr. Allies proceeds, in a long and most interesting chapter, (the fifth,) to detail the examples of this exercise of the Primacy on St. Peter's part, and its recognition on the part of the historian, as well as of the other Apostles themselves. It is plain that this is a species of argument to which it is impossible to do justice by any summary. We can but indicate the heads. It is right to state that he considers only that portion of the Acts (the first twelve chapters) which may be regarded as a history of the Apostles in common, in contradistinction to the latter portion, which is a history of St. Paul alone.

Now, in a detailed investigation of this portion of the history, Mr. Allies deduces a general, but forcible argument from the frequency and prominence of the mention of St. Peter; from the leading part assigned to him; from the fact that he is mentioned *directly*, and the other Apostles but *obliquely* and subordinately to him; from his answering for them all; from his acts and speeches alone being recorded in full; in a word,—from the first part of the Acts being substantially a history of St. Peter, that he must have been regarded by the historian as invested with the headship over the body of the Apostles.

We shall content ourselves with the last of the heads to which we have alluded in the above summary.

"Hence; as the Gospel may be called the history of Christ, so this first part of the Acts may be called the history of Peter; for as Christ occupies each page of the Gospels, so Peter here. Nothing can be more emphatic or more just than S. Chrysostome's words: 'Behold him making his rounds on every side, and the first to be found; when an Apostle was to be chosen, he was the first; when the Jews were to be told that they were not drunken; when the lame man was to be healed; when the multitude was to be addressed, he is before the rest; when they had to do with the rulers, it is he; when with Ananias, when healings took place from the shadow, still it is he. Where there was danger, it is he, and where there was dispensation; but when all is tranquil, they act in common. He sought not the greater honour. But again, when miracles are to be worked, he comes forth before the rest.' What can prove Peter's pre-eminence if this does not? But his words on another occasion deserve mention. Alluding to the title 'Acts of the Apostles,' which seems to promise their common history, he observes, 'Yet if you search accurately, the first part of the book

exhibits Peter's miracles and teaching, but little on the part of the other Apostles ; and after this the whole account is spent on Paul.' But he adds, 'How are they the acts of all the Apostles ? Because, according to Paul, when one member is glorified, all the members are glorified with it, the historian did not entitle them, the Acts of Peter and of Paul, but the Acts of the Apostles ; the promise of the writer includes them all.' Now every one must feel the very high distinction given to Paul in the latter part of the book, when the historian turns away from the general history of the Church to record his particular labours, in which, no doubt, the object was to show the progress of the Church among the Gentiles ; but with regard to the part which is common to the whole Church, another thought is suggested. The history of what Peter taught and did, to build up and extend the Church, is considered the common history of the Apostles, and so inscribed as their Acts. But can this be called an *accurate* expression, unless Peter had been the head of the Apostles ? It is very plain that the acts of a head are imputed to the whole body ; to a college of brethren, what its chief executes ; to a city or kingdom, the deeds of its prince. But it is not plain how this can be, if the actor be one of a number, and do not exceed his brethren in honour or dignity. Therefore the Acts of Peter could be called, generally, the Acts of the Apostles, only because they were considered the Acts of their head."—St. Peter, p. 120—2.

But the main force of Mr. Allie's argument is drawn from the special acts of authority attributed to Peter ; from his prominence in the election of the new Apostle, in the working of miracles ; from his presiding over all the successive steps in the propagation of the Church ; from his receiving the Gentiles in the person of Cornelius ; from his exercising supreme judicial power over Ananias ; from his exercising supreme visitatorial power, "visiting all," "throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria;" (Acts ix., 31;) from the part assigned to him in the council of Jerusalem ; and especially from the view taken of all these acts by the early Fathers and commentators on the Acts of the Apostles.

One of these points must suffice as a sample of them all. We shall take the first—St. Peter's part in the election of an Apostle.

"The history in the Acts tells us that Peter alone spoke on the subject of substituting a fresh Apostle for Judas ; Peter alone proved from Scripture the necessity of the election, defined the conditions of eligibility, and appointed the mode of election, and presided over and directed the whole transaction.

"For Luke begins thus : 'In those days,' the interval between the

Ascension and Pentecost, 'Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren, said.' Here the important prerogative of *initiation* is shown to belong to Peter, and by the phrase, 'in the midst of the brethren,' or 'disciples,'—which is often used of Christ in respect of the Apostles—his pre-eminence over the disciples is shown. 'Brethren, it behoved that the Scripture should be fulfilled which the Holy Ghost spoke before by the mouth of David, concerning Judas, who was the leader of them who apprehended Jesus, who was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry,' that is, of the Apostolate. Then having mentioned the miserable end of the traitor, he applies to him the prophecy: 'For it is written in the Book of Psalms, 'Let his habitation become desolate, and let there be none to dwell therein:' and,' adding another prophecy from another Psalm, 'his bishopric let another take.' Whence he concludes, 'Wherefore of these men who have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, until the day wherein He was taken up from us, one of these *must* be made a witness with us of His resurrection.' In these words Peter plainly points out the *necessity* of the matter in question, confirms it by the Holy Scriptures, speaking in the character of their highest interpreter, and as the appointed teacher of all; and, while proposing it to their deliberation, yet requires their consent; for the phrase, 'wherefore one *must*,' means, 'I am not proposing what may be done or left undone, but declaring and prescribing what is to be done.' So he determines the conditions of eligibility, and the form of election. Whereupon his hearers—'the number of persons together about an hundred and twenty'—instantly agree unanimously to Peter's proposition, follow its conditions, and complete the election.

"No one can reflect on the above without concluding, that if Peter presided over the rest by the authority of a divinely chosen headship, no course could be more becoming, both for Peter and for the disciples, than this; and if, on the contrary, Peter was only one out of many, not having yet even received the Pentecostal gifts of the Holy Spirit, and had been entrusted by Christ with no pre-eminent office in the ministry, nothing could be more unfitting for both. We have therefore to infer that Peter 'stood in the midst of the disciples,' as a superior among inferiors, not as an equal among equals, and conceived that the charge of supplying an Apostle, and filling up an Apostolic college, belonged in chief to himself, because he and they alike were conscious, that he was the steward set in chief over the Lord's family.

"But, clear as this is on the face of the narration itself, fresh light is shed on it by the fact that S. Chrysostome observed and recorded this very conclusion. For why did Peter alone arise? Why was he the first and the only one to speak? 'Both as fervent, and as one entrusted by Christ with the flock, and as the first of the choir,

he ever first begins to speak.' Why does he allege prophecy? First, that he may not seem with human counsel 'to attempt a great matter, and one fitted for Christ:' next to imitate his Master, 'he always reasons from the Scriptures.' 'Why did he not singly ask of Christ to give him some one in the place of Judas?' Because 'Peter had now improved,' and overcome his natural disposition. But '*might not Peter by himself have elected?*' Certainly: but he does not so, that he may not seem partial.' 'Why does he communicate this to them,' the whole number of the names? 'That the matter may not be contested, nor they fall into strife: for' (he alludes to the contention of the Apostles for the primacy,) if this had happened to themselves, much more would it to the others,' that is, the candidates to succeed Judas. Then he points out to our admiration 'Peter doing this with common consent, nothing with authority, nothing with lordship,' where we must note that the *abuse* of a power is only to be feared from one who really has that power. For again he says, 'he first acts with authority in the matter, *as having himself all put into his hands*, for to him Christ said, 'And thou in thy turn one day confirm thy brethren.'"—St. Peter, p. 122—5.

Nothing can be more forcible than Mr. Allies's summary conclusion from all these facts taken collectively.

"The four points just mentioned may be reduced to a triple authority, a Primacy *magisterial*, *judicial*, and *legislative*. Let us take in at one glance what has been said of Peter in regard to each of these.

"As to the *magisterial*, or power of authoritative teaching, and general administration, Peter is constantly taking the lead, he is the mouthpiece of the Apostles: he alone, or he first, by teaching plants the Churches; he alone, or he in chief, completes them when planted; he it is who by divine revelation given to himself, discloses to the rest the dispensation of God; and he in words full of power sets forth to these assembled in council the course which they are to pursue.

"As to the *judicial*, none other judgments are found in that portion of the Acts which contains the history of the whole Church, save those of which he was either the *sole* or the *chief* author. Alone he took cognisance of Ananias and Sapphira, and alone he punished them. And Simon he censured in chief, and excommunicated.

"As to the *legislative*, Peter alone promulgated the law as to receiving the Gentiles; alone he prescribed that for abrogating the Mosaic ceremonial ordinances; and he was the chief author of the decree which expressed in terms his own previous act, and was put forth in common by the Apostles and Ancients.

"Again, compare the *institution* of the Primacy with its *exercise*. Its institution consisted in three things. 1. That Peter was named

by Christ the foundation of the Church, with whom its whole fabric was most intimately to cohere, and from whom it should derive visible unity and impregnable strength : 2. That the authority of universal pastor, and the care of the whole fold, was committed to him : 3. That to him belonged the confirmation of his brethren, and a power of the keys to which all were subject. Now consider the execution.

“As foundation of the Church, he gathers up to himself congregations from the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Gentiles.

“As universal pastor, he collects from these three the flock, nourishes, defends, inspects it, and fills up one place of highest rank in the ministry forfeited by the traitor.

“As confirmer of the brethren, he discloses to them the heavenly vision, signifying the universal calling of the Gentiles, and the abrogation of the Mosaic law. He acts in the Lord’s household as the bearer of the keys, going to all parts, defending and inspecting all. By himself he binds and looses, calling Ananias and Sapphira to his tribunal, and excommunicating the first heretic.

“So exactly, then, do the institution of the Primacy and the acts of Peter fit into each other, that from the former you may predict the latter, and from the latter prove the former. They are like cause and effect, or an *à priori* and an *à posteriori* argument. They are a reciprocal confirmation to each other ; just as if by time you calculate the sun’s rising, and see the diffusion of his light, from his having risen you infer his light, and from his light conclude that he has risen.”—St. Peter, p. 154—5.

¶ We wish it were in our power to dwell upon a still more novel and interesting portion of Mr. Allies’s argument ; that from St. Paul’s testimony to the Primacy of St. Peter. It is detailed in the sixth chapter, and will well repay the most careful study. We must be content with one single extract from it, which is indeed suggested by the contrast with the Bishop of Salisbury’s sermon. His Lordship does not fail, in common with every Protestant controversialist, to give full prominence to the hackneyed objection against St. Peter’s Primacy derived from the resistance offered to his authority by St. Paul, and recorded in the Epistle to the Galatians, (ii. 14.) In answering this objection, Mr. Allies does little more than repeat the various interpretations of this curious passage in Apostolic history, which the early commentators have given. But he dwells with great effect upon the spirit in which these interpretations, as regards the person and office of St. Peter, are all conceived, and on the marked contrast which they present to the tone adopted by the reformers,

and, in common with them, by his Lordship of Salisbury: We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing this most interesting and important passage.

“Compare together these two interpretations of the Greek Fathers with that of the reformers and their adherents since the sixteenth century. A more complete antagonism of feelings and principles cannot be conceived. I. There is not a Greek Father who does not infer the singular authority of Peter from the first and second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians. There is not an adherent of the reformers who does not trust that he can draw from those same chapters matter to impugn S. Peter's Primacy. II. The Greek Fathers anxiously search out every point which may conduce to Peter's praise. The adherent of the reformers suppresses all such, and seems not to see them. III. If anything in Paul's account seems at first sight to tell against Peter's special dignity, the Greek Fathers are studious carefully to remove it; the adherents of the reformers to exaggerate it. IV. The Greek Fathers prefer slightly to force the obvious meaning of the words, and to desert the original interpretation, rather than set Apostles at variance with each other, or admit that Peter, the chief of the Apostles, was not treated with due deference. The adherents of the reformers intensify everything, take it in the worst sense, and are the more at home, the more bitterly they inveigh against Peter.

“Now turn to the third interpretation, that of the Latin Fathers. They admit both that it was Peter and that it was a real dissension, but they are as anxious as the Greek to defend Peter's dignity. Thus Tertullian: ‘If Peter was blamed—certainly it was a fault of conduct, not of preaching.’ And Cyprian: ‘not even Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church, when afterwards Paul disagreed with him respecting circumcision, claimed aught proudly, or assumed aught arrogantly to himself, saying that he held the Primacy, and that obedience rather was due to him by those younger and later.’ And Augustine: ‘Peter himself received with the piety of a holy and benignant humility what was with advantage done by Paul in the freedom of charity. And so he gave to posterity a rarer and a holier example, that they should not disdain, if perchance they left the right track, to be corrected even by their younger, than Paul, that even *inferiors* might confidently venture to resist *superiors*, maintaining brotherly charity, in the defence of evangelical truth. For better as it is on no occasion to quit the proper path, yet much more wonderful and praiseworthy is it, willingly to accept correction, than boldly to correct deviation. Paul then has the praise of just liberty, and *Peter of holy humility*: which, so far as seems to me according to my small measure, had been a better defence against the calumnies of Porphyry, than the giving him greater occasion of finding fault:

for it would be a much more stinging accusation that Christians should with deceit either write their epistles, or bear the mysteries of their God.'

"Now, to see the fundamental opposition between the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the reformers, let us observe that, though there are three ancient interpretations of this passage, differing from each other, the first denying that the Cephas so reprehended by Paul, was the chief of the Apostles, the second affirming this, but reducing the whole contention to an arrangement of prudence between the two Apostles, and the third maintaining the reality of the reprehension, yet all three have in common the reconciling Peter's chief dignity with the reprehension of him, and the two latter, besides, are much more careful to admire his modesty, than Paul's liberty, and make the most of every point in the narration setting forth Peter's Primacy. On the other hand the reformers use this reprehension as their sharpest weapon against his authority, hunt out everything against Peter, and pass over everything for him. It is equally evident that their motive in this runs counter to the faith universal in the Church during the first four centuries; and that their inference cannot be accepted without rejecting all Christian antiquity, and the very sentiments expressed by Paul himself, as we have seen, towards Peter."—*St. Peter*, pp. 174—7.

But it is time to close, and we cannot do so without reverting to the topic with which we set out—the strange inconsistency with their own fundamental principles, which is exhibited by the Protestant interpreters of the Scriptural records of the promise, the institution, and the actual exercises of the primacy. It is strange that on the very question on which, above all others, the two churches are most directly at issue, the one which claims the Scripture as its sole basis, and the exclusive charter of its existence, should be driven to suppress, and evade, and mutilate, to shrink from the discussion of its full scope and bearing; and to shield itself under vague and superficial generalities; while the one which is falsely charged with setting aside the Scripture, not only challenges the most searching enquiry, but has herself pushed the enquiry to the utmost limits which the laws of biblical criticism will permit. We defy any dispassionate man to read either of the essays which have been thus briefly analysed, and which deal almost exclusively with the purely scriptural arguments for and against the primacy, without receiving a profound impression that the whole sense of the Scripture is clear in favour of the claim of Rome, and that its force can only be evaded by being entirely ignored. Let any

man calmly compare the manner in which Episcopalians teach the scriptural evidence of the superiority of bishops over priests, or Trinitarians urge the arguments in favour of the Divinity of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, with that in which his lordship of Salisbury scrambles over the far more numerous and certainly plainer and more decisive testimonies to the Primacy of St. Peter, and we do not hesitate to say, that if he be a dispassionate man, he will admit that there can be but one explanation of the difference—a shrinking consciousness, in all that concerns the Primacy, of the strength of the position which they cannot, or will not, bring themselves to recognize. And if to the testimony of Scripture thus clear and decisive, he adds the concurrent interpretation of the fathers, the testimony of councils, and above all, the early and unbroken series of historical evidence to its exercise, he will be driven, in his own despite, to acknowledge that for no other dogma of the Christian faith is it possible to set together a more varied or more powerful array of evidence; and that it is impossible for any candid searcher of the Holy Scripture, or any honest student of ecclesiastical antiquity, to resist the conclusion which, before the controversies of the Incarnation had been brought to a close, was announced to the Greek emperor, Anastasius, by the Pontiff of his day, as “established by the series of the Canons of the Fathers, and by manifold tradition,” that “the authority of the Apostolic See has been set over the universal church in all ages.”

ART. VI.—*Allgemeine Geschichte des Welt-handels. Erster Theil.* Von den frühesten zeiten bis zur Entdeckung Amerika's. [*General History of Commerce. Part the First. From the earliest period down to the discovery of America.*] By H. SCHUMMER. Leipzick, 1852.

THERE is a strange analogy between things visible and invisible—between the spiritual and the temporal order of existence. And this holds good in the relations

which have ever subsisted between Religion and Commerce. As the one upholds the moral life of man, so the other sustains his physical being. As the former binds men with each other, as well as with their Maker; so the latter, though it cannot inwardly unite them, yet brings them at least in external contact with one another. Hence all nations have ever placed Trade under the especial protection of Religion. The cities, to which the routes of ancient commerce converged, were places of devout pilgrimage, as well as emporiums of trade, where men not only bartered their temporal goods, but came from afar to render thanksgiving to their deities, or propitiate their favour. Such was Comana in Cappadocia, for the trading pilgrims that came from Babylon to the cities of Ionia and Greece; such was Meroe in Nubia, and Ammonium in the Libyan desert, for the caravans of Egyptians, and the inhabitants of central Africa. Such, too, in later times, has been Mecca for the Moslems, whom devotion and the love of gain brought in such multitudes to the tomb of their prophet.

The Christian Religion, destined to knit all mankind together in the bonds of a common faith, and which has so eminently promoted the interests of human civilization, must, by the fact of its bringing about a moral and intellectual fellowship between the most distant nations, of necessity facilitate their commercial intercourse. Heathenism, on the other hand, with her national deities, and her local superstitions, arrayed people against people, inspired each with implacable animosity towards the other, and so set up barriers against their physical, as well as moral union. The ancient Navigation, timidly adhering to the coast, guided by the careful observance of the stars, and rarely venturing on distant voyages, aptly symbolized the ancient philosophy, which steered its course with pain and hesitation, was every instant exposed to founder on the latent shoals and rocks of error, and which, amid the dense clouds of superstition, strove painfully to descry the dim star-light of primeval revelation. But the modern Navigation which, guided by the needle of mysterious attraction, fearlessly launches into the ocean, explores every coast, exchanges the commodities of every land and climate, establishes an intercourse between countries the most remote, and now even sets wind and tide at defiance, is it not a fitting emblem of Catholic philosophy,

which, directed as it is by the sure compass of the Christian Revelation, plunges into the open sea of speculation, visits every region, makes the productions of every clime its own, becomes a bond of communication between nations the farthest apart, and defies the adverse winds and waves of error?

Yet, will it be believed that against this Religion, the mighty parent of all civilization, and which has been in an especial degree the source of so much temporal well-being and prosperity, as well as of spiritual happiness to the nations faithful to her guidance, one of the most popular objections of her Protestant and infidel adversaries is, that her influence is unfavourable to trade? "Compare," they triumphantly exclaim, "Spain and Portugal with Holland and England; the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland with the Catholic; the United States of America with the southern kingdoms and Republics of that great Continent! See what a blight Catholicism casts on the growth of nations, and how Protestantism on the contrary expands their energies, and develops their resources!" "One of the great impediments," said long ago even the *Edinburgh Review*, the staunch advocate of Catholic Emancipation, "one of the great impediments to Ireland's advancement in wealth and prosperity is the creed the great majority of her inhabitants profess."

These false and calumnious charges will utterly vanish before the picture we shall have occasion presently to draw of the commercial greatness which Catholic nations have attained to at various epochs, and in various countries. But they are in themselves utterly absurd and incoherent.

Firstly, these sapient politicians should remember that there are vicissitudes of fortune in the life of nations as in that of individuals, and that an unbroken tide of prosperity is not the lot of men, either in their collective or individual capacity.

Secondly, they must be reminded that Spain and Portugal, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were among the foremost nations of Europe in commerce and navigation, as well in every other department of civilization; that Barcelona, the flourishing seat of trade and manufactures, gave, in the middle age, like Rhodes in antiquity, a code of maritime law to Europe; that Portugal, by her bold spirit of adventure, explored the western coasts and isles of Africa, discovered a sea passage to India, and in

both the Indies laid the foundations of a political and commercial ascendancy; and that Spain, supreme in the arts of peace as well as of war, established in Europe and in America that colossal empire whereon the sun never set. The decline of trade in those countries is traceable partly to untoward circumstances, over which human wisdom has no control; partly to the loss of those free political institutions which they owed to Catholicism, and which had been so conducive to their well-being; and partly to the decay of piety and religious zeal.

Thirdly, as regards Switzerland, we must observe that the Church in her social influence is not designed to work perpetual miracles, and suspend the laws of nature; but she furthers and develops the energies of men only within the sphere of operations assigned to them by Divine Providence. Thus it would be absurd to expect that the petty pastoral and mountainous Cantons of Switzerland, which have retained the faith, could at any time, and under any circumstances, cope in commercial intelligence and industrial skill with those large and populous Swiss cities that apostatized at the Reformation, but which, long prior to that disastrous event, had owed to the Church they then betrayed centuries of prosperity as well as freedom.

Fourthly, not less unfair is the comparison between the Northern and the Southern States of America. The former have been peopled by the two most energetic and enterprising races in the world—the Saxons and the Celts; in the latter, one-fifth only of the population is of European descent, and the remaining four-fifths are composed partly of Africans; but pre-eminently of the aboriginal Indians—a race both physically and intellectually the feeblest on the face of the globe, and which it is one of the triumphs of our religion to have exalted so high in the scale of civilization. Then, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America had been kept by their mother-countries in a state of unseemly tutelage, and had never been admitted to a participation in those free political institutions, which the latter were indebted to for so much of their greatness and prosperity. Again, Mexico, if inferior to the United States in the useful, is their superior in the fine arts. Lastly, the civilization of South America, which in the last century had attained to a respectable footing, has been not only retarded, but thrown back by those bloody

and anarchic revolutions which, hatched by European infidelity and liberalism, have carried such wide-spread desolation into those regions.

Fifthly, the reference made to Catholic Ireland by the leading organ of British Liberalism betrays the last degree of cynical effrontery. This is indeed to make the victim responsible for the crimes of her oppressor. That a country whose territorial surface was in the course of two centuries three times confiscated—whose religion was proscribed, and whose Priesthood was hunted down, massacred, and driven into exile—whose native nobility perished partly on the scaffold and in civil warfare, and partly was ground down to penury, or forced to expatriate; whose population, after being decimated by the most cruel proscriptions and bloody civil wars, was kept down in the most galling poverty by every bar and restraint that the most ingenious tyranny could devise; whose schools and monastic and collegiate establishments were closed; whose trade and manufactures were long cramped and repressed by the jealous spirit of English rivalry;—that such a country, we say, could not exhibit flourishing tables of commercial statistics, is a truth which surely the boasted acuteness of a Scotch economist ought not to have overlooked, and which might be accounted for without a vulgar appeal to popular bigotry. The skill and industry wherewith, under the most adverse circumstances, the sons of Ireland have prosecuted commercial as well as agricultural pursuits—the elegant fabrics that for a long time issued from the workshops of that country—and the high renown which the Irish, whether at home, in England, on the Continent of Europe, or in America, have often attained to in the arts of peace as well as of arms, afford an earnest of what, under a just and beneficent government, they might in their own land have achieved.

It may be sneeringly asked, what proof is it of the divinity of the Catholic Church that she should favour commerce, since we see among ancient Pagan nations, like the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks, and among modern Protestant peoples, like the Dutch and the English, trade and manufactures carried to the highest pitch of perfection? We answer, we are not exclusive. We affirm not that the Catholic religion is the *only one* propitious to commercial enterprize; but, in self-defence, we rebut the calumnious charge that

the influence of our Church is inimical to trade. Such an accusation is most injurious, as it arrays against her the prejudices and hatred of powerful classes, and even entire communities : and is also most absurd, since it represents the religion, which has conferred on mankind immeasurably more temporal blessings than any other, as discouraging and repressing one of the most potent elements of civilization.

The broad features of distinction between ancient and modern commerce we noticed at the commencement of this paper ; and as to the mercantile spirit of Catholic and Protestant nations, there are many important differences well worthy of notice. In Holland and England, for example, the foundations of commercial prosperity were laid broad and deep in a period long anterior to their Protestantism ; and had they happily preserved the faith, they would have risen to their naval and mercantile greatness without the many evils and abuses now incident to their wealth. Under the blessed sway of Catholicism, cupidity, without being eradicated, (for the original taint of humanity will ever subsist,) would have been restrained within narrower limits ; while, on the other hand, there would have been more temperance and frugality, as well as more virtue in private life. Thus we should have seen a more equable course of prosperity, less violent mutations of fortune, fewer ruinous speculations, fewer fraudulent bankruptcies. There would have been a more equal distribution of riches among all classes ; kindlier feelings would have subsisted between the upper and lower ranks—between the workmen and their masters ; and beneficent institutions that religion would have multiplied under every form, and adapted to every want and every infirmity, physical and moral, of human nature, would have knit high and low, rich and poor, together in the bonds of fraternal love, and thus softened the too harsh contrast between excessive wealth and excessive indigence. The higher arts, which reach their perfection only in the service, or under the fostering patronage of the Church, would not only have adorned existence and promoted piety, but have developed industrial skill. A number of beautiful trades, connected more or less with Church decoration, Church ceremonial, and ecclesiastical sculpture and architecture, and which perished at the epoch of the so-called Reformation, would have been more or less flourishing ; the

happy blending of the Fine and of the Useful Arts,* would have imparted not only elegance, but additional value to many a manufacture; and industry would have ministered not only to material comfort, but to intellectual refinement. In a word, wealth would have been sanctified by charity, and embellished by art.

It is now time to furnish the historical proofs and illustrations of the services rendered by the Catholic Church to trade and manufactures. In the present paper we shall confine our remarks to the Middle Ages; but on a future occasion we hope to bring down the commercial history of Catholic States from the close of the fifteenth century down to the present times. The influence of the Church on commerce, as on every other department of social civilization, is partly direct, partly indirect; partly the result of that extended, as well as hearty intercourse she has established among the nations of the earth; partly the effect of that political stability and well-ordered freedom—that refinement of manners, and that enlarged intelligence—that boundless spirit of social progressiveness, in a word, she has given birth to in the States that own her sway. Her adversaries accuse her of exerting an influence hostile to commerce; the simplest, as well as the most direct reply, therefore, is to show the high prosperity it attained among Catholic nations separated by the greatest distance of time and space, passing through different stages of civilization, and distinguished by great diversity of manners, customs, character, and form of government. In this task we shall chiefly avail ourselves of the guidance afforded by the learned and valuable work that stands at the head of our article.

The first volume that issued from the German press but last year, traces the history of commerce from the earliest

* In his recent admirable Lecture "On the Relations between the Arts of Design and the Arts of Production," his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman has treated this matter with that copious and varied learning, and that captivating eloquence he brings to bear on every subject he treats. He has proved to the people of Manchester that the severance between the Fine and Useful Arts will prove most hurtful to British manufactures. This will be felt more sensibly in our seats of industry, as with the revival of religious zeal among the Catholic nations of the Continent, Art is undergoing a great regeneration.

period down to the discovery of America. A second and third volume, that have not yet appeared, will bring that history down to our own times. The work is distinguished for methodical arrangement, new and extensive researches, and elegance of style. The author holds an official situation at Trieste, and unites practical experience with theoretical knowledge of the subject he writes upon. To what religious community he belongs we know not; but his creed seems scarcely to rise above Mammon-worship. How low and materialistic are his views we may infer, when he tells us that in a thousand years hence Ancient History will be divided from Modern, by what, should the reader imagine—by the Incarnation of the Son of God? No, by the discovery of America!!! Yet, when he has occasion to speak of the social influence of the Church, he is fair and honest; but, as we may suppose, everything sinks into insignificance before his idol,—commerce.

In the first portion of the present volume the author traces the rise of trade from the earliest period of history, and then follows out its development among the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Indians, the Chinese, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and Romans. In the second part he gives its history from the downfall of the Roman empire down to the discovery of America. In this period, which occupies a thousand years, he brings before us the commercial history of the Byzantines, the Saracens, the various states of modern Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany. The sketch given of the trade of antiquity is brilliant, but somewhat too brief. The work of the late Professor Heeren of Göttingen is still the classical authority on that topic.*

But it is the history of modern commerce which must now engage our attention; as the question we have pro-

* *Ideen über die Politik und den Handel der alten Völker.* Göttingen, 1830. [Ideas on the polity and commerce of the nations of Antiquity.] Nothing more clearly proves the great activity of modern historical researches, than the fact that in the four editions which Heeren's work went through, that of 1796, 1802, 1815, and 1830, the author, in order to keep pace with the new historical investigations, had each time to re-write whole portions of his book, and that not only on topics connected with ancient oriental, but also with classical history.

posed, "What has the Church done for trade and manufactures?" must now be answered.

Trade, which during the decline of the Roman Empire, exhibited its former life and activity but in a few cities of the exhausted provinces, was by the invasion of the northern nations, nearly annihilated. In the first ages which followed on that memorable revolution, commerce remained in a very lowly condition, and was kept up only between places immediately contiguous. But under the great restorer of the Western empire, the mighty founder of modern Christendom, Charlemagne, trade, like every other sphere of human civilization, felt the benign influence of his sway. It was not, however, till the period of the Crusades, which re-opened the long-closed communication between the East and West, that commerce assumed large proportions, and was carried on between distant countries. We must except, indeed, the city of Amalfi, whose enterprising sons invented the compass, or rather, applied it to purposes of navigation, and who, long anterior to the period adverted to, were engaged in a no inconsiderable trade with the East. But as the star of Amalfi sank, that of Pisa, and next Venice and Genoa arose.

The following is the picture the author gives of the commerce of Venice, when that Republic had reached the zenith of her prosperity.

"In two ways we may estimate the magnitude of the trade with the Levant, which the Venetians then carried on. In the first place, by the survey of all the commodities, which through their hands passed to Bruges and to Antwerp—the two emporiums of Northern Europe; and next, by the riches which the cities trading with Venice, especially those of the Low Countries and Upper Germany, acquired for themselves. How great, then, must have been the gains accruing to the Adriatic Republic herself! It is indeed difficult to give an exact estimate of the revenues of Venice at that period.* Her Levant trade, in the fifteenth century, amounting

* There is a Report still extant, made by the Doge Morenigo, in the year 1421, to the Senate, on the commerce of Venice with Italy. We find therein the following statements: "The cities of Novara and Tortona sell us yearly 6000 pieces of cloth, Pavia 3000, Milan 4000, Cremona 40,000, Como 12,000, Monza 6000, Brescia 5000, Bergamo, 10,000, Parma 4000; on the whole 90,000 pieces. The cities send us besides pure gold to the value of 1,558,000 sechinos, for which they annually take from us 50,000 cwt. of cot-

nearly to a monopoly, must have yielded her all the profits which usually attend a monopoly. Where there is no competition—where the merchant has it in his power to regulate the market, and determine the price of the articles he sells, his gains must be exorbitant. Of this we can best form an idea when we calculate the rate of interest in those times. This is the most correct standard for estimating the profits derived from capital expended in trade; for according as the rate of interest be high or low, will such profits vary. From the close of the eleventh, to the commencement of the sixteenth century, the period during which the Italians carried on their greatest commerce, the rate of interest was astonishingly

ton, 20,000 cwt. of yarn, 40,000 cwt. of Catalonian wool, and the same quantity of French; gold and silk stuffs to the amount of 250,000 ducats, 3000 loads of pepper, 400 bundles of cinnamon, 2000 cwt. of ginger, sugar to the amount of 95,000 ducats, needlework and embroidery to the value of 30,000 ducats, 40,000 cwt. of dyed woods, other dyed wares to the worth of 50,000 ducats, soap for 250,000 ducats, slaves for 30,000. The exports in salt are not here taken into calculation. Let us but reflect how many vessels the transport of these commodities employs, partly to take them to Lombardy, partly to bring them from Syria, Rumelia, Catalonia, Flanders, Cyprus, Sicily, and from all parts of the world. Venice gains from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. on the freightage. And how many men subsist not by this trade—brokers, handicraftsmen, seamen, thousands of families; and lastly, the merchants themselves, whose profits amount not to less than 600,000 ducats. Verona takes yearly 200 pieces of gold, silver, and silk stuffs; Vicenza 120, Padua 200, Treviso 120, Friuli 50, Feltre and Belluno 12; and moreover they purchase 400 loads of pepper, 120 bundles of cinnamon, 1000 cwt. of ginger, 1000 cwt. of sugar, and 200 hives of wax. Florence sends us 16,000 pieces of cloth, and 350,000 zechinos in cash, for which it receives Spanish and French wool, corn, silk wares, gold and silver wire, wax, sugar, and jewels. On the whole, the trade of Venice brings annually ten millions of zechinos into circulation."

This Report is indeed very defective, and is confined solely to the commerce with the Venetian Continent and Upper Italy; but it will, in some degree, suffice to show the extent and the value of the trade of Venice. The ten millions, doubtless, refer to the entire commerce of this Republic; but they announce a sum extraordinary indeed for that age.

We possess also accounts dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, as to the current prices of the Venetian exchanges. The cwt. of cotton cost 20 ducats, the bundle of cinnamon 160, the cwt. of ginger 40, the load of pepper 100, the cwt. of refined sugar 15, the cwt. of English wool 40, the cwt. of Spanish wool 60, the piece of cloth from 15 to 40 ducats.

high, usually 20 per cent., many times upwards; and down to the year 1500 it was in no country of Europe under 10 or 12 per cent. If the gains accruing from so extended a commerce, as was that of the Venetians, coincided with this high value of money, that trade must have been indeed a source of the greatest prosperity to the state, as well as to private individuals. From the concurrent testimony of all writers, the revenues of the Republic, as well as the riches accumulated by private persons, exceeded anything that had ever been witnessed. In the splendour of her mansions—in the abundance of gold and silver plate, as well as of jewels—in short, in everything that conduces to the comfort and luxury of life, no country on the other side of the Alps could compete with Venice. All this expenditure was by no means made out of a giddy and ostentatious spirit of prodigality; but was the natural fruit of merit, no less than of fortune—a successful industry which, after having by its exertions collected treasures, had a right to enjoy them with splendour.

“Another cogent proof of the magnitude of Venetian commerce was the establishment of its Bank, whose credit was insured by the state itself. Very numerous and various indeed must have been the operations of trade before the utility of such an institution could have been felt, or commercial principles so well understood, as to give to the Bank an adequate system, and the fitting rules. Venice may boast of having furnished Europe with the first example of an establishment totally unknown to the ancients, and which has become the pride of modern commerce. The constitution of her Bank was originally based upon such sound principles, that it has served as a pattern for the establishment of Banks in other countries; and the administration of its affairs was conducted with such conscientiousness, that its credit was never once shaken. The date of its institution is uncertain; many fix it in the year 1157; but this is evidently too early. In the year 1246 Pope Innocent IV. deposited in it the sum of 2,500 Marks of silver, which was to be paid to a Frankfort citizen. We already meet with bills of exchange about the end of the twelfth century. Great activity did her Mint also display; Venetian and Florentine coins were, during the fifteenth century, in circulation throughout all Europe.”—Vol. i., pp. 326-9.

But the queen of the Adriatic, whose ships ploughed every sea, and which had her factories in every port, shone not only by her naval superiority, but by her industrial skill. The elegance and beauty of many of her manufactures were celebrated in the Middle Age. Let us hear M. Scherer on this subject:

“But Venice was not only the mistress of the seas, and the flourishing commercial city;—she had also in her lagoons and in her continental possessions planted and fostered industrial estab-

fishments, which became an additional source of wealth to her ; and, at the time when the greater part of her carrying trade had been lost, gave a certain stay to her own commerce. The city and its environs were filled with manufactures of all kinds. * * *

"Although the state warmly encouraged the manufacture of cloth dressing, by delivering the raw material at a cheap price, and even favouring it with an exemption from duties ; yet this branch of industry never became flourishing. Not only had it to sustain the competition of France, and especially Flanders, which obtained the raw material cheaper, and carried on the fabrication on a grander scale, and hence was provided with a greater variety of assortments, and could offer the articles at a lower price ; but Italy, and more particularly Florence and Lombardy, cultivated with great success this species of manufacture. The Venetians soon perceived that they would not succeed against such superior odds. What then did they do ? They protected their own industry for the Italian market, and made use of the foreign manufacture for the foreign trade ; that is to say, they acted as the intermediate agents for exportation. In this way, the profits of the trade accrued to them ; and what was most important, they retained in their own hands the direct commerce with the Levant, and could pay for commodities with other commodities. In Flanders, also, in return for Indian productions, they obtained cloths with no small advantage in exchange, and thus won on both sides, in purchase as well as in sale. Thus in Venice, considerable stores of foreign woollen commodities lay always ready for exportation. The best products of native manufacture were the scarlet cloths, which were shipped off to the Levant, and the black cloths, that went to the Italian mart.

"In the linen industry Venice never engaged, though she drew flax and hemp from Egypt, the countries round the Black Sea, and from Sicily. Linen in great quantities this state received from the cities of Upper Germany, and then shipped it off to various countries. On the other hand, there is evidence, that so far back as at the commencement of the fourteenth century, cotton was spun and wove at Venice. It came from Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus, and its importation in foreign ships was strictly prohibited. Yet the cotton manufacture attained to no importance, partly because the fashion of the times was not favourable to it, and partly because the eastern nations were far superior to Venice in this branch of industry. In silk weaving, this republic had at first to compete with Sicily, Genoa, Lucca—countries that produced silk, which was not raised on the Venetian territory. The conquest of the Morea supplied this deficiency : Venice came into possession not only of silk, but of skilful silk-weavers. The manufacture was now naturalized in this state, attained a vigorous growth, and could stand any competition. As in later times, Holland and England watched every opportunity to draw away from foreign countries

manufactures and capital, intelligence and operative energy, and transplant them into their own bosom; so Venice turned to account the disastrous condition of Lucca under the tyrant Castruccio, in order to induce thirty of the chief silk-manufacturers of that city to settle within her own territory. They transferred thither their renowned skill in brocade and velvet embroidery, which henceforth became a manufacture peculiar to Venice. The necessary factory-buildings were consigned to them; they likewise received the right of citizenship, and some even had their names inscribed in the Golden Book. The importation of foreign silk wares was strictly prohibited, except where it was desirable to obtain a fabric of a new and peculiar pattern.

"Great fame did the jewellery and ornamental work of Venice enjoy, which was sought for from far and near. In fur, by the exportations from the Black Sea and from the Danube, this city was the chief mart for the South. Wax was sent from hence to all Christian states; and in the ages of piety, the consumption of that article was no trifle. Nowhere was it so excellently bleached, and wrought into tapers and objects of that kind. The manufactures, also, of soap, and all kinds of perfumery, gold and silver wire, laces, marble and mosaic works, are deserving of mention; and more especially so is the preparation of glass, wherein Venice stood for a long time unrivalled in Europe. So early as the eleventh century, the art—probably borrowed from the East—of staining glass, and fashioning it in the most various ways, was known and practised. The window-panes and mirrors of Venice were the finest known in the Middle Age, and her smaller glass-wares circulated through all quarters of the world. The Venetian glass-pearls serve to this day as coins in Sennaar and Nubia. The Isle of Murano was and still is the seat of this most lucrative branch of Venetian industry. That it should lose no advantage, and least of all, the most necessary raw material, the exportation not only of glass sand, but of broken glass, was already in the year 1275 prohibited. The soda and potashes were drawn from Sicily and Syria.

"What patronage the fine arts enjoyed in Venice, it falls not within the scope of the present work to describe; but the fact must be stated, because with these arts stood connected so many auxiliary trades, and the protection adverted to shows the magnitude of the wealth, whereof an use no less noble than profitable was made by the state, as well as private individuals."—Vol. i. p. 329-33.

Our author has an interesting chapter on the trade of the Genoese. He shows that as navigators they were superior to the Venetians, and that it was only the unstable and variable nature of their political institutions, which prevented them sustaining a successful competition

with their commercial rivals. In this opinion he perfectly concurs with Dr. Robertson, who, in his disquisition on the trade with India, ably shows how the unsettled policy of Genoa,—the natural result of her democratic government,—acted injuriously to her commercial interests ; whereas the aristocratic constitution of Venice, though in later ages too oligarchical, enabled her to pursue a fixed, undeviating line of policy, that protected her trade against dangerous fluctuations.

Here history gives a lesson which ought not to be lost on the master-manufacturers of England. The union, indeed, between the aristocracy and the higher commercial classes of England is now one of the most pleasing phenomena in her political life ;—an auspicious omen, we trust, for the future peace and happiness of our country. But the same happy concord does not subsist in the great seats of British industry, where, owing to their long exclusion from the national representation,—an exclusion no less unwise than unjust,—a bitterness of feeling towards the landed gentry has been excited, which even the subsequent enfranchisement of those cities has not allayed. The influence now possessed by the commercial and manufacturing classes in the House of Commons is amply sufficient to protect their interests ; but if they aim at a decided preponderance, and thus render the constitution democratic, they will be the first victims of such a change. A fair share of the people in the government of a State is highly propitious to commerce, as well as freedom ; but a popular ascendancy, especially in a great country, is fatal to both. Supposing even that such legislative innovations would not lead, as we are firmly convinced they would, to a catastrophe, not unlike that which convulsed France in 1789—yet would they certainly bring about perpetual changes of administration,—a weak executive,—a wavering, unsettled policy at home and abroad,—endless popular tumults and commotions,—and that uncertainty and feverish agitation of the public mind so baneful to trade. If, in the petty republic of Genoa, which seemed the natural home for democracy, popular institutions yet exerted an influence injurious to commerce, what must be their effect in a mighty empire, like that of Great Britain, which has risen to greatness and prosperity, only under a finely attuned constitution, where the democratic has ever been kept in due subordination to the aristocratic and the monarchical

elements? The only hope for averting from our country the tremendous catastrophe we allude to, is on one hand the spread of Catholicity, whereof Tractarianism has been the precursor; and on the other, a tenacious adherence to that constitution which has so long insured to our nation the blessings of order and freedom.

But if Genoa and Venice surpassed all the other Italian States in the magnitude of their maritime commerce, it was at Florence the banking business and manufacturing industry were most flourishing. On this subject M. Scherer furnishes us with the following interesting particulars:

“Without wishing in any way to undervalue all this, yet in point of regularity, duration, and extent, the maritime trade of Florence could not compete with that of Genoa, and still less with that of Venice. The chief strength of that state lay in her industry; in this she stood alone and unrivalled in Italy, and to it was she indebted for her riches. Her manufactures sustained the business of Italian exportation, and offered subjects of exchange for the Eastern productions. Together with Flanders and Brabant, Tuscany was during the Middle Ages the first industrial country in Europe. Even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, her silk and woollen fabrics were in high estimation: the corporations of these trades took a leading part in the government of the state, and the whole constitution of this republic showed traces of their influence. Twenty-one close guilds or corporations were reckoned, whereof the cloth-weavers were the first, and then came the money-changers. The wool was furnished partly by England, and partly by Spain; and the silk came from Sicily, Greece, and the Levant. In order to secure the importations of wool, there were Florentine counting-houses established in the English, French, and Flemish commercial cities; and the single house of Alberti, about the middle of the fourteenth century, had establishments in Bruges, Avignon, Naples, Barletta, and Venice. The English wool came by land through France, over Paris and Avignon, to Aigues Mortes, where it was shipped. But it was only the ordinary and second-rate kind of wool that was imported from England; the finer sort was supplied by Spain. In the year 1338, there were in Tuscany two hundred cloth manufactories, which yearly furnished about eighty thousand pieces of cloth. Accordingly, for three hundred thousand guildens of gold, unwrought cloths were drawn from France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and these received in Florence a peculiar dressing, according to the taste of the different countries in the Levant for which they were destined. This cloth-dressing constituted a peculiar branch of industry, and gave occupation to its own guild.

“Not less was Florence celebrated for her dyes, by means of kermes, indigo, madder, orchilla, and other colours, which commerce with the East had been the means of introducing into Europe. The Florentine dressing of cloth belongs to a period somewhat earlier than the Flemish, though the latter, sustained as it was by the proximity of the market of the raw material, subsequently attained to greater importance. For we may suppose, that the far land-transport of wool all through France, together with the insurance, must in Florence have considerably raised the price of production. Moreover, since the concession of the harbour of Leghorn by the Genoese, the Florentines had engaged by special contract to have their woollen imports brought only in Genoese bottoms. Accordingly, the manufacture of wool had towards the close of our epoch (namely, the end of the fifteenth century), not a little declined in this republic; and more attention was now paid to the fabrication of silk and velvet stuffs, gold and silver brocade, fine carpets, artificial flowers, straw bonnets, and other elegant works. Florence became the seat of luxury, the fine arts, and elegant taste. The vast influx of money, and the rapid earnings in business, stimulated to expenditure, and even prodigality. Those times, which Dante boasts of, when the Florentines sold to strangers the fine cloths of their loom, while they clad themselves in coarse stuffs, were gone by. The statutes regulating costumes were no longer obeyed; the rage for finery among the women of Florence exceeded all bounds.

“But for the rapid growth of her riches this state was also indebted to another branch of commerce, namely, the banking business. So far back as the eleventh century, we see Florentines as money-changers, and making loans to princes. They first established regular pawn-houses, and carried on in general the sort of business usually attributed to the Lombards, with whom also, on account of an excessive rate of interest, they were frequently involved in the same public execration. The Florentines, however, distinguished themselves from the latter by the magnitude and extent of their operations: they ruled the money-market of all Europe, and, on account of their rare knowledge in finances, were in several countries entrusted with the collection and administration of the public revenues. Every loan of any importance passed through their hands; they regulated public credit, and by their widely-extended connections were so solidly established in public estimation, that they were enabled to command unlimited means. Even the Venetians, in their commercial dealings with the Levant, employed the mediation of Florentine bankers, because they had more resources, and offered greater security than those of their own nation. It is calculated that in Italy alone there were eighty Florentine banking-houses, which had again their affiliated establishments throughout the whole world. They rendered such services to particular governments, those of Cyprus and of Armenia, for

instance, that they received in return great commercial privileges, to the participation whereof they then admitted all their fellow-citizens. The Peruzzi made loans to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Bardi were creditors to the kings of England. Made giddy by success, they plunged too deeply into speculations, which ended in an immense bankruptcy, that involved many houses in ruin.

"The noblest families in Florence originally sprang from trade and industry. The Pazzi, the Capponi, the Buondelmonti, the Corsini, the Falconieri, the Portinari, were bankers, cloth manufacturers, and exporters. But the Medici, in particular, having by successful commercial operations in wool, cloths, and spices, risen from an obscure origin to be the wealthiest house in Europe, seized on the helm of the state, and entered with dignity into the line of legitimate and hereditary princes. In actions of public magnanimity, as well as private beneficence, in the fostering protection of art and science, no monarch of their times can compare with Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici. Florence holds so eminent a place in the history of commerce, precisely because mercantile knowledge was there based not on experience and custom merely, but on theoretic instruction. Two of her merchants, Pegolotti and Antonio da Uzzano, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are the authors of the first manuals for the commercial sciences. In these they furnish information as to the emporiums of trade, wares, coins, weights, measures, merchants' usages, book-keeping, bills of exchange, insurances, land and sea freightage, and many other subjects, which show that in all these new auxiliary aids and institutions of commercial dealing, Florence was particularly well versed and skilled; that she possessed not mercantile routine merely, but mercantile intelligence, and looked on trade as a matter of higher science and earnest investigation. Even at the present day, mercantile business in its various departments shows by the number of technical Italian words it has adopted, and which are current in every country, the stamp of its Italian origin, and early cultivation. To modern times, doubtless, belongs the merit of astonishing progress and improvement in this department; but we must not forget the debt of gratitude we owe to the past; and it is the especial duty of the historian to reanimate and insure the remembrance of ancient deserts."—vol. i. p. 307-10.

Such was Mediæval Italy:—free, happy, populous, and wealthy,—the seat of the Papacy, the abode of art and learning—the emporium of trade,—shining with the nascent splendour of Christian civilization, and the reflected glories of heathen antiquity.

Let us now traverse the Alps, and visit a country widely differing from the Italian States we have described in its physical and moral aspect, its climate and temperature, as

well as the character of its inhabitants, their manners, customs, and political institutions ; we mean the Netherlands. Yet amid all this diversity, we see the same, or even greater commercial prosperity,—the same ardent attachment to their municipal and political liberties, though in the case of the Low Countries, tempered and regulated by monarchical institutions, and the same devoted love and reverence for the Church which both were mainly indebted to for their riches and their freedom. Religion and liberty, art and industry, formed in that land a beautiful league, which with some fluctuations has continued even down to the present day, and which, as was lately observed in a foreign journal,* was aptly symbolized by those public edifices, whereon its inhabitants lavished all their artistic skill, the cathedral, the town-house, and the hall for exhibition of manufactures.

Let us hear the account which our author gives of the truly gigantic commerce of Flanders in the Middle Age :

“ Among the Provinces of the Low Countries,” says he, “ it was Flanders especially that drew the greatest advantage from the favourable juncture of circumstances brought about by the Crusades, and where the intermediate mart of the world’s commerce was first opened. This was occasioned by various circumstances. In the first place, Flanders was the only one of the Southern Provinces which was washed by the sea ; next it possessed the largest population ; its more considerable cities were already advanced in manufacturing skill ; its soil was very well cultivated, and was provided with many means of communication ; and lastly, her rulers were indisputably the most powerful in the country, zealous to promote the welfare of their subjects, full of intelligence and energy, and what is here most decisive, enabled by their participation in the Crusades, and the distinction they therein acquired, to give a certain bent and turn to the Levantine trade, spreading as it was in a more northerly direction. This they did at first either by sending back the vessels, which had conveyed the Crusaders, laden with eastern productions, or later, by inviting to their ports the Venetians, so closely allied with the Latin empire of Constantinople.

“ Among the chief cities of Flanders at this period, history names Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Oudenarde, Ryssel, (Lille) Alst, and Kortryk. In all these cities, more particularly Ghent, the manufacture of

* The *Hist. risch-politische Blätter*, which have lately contained a very interesting essay on the social condition of the cities of the Netherlands in the Middle Age.

cloth-dressing was carried on; yet Bruges was the most adapted for navigation and maritime trade. Being not immediately situate on the coast, it was connected with it by a canal, which led to a sluice about six leagues distant, where a bay with harbour opened into the sea. * * * * * The real harbour of the city was called Damme, where the wares, conveyed in boats or on waggons, were wont to be unloaded. In this way the city rose in the course of the thirteenth century to be the magazine for all the productions of Europe and the East, the general emporium of the whole commerce of the Netherlands.

"As the growing wealth of a country imparts advantages to all trading with it, in so far as the commercial intercourse remains but free; so the extraordinary rise of the communities in the Low Countries less excited the jealousy and envy of foreign nations, because they derived considerable profits from that prosperity, and there enjoyed a greater freedom in their mercantile transactions, than even in their own homes. All the customers of Europe were gathered together on one spot, and the more purchasers, and the richer those purchasers, the better was the sale. No other mart, not even the Italian, could, in the variety of its wares, and the perfection of its assortments, the abundance of credit, and the rapidity of sale, compete with that of the Netherlands. The shipping and carrying trade of foreigners, together with the manufactures of Flanders and Brabant, constituted in itself a whole, such as is unexampled in the entire history of commercial intercourse. Trade in the Low Countries was then of a purely cosmopolite nature, and therefore diffused its blessings in such various quarters. The whole north and west of Europe must ascribe their present greatness to this source.

"The confluence of foreigners, as well as the immigration and settlement of natives, made Bruges for a long time the greatest city in the Netherlands. It numbered about the middle of the thirteenth century* about 150,000 inhabitants; its exchange, we may truly say, governed the whole commerce of the world, for within its walls there were not less than sixteen factories of foreign nations, whose storehouses were ever filled, and who transacted daily business with each other.† The Hanseatic factory, which was the most perfectly organized, will be more fully described in its fitting place. Moreover, London, Bristol, Avignon, Lisbon, Barcelona, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, and other cities, had there, more or less extensive establishments, while to the Netherlands themselves belonged houses of the first magnitude. Bills upon Bruges were

* Its present population is now sunk to 45,000 inhabitants.

† We may add to this statement of our author, that at the period referred to, there were not fewer than twenty ambassadors and representatives of foreign states, residing at Bruges.

current throughout every part of the world, although the severe law in regard to notes of exchange was by the exemption from personal arrest nearly inoperative. Statutes and usages of mercantile law were framed upon the Italian model; there even appears to have been fixed regulations regarding the exchange; at least, we see, from the scanty notices which history has left about these particulars, that for all mercantile transactions brokers were appointed, who were obliged to be sworn in before the bailiffs of the city, in order to be competent to enter upon their business, and to claim commission. They were expressly prohibited to have a share in any purchase or sale. The existence of insurance offices is undoubted; and there is every probability that banks, or at least establishments of credit under another name, existed also. In no place, on the whole, did greater order and legal security prevail. Backward creditors were prosecuted with severity, and the maintenance of public credit rigidly guarded. The coming and going of foreigners was in every way facilitated. The custom-house duties were moderate and uniform, and the taxes pressed as lightly as possible upon trade. Inheritances and transmissions of money could be made in foreign countries without the slightest deduction. How must not all these circumstances, the very reverse of what elsewhere occurred, not tend to attract and stimulate commerce! Jews were not tolerated, and to establish a money-changer's business, the express authorization of the sovereign was requisite.

"Several chronicles of that age give a catalogue of the commodities, which then flowed from the different countries of Europe into Bruges, the then emporium of commerce. The Germans sent steel, copper, iron, wrought as well as unwrought, wood, corn, flax, hemp, wax, pitch, tar, furs, potash, tallow, tackle, linen, glass, sails, cotton, stuffs, leather, hides, dyes, salt, ready-made dresses, Nuremberg wares, amber, herrings, and other fishes, meat, Rhenish wines, oil, wax, honey, and the rest.* Spain and Portugal sent wines, figs, raisins, dates, and in general, all the southern fruits, liquorice, sugar, oil, soap, wax, iron, quicksilver, wool, silk, saffron, carmine, goats-skins. England furnished wool, lead, tin, corn, and hides. France, salt, wines, paper, oil, superfine cloths, dyes, (madder and carmine) and mixed silk and woollen stuffs. Italy contributed spices, drugs, groceries, sugar, rice, cotton, silk, dyes, their silken wares and velvets, gold and silver stuffs, jewels and ornaments, alum, sulphur, and Greek wines. The imports from Germany were made, partly by sea from the Hanseatic cities, and partly by land, from Upper and Middle Germany. Italy, in most cases, directly forwarded her commodities in ships, but later, no inconsiderable quantity of her merchandize came by land, over Augsburg and Nuremberg, and down the Rhine.

* Among these imports are various articles of northern origin, which were shipped by the Hanseatic League.

"So we may truly say, that in the Low Countries every branch and department of trade was represented, that in its markets scarcely a single article was wanting, and that this mass of goods existed in an extraordinary degree of fulness and perfection. A large portion, indeed, went out of the country by means of the carrying trade; the Hanseatic League took the Levantine productions, the Italians those of the north, and England exchanged her wools, and France her wines, for manufactures. But yet a considerable amount of these commodities remained in the Low Countries, whose dense and wealthy population possessed great powers of consumption. What did they return for the various articles which foreigners imported into their country? Among the commodities above specified, the products of the Netherlands are not comprised; and although an intermediate trade by its brokerage, its commissions, its shipping, and its various other manipulations, ever of itself enriches a country, where it has been introduced; yet we must look for other resources to account for the active part which the Low Countries took in the general trade, as well as for the gigantic wealth they amassed."—Vol. i. pp. 365-69.

The manufactures of the Netherlands at this period are even more worthy of notice, than their commercial operations. On this head our author furnishes us with information of interest and importance.

The history of these Netherland cities confirms the observation we above made:—that freedom is the parent of prosperity, but licence its most formidable foe. As long as the third estate was satisfied with its fair share of power, and kept within due bounds, nothing could exceed the prosperous condition, as well as freedom and happiness of those communities. But when the "trades" first usurped the rights of the patrician families, next drove them from power, and at last assailed the authority of their princes; then internal feuds, that armed parties and classes against each other, and bloody wars between rival cities, led in some cases to the total ruin of trade, in others to its decline, till commerce passed by degrees into other lands.

"In consequence," says M. Scherer, "of the sound policy of Baldwin III., and especially his introduction of German, (that is, Frieslander) weavers, the cloth-manufacture had increased not only in quantity, but in quality."

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"In the art of bleaching, carding, and dyeing wool, the inhabitants of the Low Countries had made considerable progress, especially since commerce had brought to them such a rich assortment of dyes. The free municipal institutions, too, kept up a fresh,

energetic spirit of activity, and a laudable sense of emulation among the different cities; for as in each there were cloth manufactories, so each strove to furnish the best articles, and thereby acquire wealth, consideration, and power. The principal places in Flanders, where the woollen manufacture was carried on on a great scale, were Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Dendermonde, Oudenaarde, and Lille. Ghent had the priority of the others in point of time; here had the cloth weavers first formed themselves into guilds and corporations, framed statutes for themselves, and even secured a high position in the government of the city. They alone could furnish an armed levy of 18,000 men. But when Bruges became the chief seat of commerce, industry followed in its wake, and in that city, during the fourteenth century especially, attained the acme of prosperity. It is calculated that about fifty thousand men were engaged in and about Bruges in the woollen manufacture, and its various departments of carding, dyeing, dressing, and the rest. Besides cloths, various other woollen stuffs were manufactured; and later, when the importation of cotton and silk increased, mixed stuffs also. Each city excelled in some fabric or other. Thus, Lille was distinguished for its scarlet cloths; Arras for its serge, called *rash*, as well as for its worked carpets; Ghent for coarse wares, like flannels, tufts, and coverlets; Bruges for finer articles, such as woollen, velvet, and plush, and especially its chequered and richly-figured carpets, which were among the most valuable articles of commerce in that age.*

"Although the sovereigns and cities followed the most liberal principles of commercial policy, and would not hear of any protective duties in behalf of the national industry; yet they maintained a certain inspection and controul over the trades, a controul which was necessary, in order to insure the solidity of the wares, and uphold the reputation of the cloth manufactories. For this end were instituted the cloth ordinances and the cloth inspections; and these last were executed in the presence of the magistrates, by four masters specially sworn in for the purpose. But the best security was furnished by the excellent spirit, and the sense of self-respect, which prevailed in the guilds, and made them jealously watchful over the honour of their class. If, in particular cases, arrogance were displayed, and the weavers' guilds, too conscious of their strength, often assumed undue powers, and seized with violence on the helm of the government, and democratized the constitution of the city; yet, on the whole, it was in this self-government of the

* Even when the city had long declined from its ancient greatness, this branch of industry was still kept up, and Henry IV., of France, fetched master workmen from Bruges for the erection of his manufactory of Gobelins. This city was celebrated also for its jewellers and goldsmiths, and is said to have invented the art of cutting diamonds.

Trades' Corporations, we must look for the main cause of the power and prosperity of the Netherland industry. Moreover, the sovereigns of the country were more than once, in the moment of greatest need, indebted to the guilds for decisive aid. They on such occasions abandoned their workshops, and fought against the enemy with noble self-devotion. Manufacturing Proletarii, who, as in our days, follow without conviction the blind passions of the moment, those times did not yet know. History speaks of a cloth-weaver of Bruges, called Peter, bearing the nick-name of king, who, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, not only at the head of his people defended the city against the attack of Philip IV., king of France, but put down a domestic rebellion, set on foot by a French party in the Municipal Council itself. The grateful prince immediately knighted him. On the whole, distinctions and patents of nobility accorded to men of the industrial class were not rare, and many a now flourishing noble house in the Netherlands derives its origin from the spindle and the loom; and even the old hereditary nobles, like those of Italy, did not deem it disgraceful to carry on trade and manufactures." —Vol. i. pp. 372-5.

On the wealth and industrial skill of the once renowned city of Bruges, the author gives us the following interesting particulars:

"We have here pointed out," says he, "only those branches of industry which were conducted on a large manufacturing scale; but by the side of these the smallest handicrafts flourished, and kept pace with the general progress. Bruges, in the zenith of her prosperity, numbered 68 Guilds. In a certain degree the representative of the commercial policy of the Netherlands abroad, this city concluded, with most European states, treaties of trade and navigation, but on the footing of the most perfect reciprocity, and without restricting in any way the freedom of her mart by monopolies and privileges.

* * * *

"Now we can easily understand what amount of contribution the Low Countries in their turn brought to the general mart of trade, not merely to repay in abundance the commodities they took from foreigners, but to render the latter even tributary to them. Statistical calculations fail as to the amount of exports in the industrial products of the Netherlands; but that the balance very much preponderated to their advantage, is a fact beyond the reach of all doubt.

"What did all the nations who traded with Bruges and Antwerp take as the most valuable portion of their freightage home but Netherland manufactures? Were not the cloths of Flanders and Brabant then in demand throughout the whole world? The Han-

seatic League supplied the North-east of Europe with them; Italy the South, the Levant, and even Judea itself by the route of Alexandria. How much were these manufactures not needed by the Crusaders and the spiritual Orders of Chivalry for their mantles? What quantities were not consumed by England? Although many cloth manufacturers existed elsewhere, as in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and they might furnish good articles in detail, and satisfy local wants; yet their products were not in such general supply, nor could compete in the world's mart, with those of the Low Countries, whose inhabitants possessed, in the woollen industry at least, the same ascendant as the English at the present day in the cotton manufacture. Like the latter, the Netherlanders then enjoyed superior advantages by the possession of large capitals and highly cultivated operative skill; drew the raw material at first hand, and in the best quality; had in their own country the emporium of universal trade, were blessed with free public institutions, and were not less favoured by their geographical situation, and the quality of their soil.

"If the slightest doubt could be entertained as to the lucrative nature of the Netherland industry, the spectacle of the public prosperity, as well as of the extraordinary wealth of individuals, would have sufficed to dispel it. A contemporary, Philip de Comines, who lived towards the middle of the fifteenth century, and had visited most European states, assures us that he had found no country to equal the then Netherlands in beauty, fertility, and riches. Not another land could be accounted happier. Its inhabitants were blessed with all abundance, and the tranquillity of general peace insured to them the commodious enjoyment of their riches. The happy distribution, too, of the profits of trade and manufactures through all classes of the population, is a matter of no small account. It essentially distinguishes the Low Countries from the Italian commercial cities, more especially Venice, where the common people were for the most part sunk in poverty and want; and proves also the extent and solidity of the trade, as well as an equitable division of labour, and the liberal constitution of the Guilds, which, in harmony as it was with the municipal government, was productive rather of benefit than injury to those times. Certain families, of course, through special circumstances of good fortune, accumulated very large property; and this was particularly the case in Bruges, where luxury and splendour in dress, in houses, and in banquets, had reached such a pitch, and had become so general, that a Queen of France once exclaimed, 'I thought here to be the only person of my rank, but I find in this city there are upwards of 600 queens!' It is a characteristic fact that in 1430 the Order of the Golden Fleece was founded in Bruges by Philip the Good of Burgundy. This was expressly to testify how much the opulence, power, and greatness of the country were based upon its woollen industry."—pp. 377-9.

We now pass to a people of kindred race and tongue with the one of which we have been speaking, distinguished for the same laborious habits and perseverant industry, yielding, indeed, to the inhabitants of the Low Countries in manufacturing skill, but equalling them in the cultivation of the fine arts, and superior in the higher departments of mind.

Whatever commercial wealth and general cultivation Protestantism may vaunt of having introduced into the countries where it was established, this boast cannot certainly apply to Germany. The religious wars of the sixteenth century, and especially the Thirty Years' war, that grew out of the Reformation, and convulsed the following age, blighted her ancient prosperity, struck down her political greatness, thinned her population, and left traces of destruction from which even to the present day she has not entirely recovered. Countless hamlets and towns razed to the earth, cities ravaged and half ruined, drained of their riches, and reduced to a third of their inhabitants, the most beautiful productions of art mutilated and destroyed, the most glorious religious edifices sacked and even burnt to the ground, art and literature thrown for more than a century back, and the very language so corrupted, that it took more than a hundred years before it could be restored to its pristine purity and vigour; such were the social blessings the Reformation conferred on Germany. But our business is with German commerce, and that in the Middle Age.

The illustrious Görres has observed that the abundance of gold and silver plate, and precious stones, preserved in the sacristies of the old German churches, proves the ancient opulence of the country. And, indeed, the stranger has only to walk through the streets of her old celebrated cities, like Cologne, Mayence, Frankfort, Wurzburg, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, to see from the space unfilled within their bounds, how much their population must have shrunk.

The following picture of the wealth, industry, and populousness of Cologne in the thirteenth century has been drawn by the learned Hurter in his celebrated historical work:

"At that period," says he, "Cologne was the first city of Germany more celebrated in foreign countries than Vienna itself. Shining with the triple lustre of piety,

riches, and municipal freedom, she was independent of her archbishop. Industry and commerce had imparted to the city an importance, and to the inhabitants a self-consciousness, such as we find in the same degree in no other part of Germany. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, there were at Cologne eighty thousand weavers in full employ.* The gold and silver smiths strove more and more to bring their art to perfection; and brewing seems to have been, not only a lucrative, but a very extensive branch of industry. Cologne was also the centre of commercial intercourse between Greece, Hungary, Eastern Germany, and the Low Countries, between the north of France, England, and even Denmark; so that her trade reached from those countries to the domains of the Byzantine empire. The establishment of her merchants in London, the great staple of merchandize which they possessed in that city, are thought to have been the germ of the Hanseatic League. The duties which all vessels trading on the Rhine were obliged to pay to this city, the transport of all commodities in its own vessels, augmented the public riches and the prosperity of individuals. And who can doubt of the high estimation which Cologne enjoyed in the commercial world of that period, when we learn that Venice regulated her mint by the standard of Cologne."†

Let us now hear the interesting account which M. Scherer has given of the trade carried on during the Middle Ages by the cities of Central and Upper Germany:

"At the head of the cities of Upper Germany stood Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm. Nuremberg was the earliest that became flourishing; for, before the intercourse was opened with Italy, it was enriched by the Danube trade with Constantinople; and its fortunate position, situate as it was in the heart of Germany, and at an equal distance from all parts of that country, made it the

* The whole population of Cologne is now not more than ninety thousand; and in the time of the French domination, it had sunk as low as forty thousand souls.

†In a treaty with the Crusaders it is stipulated that the 85,000 Marks should be "*ad pondus Coloniz, quo utitur terra nostra.*" Muratori SS. t. xii. Not having at this moment the original at hand, we have translated the passage from the French version. *Histoire du Pape Innocent III.*, t. ii., p. 173. Paris, 183.

emporium of an inland trade, stretching even to Poland and Hungary. Nuremberg was the chief mart for the Dutch fisheries ; and in the peculiar products of its own skill and industry, it transacted a considerable business. Hence the saying, 'Nürnberg's Tand geht durch alles Land ;' 'Nuremberg's toys go through every land.* Here, also, we find the first institutions for industrial education, where instruction was imparted in the polytechnic sciences. From thence many a discovery and improvement derive their origin ; and there is every probability that it was in Nuremberg industry was first carried on on a grand manufacturing scale. At a very early period this city possessed excellent regulations for the handicrafts, and institutions of industrial police. Endowed by the Emperors with ample rights and liberties, it was enabled to conclude treaties with foreign states, like France and Flanders, and thus secure to its commerce advantages and privileges of every kind.

"The most extensive commission and brokerage business in all merchandize, coming from, and going to Italy, was centred in the city of Augsburg. Hence issued the great route for Venice over Kempten, Füssen, Innsbruck, the Brenner mountain, and through Italian Tyrol. The maintenance of this most frequented of all roads devolved on the city of Augsburg ; and in return for this, the emperors conceded to it various custom-house tolls. But later, towards the close of the fifteenth century, the Augsburg merchants carried on a direct import business, as they were partly associated with Venetian and Genoese houses, and partly had their own counting-houses in the Italian, as well as Netherland seaports. They even equipped vessels, and in 1505 took part in a Portuguese expedition to the East Indies. Who knows not the names of the Fuggers, the Baumgartners, and the Welsers ? Neither the Italian Republics, nor the Flemish cities, nor the Hanseatic League, could show a greater commercial house than the Fuggers. They were engaged in every branch of industry, and for all countries ; they kept up counting-houses in Antwerp, Genoa, and Venice, and expedited their ships to the Baltic, where the Hanseatic League once took twenty of them. We can accordingly understand those words of the emperor Charles V., who, on inspecting the royal treasure at Paris, coolly said, 'A Linen-weaver of Augsburg† could pay for all this in cash.'

1. They still show in the neighbourhood of Augsburg the old coun-

* Even to this day, many of the articles known in our country by the name of Dutch toys, are made, not in Holland, but at Nuremberg.

† "The Fuggers were originally linen-weavers, and by that business, laid the foundation of their great wealth."—Note by M. Scherer.

try-house that once belonged to these Barings of the Middle Age. It will be interesting to our readers to learn that this family did not, like so many other patrician houses in the free cities of Germany, embrace Protestantism. The present representative of the family, Count Fugger, is an excellent Catholic, and was lately civil governor of Würzburg.

"So great an accumulation of riches called into existence the banking and exchange business. Augsburg became one of the first places of exchange in Europe, and various loans to governments were negotiated by her capitalists. The emperors loaded the city with favours and privileges, and raised her merchants and bankers to the rank of counts and princes. The consignments also from Augsburg to Italy, though not so considerable as the imports, are still deserving of honourable mention. Besides some raw materials, such as metals, timber, and hides, these exports consisted in products of German industry, more especially linen, fine woollen cloths, Nuremberg hardwares, arms, and other metallic articles. The linen manufacture then flourished in Upper Germany; Memmingen, Kempten, and Kaufbeuern were particularly distinguished in this branch of industry; and even in Augsburg itself, it afforded occupation to many hands. The finer species of cloth, arms, and metallic manufactures, came for the most part from the Netherlands, from the Rhine, from Westphalia, and Saxony; some of these articles were fabricated in the environs; but we must here repeat the observation we have before made, that with the exception of linen, the manufactures destined for the consumption of the masses were not in Upper Germany carried on to the same extent as in Lower and Central Germany, in which we must include Nuremberg and the industrious Franconia.*

* * * * *

"But this must not prevent us doing full justice on particular points to the manufacturing skill and industry of the Swabian cities; and in this respect we must not pass over Ulm. Next to Augsburg, the Upper Rhine, and Switzerland, it carried on with most success the commission and brokerage business, and cultivated various branches of industry, such as fustian, damask, wood-carvings, preparation of viands, and the rest, and exported these articles to distant countries.

"Many other cities, but of subordinate importance, were associated with the Swabian League, and had a greater or less share in trade and manufactures. Among these we may mention Mem-

* It is observable that this distinction prevails even at the present day. Old Bavaria is essentially an agricultural country; but Franconia, in addition to the riches of her soil, abounds with manufactures. Augsburg, though but a shadow of her mediæval greatness, has still considerable trade, and is one of the chief money-markets in Germany.

mingen, Kempten, Kauffbeuern, Lindau, Constance, Biberach, Esslingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Halle Nördlingen, Rotenburg. At times Rhenish, Alsatian, and even Swiss cities, belonged to this commercial confederation. Especially deserving of notice is Strasbourg, which, in opulence, power, and consideration, was little inferior to Nuremberg and Augsburg."—Vol. i., pp. 422—4.

What shall we say of the Hanseatic League,—the most powerful commercial confederacy which history records? From humble beginnings it rose to the greatest political domination, as well as mercantile opulence. Its numerous fleets governed the Baltic and the North Sea; it formed a close bond of union between the different cities of Germany; its factories were established in every great European port; it brought the productions, wrought and unwrought, of Asia, and southern and central Europe into the remotest regions of the North, and thus served to stimulate in those countries agricultural produce and manufacturing skill.

But our limits will not permit us to do more than allude to the subject.

Of Spanish commerce we shall speak on a future occasion, when the history of trade subsequent to the discovery of America shall come under consideration. The commercial prosperity of Barcelona in the Middle Ages we have already adverted to; and we beg on this subject to refer our readers to the immortal work of Balmez,* who proves that not only in Saracenic Spain, but in those portions of the Peninsula subject to Christian sway, trade at that period was very flourishing. But between Spain and the sea there is a small tract of territory, peopled by an heroic nation, which, after indignantly casting off the Moslem yoke, threw all the energies of its daring, adventurous spirit upon the ocean, and the regions beyond the ocean. This little State planted vast colonies in Africa, Asia, and America, and gave birth to children twenty times exceeding her in size and stature. The first essays of a bolder navigation in the fifteenth century, and the series of successful voyages, whereby the Portuguese explored the coasts and islands of western Africa, and thus preluded on one hand to the discovery of a maritime pas-

* Catholicism and Protestantism compared in their influence on civilization, in the excellent English translation of Mr. Hauford and Mr. Korshaw.

sage to the East Indies, and on the other, to the finding out of a New World in the West, are described with great animation by our author.

"Henry the navigator," says he, "prosecuted the struggle commenced by his ancestors with the Arabs on the North-West coast of Africa, more by sea than by land. This he did chiefly with the view to habituate his people more and more to the sight of the ocean, (which in the popular belief still passed for unnavigable,) and to render them more familiar with its various phenomena. The first voyages of discovery were made about the year 1415. The conductors of the expedition were enjoined to proceed slowly along the western coast of Africa, and to institute accurate enquiries, which might be serviceable to their successors. So Henry proceeded step by step, but systematically to work, and strove after definite results. A violent storm scattered the expedition sent out in the year 1415, to the island of Porto Santo. This seeming misfortune led to the re-discovery of Madeira;—a re-discovery, we say, inasmuch as in all probability the Carthaginians* were acquainted with the Canary Islands. The Portuguese immediately established a colony in Madeira, transplanted thither the sugar-cane and the vine, and saw their efforts crowned with astonishingly rapid success. The island became a station, too, for their voyages of discovery down the coast of Africa, which were now prosecuted with new energy and increased confidence. Admiral Gilianez doubled, in 1432, Cape Non, and in 1433, Cape Bojador; Nuno Tristan doubled in 1440, Cape Blanco, and in the following year reached the isle of Arguin, whence he brought back to Lisbon the first negroes, with gold. In 1446 Denis Fernandez discovered the green promontory, and soon afterwards the contiguous islands.

"The death of the Infant Henry, in 1460, interrupted but for a short time this brilliant course of discovery. The attention of the world was awakened; from all parts streamed to Lisbon men of science, commercial speculators, and rash adventurers, ready to take some part or other in the new enterprises. The colonies planted in the newly-discovered countries soon attained a rapid and vigorous growth, and various mercantile companies were formed, which in the hope of a lucrative trade, promoted further discoveries. Especial attraction had Guinea, on account of its gold dust. In the last twenty years of the fifteenth century, the object of all these voyages of discovery,—the complete circumnavigation of Africa was attained, under the energetic as well as enlightened government of John II. With success waxed confidence; the ocean lost

* The Carthaginians, we should observe, not only possessed Madeira, but their ancestors, the Phœnicians, were acquainted with that island, and most probably first peopled it. Phœnician coins have been dug up there.

by degrees its terrors ; men began to quit the coast and launch into the open sea. Many new discoveries also tended to enlarge the circle of the sciences auxiliary to navigation, especially those of astronomy and mathematics. The astrolabe, the meteoroscope, the tables of declination, the new modes of constructing the compass, date from that period, and recal the names of Regiomontanus, Beheim, Toscanelli, and others. In Portugal, the science of navigation also was fostered with especial care, and the naval academy founded by Henry became the pattern institute for all Europe.

"Thus amply endowed with all intellectual and material resources, the Portuguese gloriously consummated the work they had commenced. In the year 1476, they passed the line, and Diego Cam, in 1485, penetrated to the river Zaire, in the kingdom of Congo, and as far as the promontory of St. Austin, ten degrees of southern latitude. Two years later Alfonso Aveiro advanced as far as Benin, sixteen degrees of southern latitude. Thus did the Portuguese approach ever nearer and nearer to the southernmost point of Africa. The real discovery of that point, if it is not to be ascribed to the Arabs, who perhaps reached it from the East, was achieved by Bartolomeo Diaz. He had unwittingly even sailed by it ; and it was only on his return, forced by a mutinous crew, he discovered it in 1487. He landed in Table Bay, and there planted the standard of San Filippo. But the real circumnavigation of Africa, and the direct voyage to the East Indies, was accomplished ten years later by Vasco de Gama. With six ships he left Lisbon on the eighth of July, 1497, and on the eighteenth of May in the following year, he landed at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. On the nineteenth of July, 1499, he reached Portugal by the same route. Now, at last, the great problem of a maritime passage to the East Indies was solved ; and henceforward as an inalienable acquisition of human enterprise, the Cape of Storms, as it was originally termed by Diaz, gave a brilliant corroboration to the name of Good Hope, which it received from king Emanuel. Under this enlightened prince, the Portuguese prosecuted their new career of enterprise with zeal, energy, dexterity and success. They acquired in India not merely a commercial, but a political ascendancy, since they entered that country as conquerors, and there founded an empire. A succession of the most distinguished men followed each other in the administration of that empire—men who united in the most extraordinary degree strategic skill, political sagacity, and the mercantile spirit with patriotism, humanity, and disinterestedness."—Vol. i. pp. 156-9.

When the later volumes of M. Scherer's work appear, we shall resume the discussion of this interesting subject.

ART. VII.—*Essays on Various Subjects.* By His Eminence CARDINAL WISEMAN. In 3 vols. London : Dolman, 1853.

THE “rise, progress, and influence of Periodical Literature,” will form the subject of a very interesting, and far from unimportant, chapter in the social and political history of England during the former half of the nineteenth century. We say, of England, because, without under-rating the extent of the same phenomenon in other countries, where it is also apparent, or drawing any invidious comparison, which is far from our desire, between their political institutions and our own, we may observe, without risk of dispute, that the literature to which we refer, the literature, that is, of journals, magazines, reviews, in contradistinction from what we understand by the name of “works,” has been remarkably developed among ourselves during the last thirty or forty years, under the favouring circumstances of a constitutional government and a free press. The same, of course, may be said with great truth of America ; but, besides that our Transatlantic brethren are well able to do justice to the subject themselves, and that we find more than sufficient materials to our hand in speaking of facts bearing upon the question in its English aspect, we are certainly unable, whether it be from ignorance, or failure of evidence, to point to any part of the habitable globe, not excepting even America itself, in which, as it appears to us, the distinctive literature here under review has been the instrument of working such mighty changes, whether for good or ill, as here in England.

If we include the daily press as one item in the series we have specified, it is not that we think of identifying the literary labours of journalists, however able, and however powerful, with the class of compositions, the essays on subjects of popular interest, to which the volumes named at the head of our article naturally direct our more particular attention. If mere present effect were the great test of literary merit, or rather if the popularity of the moment were in any true sense tantamount to the influence which achieves great works, and tells upon posterity, then assuredly, instead of occupying the lowest rank in the department of periodical literature, the “journals,” especially

one or two which will readily occur to the thoughts of the reader, would carry off the palm in the competition with their more voluminous and less frequently-recurring rivals. But we suspect that this said word "influence" requires to be subjected to the test of a rigorous scrutiny, and limited by the jealous boundaries of a definition, before the thing which it denotes can truly be predicated of the peculiar kind of social power which even the ablest and most successful of daily newspapers actually possesses. A journal can hardly be said to *direct* public opinion, which makes that opinion in any material degree the rule of its sentiments, which cautiously sounds the depths of the national mind before it makes up its own, and launches forth tentative articles as aeronauts send up pilot-balloons, to try the direction of the currents, before they commit themselves to the bosom of the aerial deep. No, it is as true of journalists as of dramatists, that

"They who live to please, must please, to live."

The "organs" of public opinion, as a too veracious phraseology denominates these publications, can never be in any true sense, or any important measure, its directors; as truly might the great atmosphere be said to be the creature of the barometer, which does but measure and record its variations, as newspapers, even the most vociferous and domineering, be accounted the guides of the national will. Do we mean to assert, then, that these journals are merely the victims, and in no sense the arbiters, of public opinion? Not so; they perform a very essential office in supplying the nation with arguments, in giving shape, expression, effect, and currency; to the crude mass of thought which goes to form, on the whole, what is called the mind of England. Nay, they may at times even modify it where it is extravagant, and give it conclusions where it recognizes but the premisses. What they cannot do, is to work any essential change in its views and principles. Let them attempt this, and the nation will soon read them a lesson which they must be more than journalists of they can stand without flinching.

We are not, on the other hand, denying that upon all the literature of a nation, as well as its journals, and certainly not least upon that with which we are here directly concerned, public opinion will exercise an influence by which its character will be more or less affected. And rightly so, if

the "vox populi" have legitimately anything of the weight which the proverb attributes to it. No wise director, in whatever department, whether ecclesiastical, medical, or social, will ever neglect the indications of character which the subjects of his care may express or betray. But the difference between the "scribe" and the "author" will always remain. The former will make popularity, the latter (if he deserve the name) truth, the measure of his sentiments, and the end of his publications; he (the genuine and conscientious author,) writes *ex abundantia cordis*, with a story to tell, and a point to make, and that point nothing merely personal, or ephemeral, or superficial, but something which is worth gaining, whether it be directly the acceptance of some great principle, or indirectly the circulation of some valuable knowledge, whereby the objects of truth, (or what he esteems such,) may be eventually promoted.

It is authorship undertaken in this spirit, and directed to these ends which alone "tells" in the main, and in the long run. Not all such authorship, of course, lives and does its work; it depends for its success upon conditions which are beyond its control. But "though not in mortals to command success," whatever is taken up with the simple desire of promoting the glory of God, or the cause of truth, does more than succeed; it "deserves success," which much that is in a certain measure successful, does not. Moreover, if such literary efforts as we are here supposing fail and fall lifeless, (their present failure, however, being no sure proof of their actual ill success,) all we can say is, that nothing which deserves the name of influence is ever ultimately the lot of any other kind of authorship. Earnestness, we repeat it, is the one condition of permanent moral effect. The heathen philosopher bore witness to this great truth, where he gave the preference to the *πίστις ἡθικὴ*, or proof from the evidence of personal sincerity, over the "pathetic," which depends upon the excitement of the passions; the poet, when he traces the secret of literary power to the reality and depth of the author's personal persuasion,

"Si vis me flere, dolendum est,
Primum ipsi tibi;"

the philosophic Butler, where he applies to composition, particularly religious, the unwonted epithet "sincere,"

and more than all, that great master of hearts, the Apostle Paul, who depreciates, as a weapon in preaching the Word of God, all eloquence, but such as springs from the real and intimate knowledge of the Cross of Christ, the subject, if any, to make a man in earnest.

We do not wish to glide into a more serious train of thought than befits the occasion; we are but illustrating a principle. The truth we are engaged upon tells, we admit, both ways; favours the literature which is a curse to mankind, as well as that which carries blessings along with it. But so it must needs be if the powers of evil are as earnest and energetic on their side, as the ministers of good on theirs. But whether good or evil be the end, and the result, neither will accrue on any large scale, or for any long time, through the instrumentality of works which do not proceed on principle, and have not a clear and definite end before them, but are merely showy, swayed by extrinsic influences, "double minded," and therefore "unstable."

We have dwelt longer on this subject than should be necessary on one so self-evident, because we are disposed to think that not a little of the power which the discursive literature of our great periodicals has gained for itself in England, is due to the fact of its being, more than other literature, a simple transcript of the writer's mind. If it be true, as we are saying, or rather a truism, that men persuade in proportion as they are in earnest, we seem to find a clue to the great influence which has certainly been produced, (and that on subjects of no mean importance,) throughout England, and so ultimately throughout Europe, and the world at large, by the labours of those whom it is the fashion with superficial persons to describe, perhaps almost to stigmatize, as "mere reviewers." Whatever the drawbacks upon this kind of authorship, (for drawbacks it has,) it appears, for obvious reasons, to carry along with it in a remarkable manner the note of sincerity. We speak of such specimens of it only as have produced the greatest effect on public opinion, and these will be found, as we believe, to be characterized far beyond other literature, by the easy, natural, and therefore affecting and impressive character of earnest *conversation*. One proof of this is, that no kind of writing is more apt to betray its author by internal evidence than the periodical essay. One *book* is far more like another than article is like article. The reason, we suspect, is, that when a man writes an "article"

he does it *currente calamo*, often as a relief rather than a task, as he might converse after dinner with his literary friends, and the consequence is, that just as natural and earnest conversation is "thinking aloud," this easy off-hand writing is a kind of talking on paper. The drawback, of course, is, that such composition will often be rash in sentiment, and incorrect in expression; that it will run the risk of being superficial and the like. But, after all, these disadvantages, on the one hand, are not so necessary to it as, on the other, is the particular character of naturalness, to which we are referring; and even where they exist, they will rarely (unless more prominent than we suppose,) tell so much one way, as the earnestness of tone which they accompany, will impress and make itself felt on the other. A "book" is a serious undertaking, and is generally kept by its author and revised, till much of its simplicity is refined away, its sentiment over-qualified, its style overwrought. An article is written off at the flow of the intellectual tide, goes to the printer in fragments as it is produced, and is "struck off" before the writer has time to recal the temerarious word, or polish the uncouth sentence. It goes before the world for better, for worse, and whether it be read, or neglected, it is not found, at any rate, to fare worse for want of the "limæ labor" which the author had been inclined to regret, and which, but for the inconvenient, though often salutary, pressure of the "end of the month," he would certainly have bestowed upon it.

Periodical literature, as we are here considering it, is peculiarly the creation of our own age. We know of nothing in the last century upon which it can be thought to have been built, or out of which it has grown. The modern "article" is as different from a paper in Addison's Spectator, or Johnson's Rambler, as the "Times" is unlike a Roman newspaper, if such a thing there be. The Edinburgh and Quarterly have as little family likeness to the Gentleman's Magazine as to the Annual Register. The "papers," whether on moral or literary subjects, which grew into such popularity during the latter half of the last century, and which might be thought to have suggested the periodical essay of our own time, belong, in fact, to a different class of writings, and proceed quite upon another idea. Were we to catalogue one of the graver numbers of the Spectator or Rambler, we should, without any kind of disrespect to its merit and beauty, be, nevertheless, inclined to

refer it to the department of the college theme, of which class of compositions it appears to us to present the most excellent specimen. It is neither more nor less than a "composition," just in sentiment, (for the most part,) perfect in manner, but which raises no more active feeling, even in the most susceptible mind, than that of respect for virtue in its most general form. When the great men of the last century were full of a subject, and desirous of impressing it in a popular and effective form upon others, they wrote an octavo, as Burke, on the French Revolution. At present it would be one of our great and leading Quarterlies which, in a series of articles, would furnish such men with the desired opportunity.

Here the question arises, What is it in the disposition and habits of the present generation which corresponds with the character of our periodical literature, constituting its encouragement, and conferring on it its power? We reply without difficulty, that it is the business-like temper of our English society. The truth must be spoken, whatever its consequences—the present is not the age of great literary undertakings. That our public should prefer pamphlets to folios, and dissertations to treatises, is a matter which we may regret, but which we can no more hinder than the construction of railroads, or the closing of burial grounds. It is part and parcel of the great English will which, as a great author says, is stronger than any known influence, save only the grace of Almighty God. Now the supply of literary works must, on the whole, be regulated by the demand; few men have the mind, fewer the time, to write volumes merely from the love of literature in the abstract, or for the sake of posterity, especially when it is not sure that the next generation will take a very different view of the matter from the present. The consequence has been, that even men amongst us the most able to have made extensive and abiding contributions to our literature, theological or other, the men, too, who from their known habits and preferences were the least likely *à priori*, to sympathize with the busy, discursive, dilettante spirit of the present age, and the most likely to set themselves, had it been possible, to correct it, have apparently given up the idea in despair, and seem to feel that the alternative rests between instructing the present generation by tracts, essays, and popular lectures, and leaving it in ignorance of the matters it is so important for

it to know. One of the greatest minds of the present, or of any other, time, has publicly declared that he "feels it is a better deed to write for the present moment than for posterity;"* and these are the words of one who, had he consulted his own inclination, instead of sacrificing it to the welfare of his country, might have bequeathed to the Church of his affection a work, whether theological, philosophical, or historical, which might have raised him to the highest rank among her doctors. But the author to whom we refer is essentially, in the best sense of the term, a "popular" teacher. A case still more to our point is furnished by the knot of really learned men, among whom that author laid the foundations of his great name, and by his habitual conformity to the Divine Will, as it was gradually made known to him, merited the grace which has made him what he now is. If ever there were men who set themselves with what seemed like an inflexible determination against the popular, or, as they would have said, superficial and perfunctory, ways of the present generation, men who upon principle, as well as from the effect of education, preferred the heavy warfare of folios to the light skirmish of pamphlets, surely Dr. Pusey and his immediate friends may be selected as chief specimens of the class. Yet how remarkable it is, that the good service which they have done to religion, (and good service, after all, they *have* done,) should have been effected by means of tracts, essays, single sermons, or poetical pieces, not by works on a comprehensive scale. It is true that they have hereby borne a reluctant or unconscious witness to the absolute impossibility of constructing a *theology* out of materials in their hands; but though such be the effect of the course they have adopted, we think its motive cause may rather be found in the spirit of this age, which loves to have such truth as it will bear, dispensed to it in successive instalments, and in the form least likely to encroach upon its habits. For, that the circumstances in which the learned persons in question are placed, however unfavourable to the production of an original work, are not necessarily adverse to the preparation of a learned one, is proved by their having given birth to Dr. Newman's digest of the controversial writings of St. Athanasius, the

* Dr. Newman, Anglican Difficulties—Dedication.

most elaborate, we believe, (and a remarkable fact it is,) of all his later theological efforts.

Of an age, then, at once indefatigably busy, and profoundly inquisitive, a literature, various enough to be commensurate with its activity, deep enough to be deferential to its pretensions, and concise enough to be consistent with its pursuits, seems both the proper correlative, and the natural creation. These are not the times, nor is this the nation, for literary labours and patient study. Our age must be lured into the acceptance of knowledge, by such means as are employed to make bitter medicine palatable to children :

——“*Veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes
Quum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
Laborum tenus, interea perpotet amarum
Absinthii laticem, deceptaque non capiatur,
Sed potius tali tactu recreata valescat.*” *

Truth must be rid of every rougher element, dealt out in diminutive portions, and disguised under the form of odorous stimulants or sparkling beverages. It must be drawn from the deep well in which it was fabled by the ancients to reside, and taught to meander through the verdant meadows and between the ample margins of the light and manageable octavo. It must be accommodated to the libraries of aristocrats and to the tables of casinos. And as we have steam-engines to save hands, and rail-roads to abridge distance, so we must have reviews and magazines to simplify study and condense philosophy.

It is difficult to speak of these things without appearing less respectful to the literature in question than consists with the high rank which it holds, and the great names which are associated with it. It is not the fault of the first literary men of our time that the spirit of the age should require them to bend to its claims or its necessities ; many of them are writers of a stamp who could with the same success have addressed themselves to literary duties which, if less serviceable to the public, would have been attended with greater honour to themselves. That men who have proved themselves capable of writing histories, the genius

* Lucretius.

of which (whatever their defects) is indisputable, such as Macaulay and Milman, or of adorning the highest walks of professional or parliamentary life, such as Brougham, Jeffrey, Macintosh, or O'Connell, or, (to come nearer home) of elucidating the text of Holy Scripture by extensive and varied oriental learning, like the author whose works we are reviewing, should yet have deemed it no disgrace, but rather a privilege, to enlighten an over-worked people through the medium of the periodical press, must be viewed simply as a mark of their condescension. And as *we*, at least, may well be considered to have an especial interest in the dignity of this species of literature, we shall be excused for urging as a point in its favour, that it has not merely furnished the ladder by which so many remarkable men have risen to distinction, but the platform on which they have withdrawn to instruct or delight the public, even from the heights of their established reputation, their chairs of philosophy, or their thrones of ecclesiastical pre-eminence.

"It was with a strong desire, and a sincere determination," says the author of the *Essays* before us, "to make the *Dublin Review* the organ and the promoter of Catholic progress, within and without; it was with a conscientious resolution that its theology should belong to the present day—that is, should treat of living questions and existing controversies, should grapple with real antagonists, wrestle with tangible errors, that I agreed to turn from studies long pursued and ardently cherished, to the anxious care and desultory occupation involved in the direction of such a publication. Works not only long contemplated, but for which materials had been gathered with diligence, were given up at this period, in consequence of time and attention being more required for passing events and desultory literature."—*Essays*, preface, vol. i. p. ix.

Among the advantages of the literature under consideration, which in turn have no doubt proved its attractions to those who have taken part in it, must be mentioned the shield of reserve and protection which it throws over personal modesty, and by which it modifies personal responsibility. It furnishes a graceful disguise, intermediate between the boldness of profession and the cowardice of concealment; opaque enough to shelter diffidence, transparent enough to verify conjecture. As we have already observed, an article, from the very fact of its being for the most part an off-hand expression of the mind, is more apt than any other composition to betray its writer to such as

think its authorship worth investigating. And, as a fact, we do not call to mind any instance in which public conjecture has ultimately been at fault in its attempts to affiliate the chief periodical essays of our time. "It is —, or —, all over," Oxford men used to exclaim, when as July and October came, the languor of the Long Vacation was relieved by the appearance of some brilliant effort of an unmistakeable pen in the latest number of the *British Critic*. Nor was it any great stretch of sagacity for the loungee at the Travellers' or the Athenæum to attribute with success some sparkling paper on religious literature in the Edinburgh to the brilliant pen of Stephen or Macaulay, or some slashing onslaught on Whigs and Whiggery in the Quarterly to the practised hand of Croker or Barrow.

In fact, the benefit of editorial protection did not consist in the opportunity it might afford of shrinking from responsibility, but in the sanction which it gave to individual opinion. The regular contributors to a Review, constitute a kind of corporation, each member of which derives an immense accession of weight from the fact of his forming an integral part of the whole. Men of note, especially in the outset of their career, have ever felt it a gain to be launched upon the great ocean of literary competition under convoy of some established name; nor can any patronage be so complimentary, because none is so hazardous to the patron himself, as that which is implied in the fact of taking an author into this kind of literary partnership. It is no wonder, then, that rising men should covet and prize such a distinction, nor again, that even in the heyday of their reputation they should continue to feel the value of an arrangement which stamps each effort of their genius with so powerful an "imprimatur."

But are we justified, it may still be asked, in ascribing to periodical literature so important an influence upon the moral character of our age? We reply, unhesitatingly, that, wherever it has been the vehicle of a *principle*, grasped and mastered by its advocates, consistently maintained because firmly held, fructifying because real, there we know of no engine more likely to be efficacious, or more efficacious in fact. A periodical, (conducted with the requisite attention and ability) can hardly, as we think, fail of making itself *felt*, except upon one of two suppositions; the first, that it aims merely at bolstering up a

sham; the second, that it speaks "with an uncertain sound." If all its contents do not harmonize and tend in one direction, if there be not (with whatever variety of manner) unity of purpose and of spirit, if article conflict with article in some essential point, then it will fail, as a periodical, whatever the merits of its insulated portions. It will fail, because it will not, as a whole, proceed on principle. And then, too, individual contributors, instead of deriving the benefits of which we have spoken, from association with others, will, on the contrary, be losers in proportion as their testimony is confused and their objects crossed. For better, every way, is unity without association than association without unity. The other, and equally certain, condition of failure, will be found in the attempt, no matter how zealously made and how consistently carried out, to propagate a *sham*. Toryism is extinct, in spite of the *Quarterly*, and the managers of the *British Critic* voted its occupation gone when Puseyism became a mockery.

On the other hand, principles, whether social, moral, or religious, which are living and real, have made their way in our own times very materially through the medium of periodical literature. In this country, especially, it has been mainly instrumental, during the last twenty or thirty years, in assisting the popular cause in politics; and it has given shape, as well as expression, to an immense mass of rationalism, not to say scepticism, which, in days of less sincerity, and less curiosity, had been held in check by the feeble restraints, or disguised under the conventional phraseology of the national religion.

But chiefly does that mighty movement in the direction of the Catholic Church, or towards the re-assertion of great Catholic principles,—which as it is the most important of our age, so likewise has it been the least in accordance with its spirit,—owe much of its actual success, in a very striking manner, to the same cause. For five years and upwards did the *British Critic* first co-operate with, and then, (as far as might be,) supply the place of, the Oxford Tracts, in pressing, or as we may rather say, inflicting, upon the National Church those great principles of Catholic faith and morality, in their different religious and social bearings, which carry to each truly philosophical mind their own recommendation, independently of the authority upon which Catholics themselves receive them.

Inferior as were many of those popular essays in research, (or at least the direct use of it,) to many of the "Tracts" less immediately religious in character, and far less dogmatical in tone, they nevertheless did a work in the same great cause, which neither sermons nor serious disputations could ever have done; though neither could those lighter papers, in their turn, have effected it without the aid of the heavy artillery which continually reinforced them. The "Tracts" were chiefly occupied in enunciating principles, the articles in question in illustrating and applying them in various departments; for it is the very boast and test of Catholicism that it is comprehensive of all subjects and adequate to all emergencies. There was a vast range of matters in the world which Anglicanism was shy of touching, or with which she had to deal, if at all, as a dog grapples with a hedge-hog, under a sensitive apprehension of the sharp points with which his victim bristles. Such are the many phenomena outside the pale of the Establishment which Anglicans count it safer to ignore than to make attempts at reducing them to theory. Such, too, were many of the facts, social and political, of the time. To all these questions the *Critic*, with a boldness unprecedented, and in no measured terms, addressed itself vigorously and at once. Churchmanship and Toryism suddenly found themselves in a state of divorce, if not in an attitude of antagonism; "our incomparable liturgy" was shown not only to admit of comparisons, but to suffer by them. "Christ and Antichrist" were seen to change places. Nay, so contrary to calculation were the movements of this abnormal body, that friends and foes were alike bewildered by its eccentricities; till at length all parties were rather agreed that the *Critic* was dangerous than any fully satisfied that it was wholly wrong. Thus, at the very climax of its unpopularity with the Protestant public, there appeared a paper on the Countess of Huntingdon and her sect, in which the better class of dissenters, to their surprise, found themselves treated with an amount of respectful sympathy for which they had in vain looked, up to that time, in the direction of less popishly-inclined parties of the Establishment. It was a kill or cure remedy; or rather, it was a remedy which, if it did not cure the patient, must kill the physician. The Establishment was not cured,—the *Critic* died. Its spirit fled to other and more congenial regions. Its short but eventful history serves, in the

communion which gave it birth, as a memorable lesson upon the danger of mooted inconvenient questions, and recognizing adverse facts.

But the *British Critic* had done a work, though it left that work most incomplete. It recommended, in a measure, the somewhat hard and uninviting doctrine of the Tracts, softened many of its harsher features, and filled up some of its obvious gaps. It invested the whole subject of the movement with an air of popular interest, and practical utility. It gave substance to outlines, and shape to suggestions. The hints of the Tracts were the axioms of the *Critic*; the hints of the *Critic* are the realities of Rome.

How, meanwhile, did the Catholic Church in England comport herself towards this wonderful movement? With crippled hands, and a heavy heart, she had been slowly and sadly doing her daily work; but lately emerged from the attics and cellars into which the persecution of the years before had driven her; out of mind because out of sight; too secluded to be cognizant of phenomena beyond her; too downhearted to build hopes upon them, even if known. One only there was, quick to discern, and able to appreciate the tokens of promise in the far distance; one who had drunk deep at the well-spring of theological Truth; whose European experience, and comprehensive grasp of mind, were wanted to deepen the foundations, and enlarge the view, of our national Catholicism; whose love of the living Church would be a safeguard against the withering effects of antiquarian theories; whose detestation of the Protestant heresy, and instinctive perception of its remoter tendencies, would serve to counteract the poison with which England's very atmosphere is charged; whose just and lofty conceptions of the impressive magnificence, the untarnished lineage, the world-wide claims, the imperial bearing, of the Catholic Church—the profundity of her doctrine, the harmony of her operations, the wisdom of her rules, the majesty of her ceremonial, were just what was wanted at this moment to cheer English Catholics under that tendency to undervalue their power, and mistrust their position, which were the not unnatural results of a long course of worrying and disheartening oppression. Such an one there was in England, or within call of it; and, great mercy was it, never to be sufficiently acknowledged, that at a time when able hands were in such

request among ourselves for the due discharge of regular duties, and when gifted minds were so likely to have been concentrated upon great undertakings at head-quarters of the Church, one, so able and so gifted, should yet have been permitted to be at large, to distribute himself between Rome and England, neither detained in his Master's immediate service abroad, nor absorbed in missionary duties at home, but at once free and bound, at leisure and at work, no foreigner in England, and no mere Englishman in Rome; not too English to be insular, nor too European to be unpatriotic; versed in history, rich in modern experience, master alike of foreign languages and of his own, and thus enabled to transfer himself with ease and with effect from England to Rome, and from Rome to England; here pouring upon God's neglected heritage the light of his knowledge, and the balm of his charity; there receiving his commission at the fountain-head of authority, and his message at the oracle of Truth; and replenishing, as occasion might arise, at the "golden urns" of the sanctuary, the lamp which he was coming to lift up amongst us; and "tricking," at the source of light, the "beams" which, in turn, he was to be the providential instrument of shedding upon the English portion of the Church.

These are the words, not of flattery, but of gratitude and truth. They record, somewhat as the faithful historian will himself record, a passage in the annals of Catholic England which receives a very differently worded, but not inconsistent treatment, in the following modest representation. We make no apology for the length of the extract, not merely because we feel that the reader has been too long detained from the immediate subject of this article, but because we shall derive from the following passage considerable assistance in the remaining portion of our present work.

"The moment when I was invited to join in this new review appeared to me most critical and interesting. Three years before, had begun to manifest themselves the germs of that wonderful movement, which, originating at Oxford, was destined to pervade and agitate the Anglican Establishment, till it should give up many of its most loving and gifted sons to the Catholic Church. Peculiar circumstances, allusion to which will be found in a note in vol. ii. pp. 91, 102, had made me at Rome previously acquainted with the rise and progress of this great religious revolution; and I had been surprised, on visiting England in 1835, to find how little

attention it had yet excited among Catholics, though many Tracts for the Times had already appeared, and Dr. Whately had sung out to their writers, 'Tendimus in Latium.' It was, indeed, impossible for any one to foresee what might be the final results of so new and strange a commotion in the hitherto stagnant element of the state religion. Even now, after twenty years, and notwithstanding the many great consequences which have already issued from it, its activity is not exhausted.

"The impulse given by the first *Tract* still urges on the body which it struck; and it will roll forward for a long time to come, while fragments detach themselves, and run before it, towards the goal which we pray it may all attain. But even in that first bud of the rising power, it was impossible for a calm and hopeful eye not to see new signs in the religious firmament, which it became a duty to observe, unless one wished to incur the Divine reproach addressed to those who note not the providential warnings and friendly omens of the spiritual heavens. For Catholics to have overlooked all this, and allowed the wonderful phenomenon to pass by, not turned to any useful purpose, but gazed at, till it died out, would have been more than stupidity—it would have been wickedness. To watch its progress, to observe its phases, to influence, if possible, its direction, to move it gently towards complete attainment of its unconscious aims; and, moreover, to protest against its errors, to warn against its dangers, to provide arguments against its new modes of attack, and to keep lifted up the mask of beauty under which it had, in sincerity, covered the ghastly and soulless features of Protestantism; these were the duties which the new Review undertook to perform, or which in no small degree it was expressly created to discharge. And the necessity of attending to these new duties formed the strongest inducement to myself to undertake its theological direction. At the same time, Catholics had begun to recover from that first torpor, which benumbs, for a time, the limbs just freed from fetters. Signs of a more active circulation had shown themselves; communities were springing up; schools were beginning to be multiplied; new missions were opened; churches, upon a scale of size and of embellishment previously unknown, were contemplated or begun; and the people were evidently manifesting more interest in our religion, and a more fair disposition to hear and judge it justly. It seemed the favourable moment to strike another chord, and stir up a spirit yet slumbering, but ready to awake. The Catholic religion as she is in the fulness of her growth, with the grandeur of her ritual, the beauty of her devotions, the variety of her institutions, required to be made more known to many who had never seen her other than she had been reduced by three hundred years of barbarous persecution."—*Essays*, preface, vii.—ix.

We gather, then, that the *Essays* under review, (with
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the exception of that small portion of them which forms the third volume of the present series,) were directed to two great and concurrent, although disparate purposes; the one, that of helping forward the great Oxford movement; the other, that of raising the tone of English Catholicism. Each of these purposes was of a nature to act upon the other. It was plain, on the one hand, that if political measures and popular phraseology had a tendency to make English Catholics regard themselves rather as a mere "body" in this country, an aggregate of individuals bound together rather by hereditary associations and common necessity, than any more stringent, because more supernatural bond; and their religion as forming one of the countless "denominations" of the country, rather than part of the One Faith, in contradistinction to a common, although multifiform heresy, nothing would be so likely to disabuse them of so serious a misapprehension, as to have it distinctly and repeatedly brought before them, that even heretics, and they "citizens of no mean city"—the most distinguished and accomplished members of a great and famous university—were working out, by dint of patristic researches, or in the exercise of unprejudiced sagacity, a juster and truer view of the position of Catholics themselves. On the other hand, it is no secret anywhere, that among the hindrances which kept persons back from the Church to which they were tending, and which in time they were to reach, none was more serious than the scandal taken from this very want of magnanimity and self-respect on the part of some Catholics themselves. That the impression was an exaggerated one, and that the argument, even if the facts had been true to the extent supposed, was utterly fallacious, we should be among the last to deny. That there was something, however, of foundation for the charge, seems to be proved by the fact that there were Catholics themselves, like our author, who felt, if not its justice, yet at least its reasonableness. And it is evident that the very thing which these inquirers needed, was to know, first, that the evil or danger was recognized in the Church itself; and, secondly, that it was in process of correction.

If, then, judging from the order in which these two great objects were sought to be compassed, we may infer that the gain of the Oxford inquirers was our author's predominant aim, and the exaltation of the Church in England at

that time but his second (we will not say *secondary*) one, still he was indirectly promoting both great ends when he was immediately concerned but with one of them.

We have already claimed the reader's indulgence for the length to which this article has run out, before touching pointedly upon its main subject, and that claim we must re-urge. But our excuse is twofold. In the first place, our function cannot, for obvious reasons, be that of simple critics. Were there no other motive disinclining us to deal as critics with the words of one whose lessons we ever prefer to receive in the spirit of disciples, it would be enough that in the present instance we stand in the singular position of being our own reviewers. The matter of the volumes before us, (with the exception of some few Essays and the Prefaces,) has already appeared *verbatim* in this very Review. It is so familiar to our readers, as to supersede all necessity of quotation; and so well appreciated, as to spare us the awkwardness of commending what is thoroughly and inseparably identified with ourselves.

Moreover, if our previous remarks be open to the charge of being prefatory to an undertaking of less magnitude than themselves, we answer that they all bear indirectly upon the work under review, were suggested by it, and imply it from first to last. It is their happiest illustration, as it was their impelling motive, and their animating cause. If, for example, our prominent theme have been the "influence of Periodical Literature," where shall we look for a better example of that influence than in the fruits of those Essays of which this Periodical had the honour to be the medium? What more truly important work has the power of the press ever achieved, (though it have achieved many more striking in human eyes,) than to aid, however feebly and remotely, in such a moral conquest as that of the Oxford converts? How rarely is it that hard argument is the weapon through which the grace of conversion works! Yet if the eminent author of these Essays had done in his generation but the one work which not his own humility would arrogate, but which the gratitude of his once powerful antagonist, but afterwards meek captive and dutiful son in the faith, has ascribed to him,* surely he would

* Vid. Newman's Anglican Difficulties, Lecture xii., and Dedication of "Sermons to Mixed Congregations."

have enough to console him for all his anxieties and labours in the cause to which he has so generously devoted himself.

Or, if again, we have spoken of the advantages of Periodical Literature as a modest and unpretending medium of individual opinion, it was almost as if in anticipation of the words (which we had not then seen) in which the present author testifies to "the advantages (of periodical literature) which enable a writer, to speak with a confidence, and sometimes with a boldness from which he had shrunk if he spoke in his own person, and not as the representative of certain principles embodied in a collective responsibility."—*Essays*, Preface to vol. i., p. v.

Or if, once more, we have dwelt upon *principle and consistency* as the great conditions of moral and religious influence, we find in the work under our review, the same important truth expressed with equal sincerity and greater power. If there be any part of the following to which we must demur, it is the disclaimer of those personal gifts and acquirements which none surely but their possessor will be disposed to depreciate.

"Only a principle could stand the test of so many years; and in religious ideas only one principle can remain unchangeable. It is to do homage to this truth that I consider it a duty. Looking back over this long term of years, remembering how one fixed determination formed my whole stock of principles for theory and practice, and seeing how faithfully it has supplied the want of much learning, the absence of brilliant gifts, the dearth of popular topics, and deficiency in popular arts, I have surely a right to prize it above all these advantages, and consider it as part of that heavenly wisdom which God refuses to none in His Church..... This unbounded devotion to Christ's one Church,—this undeviating adherence to her Supreme Ruler, has been the chart and compass by which I have endeavoured to sail; and while I humbly trust that not a word will be found in these volumes discordant with her teaching, her maxims, her decrees, her thoughts, I submit to her correction all that is here written, and beg every obscurity or dubiousness to be interpreted on this principle.

"To this one elementary principle, which a child may have as easily as a man, I exclusively attribute any good results which may have flowed from these essays."—*Essays*, preface, p. xi. xii.

We never met with a work which, to our own mind, bears out this profession more conspicuously than that before us. The essays which compose it, exhibit the most

indisputable signs of sincerity and truthfulness. They are, many of them, full of research, and in parts strikingly eloquent; and they no where manifest the appearance of having been written simply for popular effect. In short, to use their author's own word, they obviously proceed upon a *principle*, deeply felt and consistently maintained.

There is another feature in these Essays which is not less evident than their earnestness of tone, and it is also a great moral, as well as a great literary, excellence. The eminent author before us is especially what may be called a *conscientious* writer. His mind is so richly stored, and his pen so fluent, that he must be under the constant temptation to dispense with care and diligence; but he is remarkably superior to it. Whatever he attempts, he does thoroughly. And this is true, not merely of his controversial writings, which may be supposed to gain spirit from the desire of victory, but of those also which are aided by no such stimulant. The quality to which we allude, (and it is, in our humble judgment, one of the very highest by which an author can be distinguished,) is not more apparent in the celebrated paper on the Donatist Schism, than in those which have no more of the antagonistic character about them than the Essays on Italian manners and topography. We see in these instances how a Christian author can give a practical contradiction to the saying, so true in general and in the main; οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος ἐστὶν ἡ ζητήσις τῆς ἀληθείας. "So indolent is the investigation of truth."*

The articles which form the subject of these volumes, have been taken out of their chronological order, and rearranged upon a new principle. As they originally appeared in this Review, they followed the course of events, or were suggested by the urgency, or supposed urgency, of the occasion. The great movement at Oxford was actually considered (as we have already said) to have the more pressing claim upon the author's charitable zeal; English Catholicism, whatever its needs, being right in its foundations, (as no form of religion external to the Church, whatever its accidental merits, or its promise, can ever be,) might more suitably lie over; and this upon the principle that the one erring sheep has greater claims upon our diligence than the ninety and nine who are safely folded.

* Thucydides.

The hopeful prospect of the Oxford crisis, on the one hand, and, on the other, the peculiar position of our author, called, as he was, not to the charge of any particular congregation in England, but to a great national work, would alike justify this preference of the controversial, to the edificatory and sustentative department of theology, and form no precedent for a more ordinary state of circumstances.

But now that these Essays have to be brought before the public in a separate work, and especially at a time when the whole position of matters is altered—when they who were the life and spirit of the Oxford proceedings are happily with us, and there is absolutely nothing in the quarter which ten years ago was so full of promise, to excite any more favourable sentiment than commiseration, or to justify any more energetic act of charity than prayer—the reason for giving priority to the polemical portion of these Essays is altogether at an end, and the author, we are sure, has not less consulted the bias of his own amiable disposition, than he has acted in obvious accordance with the dictates of a wise discretion, in assigning the “head and front” of his work to those of his Essays, which have an abiding, and but the second place to such as now, happily, have little more than an historical interest. The first volume of the series, accordingly, will be found to contain Essays, for the most part, on Scriptural, and on Liturgical and Devotional subjects. The former are intended, as they are calculated, to bring out the deep meanings of the Holy Gospels in the way, not of mere *exegesis*, but in a practical and devotional spirit, peculiarly valuable, as we think, and not a little needed under present circumstances. The latter consists of dissertations, conducted in the author’s happiest manner, on those “Minor Rites and Offices” which form the connecting link between what is properly called Ceremonial, and what belongs to the department of more informal devotion. To those Protestants who (like some even of the Oxford writers in the earlier stage of the controversy) are disposed to treat Catholicism as a religion which tends to substitute the “form” for the “power,” we do not know that we could do any better service than to recommend to their attentive perusal these masterly and most graceful treatises.

It is concerning the second volume, which relates to the part which the author took in the great Oxford controversy,

that he appears, if we may judge from the preface which introduces it, to be the most anxious. The cause of this anxiety is best expressed in his own words.

“The strongest objection to be overcome on acceding to this wish [of publishing the series of papers on the Oxford controversy], was the painfulness of appearing in conflict with persons who are now joined with me in perfect unity of thought and principle, many of whom I respect and even venerate for their learning, their piety, and their orthodox zeal.”—*Essays*, vol. ii. pref. v.

He then proceeds to meet this objection upon grounds so full of kindness to the persons whom his course might be thought to aggrieve, so indicative of the deep sympathy by which he is now united with those to whom he was then doctrinally opposed, and so rich in the evidence of his own characteristic humility, that we can but heartily recommend *in extenso* to the reader what we have not space to quote entire, and should but injure did we attempt to curtail it.

We prefer to any such injudicious and unnecessary attempt the less easy, but perhaps not less useful, course, of adding our own testimony, such as it may be, to the propriety of the author's decision. It is, indeed, very true, as he himself feels, that there are parts of these controversial essays which, (but for this explanatory preface,) would have been calculated to wound persons who are very near and dear to the writer of them. But then the preface itself is enough to set all right here. It is perhaps even truer still, that there are also parts of them in which the same persons, or some of them, may feel that their former position was scarcely mastered by the author, and justice hardly done to their intentions, on the one hand, and to their difficulties on the other. And yet, in reading over, as we have just done, some of these essays, after a long and eventful interval, we have, we confess it, been struck by the amount of testimony which they bear to the good intentions of the great movers on the Oxford side, though we may still think that some of these persons, (as, for example, Mr. Froude,) were not perfectly understood.

Still, even if it were so, who was in fault? Not certainly our author, who, if it must be acknowledged that he was not gifted with more than mortal penetration, was yet (and let this be deeply considered,) the one and only person, or, at any rate, the one and only prominent person, in

the English Catholic Church, at the time, who even approximated to a correct decision upon the matter in question, and in saying this, we are far from meaning that *he* did no more than merely approximate to such correctness of judgment. Other Catholics of note, as he reminds us, (Preface, vol. 2, p. vii.) were not merely utterly unhelpful of this great movement, but, (if it must be said,) ungenerously suspicious of the intentions of the movers.

We have also been much struck by another of our author's pleas. We feel altogether with him, that, in the position which he occupied as champion of the Catholic cause, all his *temptations* (so to say,) lay on the side of a more conciliatory tone, and a more compromising theology. There was in the Oxford opinions so much of truth combined with error, so much of protest against "Protestantism," so much of homage to Rome, that we can well fancy a Catholic saying to himself: "Really, these gentlemen are so like us, that they can't be very wrong; so near us, that it is the wiser and safer plea to leave them alone. By teasing them with our opposition we shall but drive them further off; and, at any rate, it is less clear that they are in such error as to make it a duty in us to aim at converting them with the risk of alienating them, than that, as they are, and may thus cease to be, they are a very valuable 'card' in controversy, a great fact on our side, which may assist us in parliament, a note in favour of our religion, which cannot but ensure it respect and consideration in the world, as proving that even learned Protestants are able to appreciate its many excellencies."

It was, then, no small merit in our author, and it proved in the end no small blessing to the Oxford divines, that he had the courage to take a simpler and a nobler course, though less popular, and less acceptable to the objects of his interest; that he never gave them an inch of that ground which they were so anxious to claim, never treated them otherwise than as heretics, though sincere and conscientious ones; never offered, as others at the time were almost tempted to do, "terms of communion," which would have involved the surrender, on the Church's part, of one single iota of her practical system any more than of her established theology.

We repeat it. If the Oxford writers were misunderstood, who was in fault? We are inclined to believe that there was little or no "formal" blame, as divines say, to

be attached anywhere, we mean, of course, among the prime movers of the controversy, and in its original, and now, alas! obsolete aspect. There were ungenerous sentiments, and rash expressions in plenty, heaven knows! But the fault of these, whatever it were, has been either abundantly expiated by retractions, or more than expiated by subsequent acts. But whether it were the fault of individuals, or the misfortune of their circumstances, so many *apparent* inconsistencies there were in the sayings and doings of the Oxford men, even in the best days of the controversy, that the marvel with us is rather that any Catholic should have understood them so well as our author, than that he should occasionally, (if it were so,) have mistaken their intentions, or underrated their merits. It is well known how frequently their acts or their words were a subject of perplexity and annoyance even to their own friends in the same communion. We can scarcely wonder, therefore, if those who, like our author, had been educated under a totally different system, lived in a totally different world, and had no personal acquaintance with these writers, beyond a morning's conversation with Mr. Newman and Mr. Froude at the English College at Rome, should have failed thoroughly to master the principles of their most unquestionably sincere and honest, but still most enigmatical course. And we may observe, that of the whole number of them there was not one who must have seemed, to a bystander, such an inexplicable portent as Mr. Froude—the very one, as it happens, to whose intellectual as well as moral qualities, we are inclined to feel that the least justice has been done even by his most far-sighted and not unfriendly opponents.

But after all, if this party, (or, at least, the unconverted remnant of it,) should still feel that it has received but partial justice at the hands of Catholics, what has it to say to the amount of misrepresentation it has encountered at the hands of others, the Evangelicals, for example, or Drs. Whately and (peace to his soul!) Arnold, nay, even the so-called “successors of the Apostles,” in its own communion? Why inflict “all this tediousness” on us? Why, above all, O ye degenerate sons of the prophets, have you joined with those who were farther, to turn against those who were nearer,—patched up your quarrels with the Evangelicals and Erastians, who have never retracted one of their sayings about you, while you have now no kind words

for us, who supported you against both, and who, though we have felt, and still feel, it a duty to protest against your groundless claims, and to condemn your present most absurd and most unjustifiable position, have never wilfully misrepresented you, nor ceased to pray for you and to love you?

And this brings us naturally to the last topic of defence which we venture to set up on the side of our author, both as respects his original estimate of the Oxford party, and his present adherence to that estimate. Has not the Oxford movement discredited itself, to a certain extent, by its later issues? If its best friends be inclined to resent our author's view of it as originally too severe, have not they also, in their turn, formed judgments, whether of measures or of men, which later events have shown to have been far too favourable? Could there have been in the party, *as a party*, the amount of good which was once supposed of it, when its remnant has so conspicuously failed, (up to this time,) in vindicating its original and most characteristic principles? Could that have been a real zeal for orthodoxy which, after having striven with what looked like a martyr-spirit, for the true doctrine of baptism, for instance, now seems to rest contented with a Judgment which tosses over this cardinal point to the category of *ἀδιόφορα*, and which, as the time for any formal and united protest against it is now gone by, must be looked upon as acquiesced in by the Established Church at large? Or how, again, does the present attitude of the party, with respect to the State, consist with that vigorous struggle for ecclesiastical independence in which the movement had its origin? Is the temper of the civil government so far more friendly to ecclesiastical liberty, (in whatever quarter,) now in 1853, than it was twenty years ago, that the apostolic voice should be hushed, the "Apostolic Lyre" hung up, which then fulminated so loudly against the usurpations of the "Regale," or sighed so plaintively for the spirit of Laud and A'Becket? If we are misjudging appearances now, as we are charged with misjudging them before, or in so far as we do so, may God forgive us! But if we be right, (and we confess we do not see how we can be much mistaken,) in supposing that the hateful spirit of expediency is now a ruling principle with a party once so free from it, and so just in their condemnation of it; that the dread of defection from its ranks is gradually taking the place, as a

motive to action, of a simple loyal love of truth and zeal for souls, then it may not have been so serious a miscalculation, which discerned from the first the prognostics of most subtle mischief to the Church in this party, so keenly as perhaps to induce a momentary oversight of the essential good which was mixed up with it.*

And here, at length, we close our chequered task, in which the contemplation of so much that is sorrowful is suggested by the memory of so much that is joyous. And we close it with two different but conspiring prayers; the first, that the mournful vaticinations at which we have arrived, may be utterly discredited and disappointed in the sequel, through the agency of that blessed and all-powerful Spirit of God, which can yet give to our longing desires, now one and then another, of those that at present withstand us.

The other prayer is for him, the theme of many tongues, the "cynosure" of many a loving and many a malignant eye, to whose untiring zeal, unflinching firmness, and unbounded generosity of feeling, the Church in England is so largely indebted, and none of her children more than those who in later times have been drawn from heresy to her embrace, sheltered in her bosom, and nerved to action in her service. It was the panegyric of one who wore in Pagan Rome the imperial purple which has descended upon him; not now as the note of worldly sovereignty, but as the ensign of ecclesiastical sway; that he "found the Eternal City of brick and left it of marble."† Assuredly we might wish, perhaps we might argue, a like eulogy, in the page of the future historian, for one who has made the Church in England the chief object of his care, throughout the whole course of his eventful life. It may have to be said of him, too, that he found, indeed, the ground-works of the city secure, its walls solid, its ramparts impregnable, but that he left it far more glorious than he found it—invested with new beauty, enriched by new resources, invigorated in its power, and amplified in its boundaries. This may, this will, have to be said by those who behold the further advances of that work, of which we are privileged to observe but the beginnings and the actual progress. "Laudabunt alii;"—be ours the humbler, (and we are well sure that to the subject of our interest it will be the more grateful,) theme, to say, at once

* See *Essays*, vol. ii. "Position of the High Church Theory."

† *Lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit.*

for him and with him, "DEUS DOCUISTI ME A JUVENTUTE MEA, ET USQUE NUNC PRONUNTIABO MIRABILIA TUA: ET USQUE IN SENECTAM ET SENIUM: DEUS NE DERELINQUAS ME, DONEC ANNUNTIEM BRACHIUM TUUM GENERATIONI OMNI QUÆ VENTURA EST, POTENTIAM TUAM, ET JUSTITIAM TUAM, DEUS USQUE IN ALTISSIMA, QUÆ FECISTI MAGNALIA."*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852.* By JOHN FORBES, M.D. F.R.S.; Hon. D. C. L. Oxon.; Physician to Her Majesty's Household; Author of "A Physician's Holiday." With a map and illustrations. London: Smith and Co., Cornhill.

THE great thing to be desired from a traveller in Ireland is *impartiality*, and we consider that we have it in this author, palpably not only to Catholics from their previous knowledge of his subjects, but also to Protestants, to whom in this respect he presents no assailable point. Dr. Forbes' character and position are guarantees, not only for his ability, but for his sound Protestantism. The mildness of his temper and judgment are apparent in every line of his book, and he has taken the best means of keeping to truth, by writing down on the spot his impressions, with the occasion of them, upon general subjects; and referring to the best authorities, where accurate statistics were required as the basis of an opinion. It is then really something more than a coincidence that we should have this calm, gentlemanly, kindly-tempered work, to offer as an antidote to the bitter party spirit, reckless assertion, and unscrupulous malice of Sir Francis Head; let us hope that our adversaries will give at least equal weight to the one as to the other; or rather, (having but little hope in their justice,) let us leave their decisions to be, as heretofore, overruled by Divine Providence, and consider for a moment these 'Memorandums' with a view to our own satisfaction. Upon all the topics mis-

* Ps. lxx. 17-19.

represented by our adversaries, with the view of wounding us in our Catholic sympathies, Dr. Forbes' truthful statement gives us full satisfaction, confirming to the utmost our previous convictions: upon the character of the Priesthood—of the faithful Irish people—upon the substantial failure of all the late attempts to shake their faith—and the halo of glory with which the abundance, excellence, and variety of charitable institutions have crowned this nation, so poor in this world's goods, so highly favoured in another sense. Of the Priesthood Dr. Forbes speaks always highly; cautiously he measures his praise, but it is genuine and full; he remarks that "all I have yet heard of the Roman Catholic Priests, in the districts through which I have passed, is extremely creditable to their character and conduct. They seem to be most zealous in the discharge of their sacred duties, and most blameless in their lives."—vol. i. p. 88. Further on he tells us, "I heard but one report of the Priests, and that was that their character and conduct were uniformly excellent and exemplary."—vol. ii. p. 74. He praises their "kindness," their "laborious and ascetic lives," their "moderation;" exonerates them from most of the charges made against them; and points out the lawful excuses, or superhuman temptations which may be alleged for occasional political violence. Dr. Forbes, a man of education himself, does full justice to the noble College of Maynooth, to the numerous, well-conducted, well-attended schools which so distinguish Ireland; and to the Religious Orders who devote themselves to education. These latter he even thinks might, without derogation, be adopted into the Protestant system! But the testimony rendered by Dr. Forbes to the Irish people is most full and genial; he visited them in their cottages, attended at their chapels, chatted with all who came in his way; he praises their kindly qualities. "The Irish," the English settlers said, "were friendlier and kindlier to each other, went more to the houses of one another, and so had more pleasure than their countrymen in England."—vol. i. p. 39. He bears this testimony (amongst many others) to their temperance. "In Galway, as in every other place visited by me in Ireland, I did not meet a single person in a state of intoxication, nor could I discover any signs of this vice being prevalent, or even at all in existence."—vol. i. p. 244. He adds, "I never met with

one among them who was not a sincere believer, and with very few indeed who might not fairly claim to be both religious and pious. In speaking of their individual misfortunes and distresses, they almost invariably comforted themselves with the expression that such was God's will; and with the prayer that they might, by His grace, be enabled to bear what had befallen them. Even in the ordinary proceedings of life, along with a remarkable freedom from swearing and all other sorts of bad language, they generally exhibited, at least elderly persons did, a degree of reverence towards the name of God which is rarely witnessed in Protestant countries, the women curtseying, and the men raising their hats from their heads, whenever they had occasion to name that name."—vol. i. p. 286. We do not wonder at the sound doctrinal explanations elicited from them by Dr. Forbes upon several points, (with a view to seeing whether they understood what they professed,) still less are we surprised at their generous charity, shown even by those who had to beg themselves; at the purity of the women, at their strong natural affection, faithful, and pure; (to which, alas! we could find so many unfavourable contrasts in England;) at the gaiety of hearts at peace with God, the overflowing Churches, the fervent Sabbaths, innocent, although concluded by a dance, in which, "if the Priest should hear a hint of anything wrong or unbecoming, he will surely be down upon them directly." And are these people to become Protestants? Is the hope of Ireland to depart from her at the bidding of Irish Mission Societies of endless denominations? Let not the good people of Exeter Hall delude themselves with such an idea. We could almost laugh at the cautious timidity with which the conscientious Protestant doctor touches upon this point. "Although well aware (he says, of Augherard and Clifden) of the great conversion movement in this part of Ireland, and consequently not disposed to overlook a matter so interesting and important, it is nevertheless true, that its existence would hardly have been revealed to me by anything that fell under my own immediate observation as I passed through the country. Everything that I saw and heard indicated the presence of the same Catholic people, and the same Catholic institutions, which I had hitherto seen in every district, town, and village visited by me in Ireland. I saw and heard very little more of Protestants or Protestantism than elsewhere, except I made spe-

cial enquiries of those specially interested in the question."—vol. i. p. 245. And by shrewd remarks, and statistical calculations, the Doctor proceeds to confirm his own impressions, and quite to satisfy us, that, although we can hardly grieve too much for the loss of even a single soul, (and these missionaries of Mammon have certainly caused the loss of many,) yet, speaking of this religious change as a national movement, Ireland has nothing to fear, and may defy the devotional "stir-about" and stirring up with which she has been visited. But we must not follow Dr. Forbes any further; we have no space to point out how even his guarded admissions afford corroboration to the truth of our country's grievances; nor can we dwell upon the solid grounds he adduces for hope for the future. We can but recommend the book for general perusal. Catholics should read it for their own sakes. Protestants should read it in justice to those against whom they are so fearfully ready to utter the bitterest words and the most cruel judgments.

II.—*Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, Foundress and first Superioress of the Sisters or Daughters of Charity, in the United States of America, with copious extracts from her writings, and an historical sketch of the Sisterhood, from its foundation to the present time.* By CHARLES J. WHITE, D.D. New York: Dunigan and Brothers, 1853.

The biography of this admirable woman is in every respect edifying. She was a great saint; and Divine Providence was pleased to work great things by her, of which the Church in America is now reaping, and may, we trust, for ages enjoy the fruits; but she possessed one attribute in a peculiar degree,—she was the saint of domestic life. Admirable as a wife, daughter, and sister, her expansive affections won the love of a large circle of friends, which she returned with a warmth of which many hearts are not capable; and more than this, she was early left a widow, with five children dependent upon her for everything; their Protestant friends would have taken them, upon what terms we need not specify;—no one would help the estranged convert to rear her children in the faith she had embraced, and would have died for. In every relation of life she did her duty as devotedly, and with as much tenderness, as if that had been the sole claim upon her love

her attention. In her vows as a religious, her care of her children was made an excepted case, and she solicitously watched over, liberally educated them, and guided them with as much sense as piety. She directed her sons living in the world, tenderly nursed her daughters through their grievous illnesses, and mourned them with all the yearnings of a mother's heart, even while she resigned them. Who would not say, "This was a full life." But Mother Seton was mistress of many flourishing educational establishments, foundress and superioress of a widely-spread order of charitable religious, and was able, through all these multiplied distractions, to keep her heart tranquil and evermore fixed on God. Such a life as this is worthy of study, under whatever aspect we may consider it. We are glad that the editor has preserved so much of Mrs. Seton's diary and letters, for in them the natural character of the woman is best seen, and all its marvellous union of strength and tenderness. There is much incidental information in this work upon the state of religion, and its progress in America; and amongst the many valuable publications which have reached us from thence, we can recommend this one as the most interesting.

III.—*Language, as a means of Mental Culture and International Communications; or Manual of the Teacher and Learner of Languages.* By C. MURCEL. 2 vols. post 8vo. London: Chapman and Hall, 1853.

M. Murcel has chosen too modest a title in calling his work "A Manual for the Teacher and the Learner of Languages." It may rather be described as a philosophical Essay on the study of languages. Taking a far higher range, however, than that of the merely mechanical instructor, he investigates his subject in all its details, discussing the nature, the objects, and the uses of language, as well as the varieties of its structure, and the means for its acquisition. In the course of this enquiry he leaves no point even remotely connected therewith unexamined. Indeed, the plan which he has adopted leads him to a full and laborious discussion of the whole subject of education, not merely in reference to language, but to the entire development of the mind.

In like manner, in discussing the subject of language, he does not confine himself to a merely practical collection of precepts or principles, but begins by an elaborate phi-

losophical investigation of the nature and significance of language, from which he deduces the principles upon which his practical system is based.

Nevertheless, while it applies itself thus to the theory of the subject, M. Murcel's work, unlike those of theorists generally, is eminently close and practical in its details; and although, in some particulars, it carries theory to an undue and excessive length, yet there are few teachers or students, however practical, who may not read it with advantage. As an Essay on the principles to be followed in the *purely intellectual* development of the mind, not alone in reference to language, but to all the other departments of secular knowledge, it must be described as a work at once of great originality and extensive research. But we must add that it altogether excludes, or at least ignores, the religious element in education.

IV.—*Henry Suso's (surnamed Amandus) Little Book of Eternal Wisdom.* Translated from the original Mediæval German. By RICHARD RABY, author of "The English Pope Adrian IV.," &c. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1853.

We are told of this work, that when it was first given to the world, upwards of 500 years ago, the impression it produced resembled that of the Imitation of Christ at a later period; and it is still the delight and consolation of devout minds, especially in Germany. It is composed of meditations chiefly on the sufferings of our Lord; and which are carried on in the form of Colloquies between the Eternal Wisdom and the human soul; and partly in reflections and prayers for different seasons. How far these devotions will suit the general taste we cannot judge; but many certainly will delight in them, for they are full of spirituality and fervour.

V.—1. *The Love of the Good Shepherd for his Flock.* A series of Meditations on the Life and Sufferings of our Lord. Compiled from various sources. By a member of the Ursuline Community. Cork: O'Brien, 1853.

2. *The Treasury of Prayer.* A new Manual of Devotional Exercises. With the Masses and Prayers used by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul. Cork: O'Brien, 1853.

Among the recent contributions to our devotional literature, we have selected these volumes, as deserving of special notice. The "Meditations" are among the most

solid and practical which we have met for a long time; and the selection of prayers which compose the little Manual are marked by the same character of solidity. We are very much delighted with the exceeding beauty and accuracy of the typographical execution; and we cannot refrain from expressing our gratification at this new evidence of the enterprise of the Catholic press from which they emanate, and to which we are already indebted for several other interesting and valuable doctrinal publications.

VI.—*The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary; or Ritualism self-illustrated in the Liturgical Books of Rome.* By the Rev. GEORGE LEWIS. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Clark, 1853.

Mr. Lewis has chosen the Ritual as the ground of his attack on Rome, chiefly, he informs us, because it is her reputed stronghold, and because a morbid feeling of admiration for it has been the acknowledged motive by which many of the recent deserters from Protestantism have been attracted. His strictures, however, we feel assured, will have very little effect in checking the movement, or diminishing the temptation. They exhibit neither learning, originality, nor taste. They are conceived on the very lowest ultra-Protestant, we may almost say rationalist principles. And fortunately he has supplied the best and most satisfactory antidote to them all by printing at full length the English translation of the magnificent services which he professes to depreciate. We willingly trust our faith upon the issue.

VII.—*Willitost, or the Days of James I.* Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1851.

The object of this interesting tale, is by tracing the fortunes of two English Catholic families of different degrees, to give a more vivid idea, in various forms, of the cruelty, and searching ingenuity of the persecution which our forefathers suffered in those wretched times in which the scenes are laid, and which was so prompted by cupidity, so sharpened by the legal subtlety of the age, and so fiercely bigotted, that when we consider it, we are less astonished at the terrible losses the Church sustained, than that she should have saved even a remnant of the fold. The author has given instances of the mode in which the penal laws

affected private life ; they are not overstrained, but such as must have continually occurred, to bring desolation into many a happy home, to kill the hopes of the young, try the faith of the aged, to surround each act of charity with terror, and render conversion to the truth an act almost of martyrdom.

Divine Providence was their comforter in these afflictions, and will be the comforter of those who suffer *now* from the same persecuting spirit, acting in the hearts and on the lips of men, if not in the laws of the land. To do honour to the memory of departed confessors, and excite the courage of those now suffering, has been the twofold purpose of this little work, dedicated to the Catholics of England, by an American.

VIII.—*A Medal of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, and Metropolitan.* By W. E. BARDELLE. Richardson and Son : London, Dublin, and Derby.

Mr. Bardelle's likeness of His Eminence is certainly very pleasing, and we think also correct. It has been submitted to many persons, (and we believe to the Cardinal himself,) all of whom have expressed themselves more or less favourably with regard to it. The reverse side of the Medal has the Cardinalitial arms (which are very beautifully executed,) with the words, "Nicolaus, Cardinalis Archiepiscopus Westmonasteriensis."

IX.—*The Virgin Mother and the Child Divine*, by the author of "Lost Geneviève," &c., &c. In two vols. Dublin : 1851.

We have great pleasure in recommending this very pretty work to the attention of our readers, especially the young. It will be successful, we are sure, in exciting in their minds the tender devotion which has animated the pen of the author. Little can be said that is new upon the lives of the Holy Family ; yet earnest love and meditation will give to some more than to others, a deep and tender insight into these mysteries. There is also an art required, and to which we think our author has happily attained, in combining the great practical lessons to be derived from them ; so that neither shall the simple, lowly, and natural type of the Christian family be lost sight of, nor the unspeakable greatness of the three personages be obscured by earthly details. We need scarcely say, that every beauti-

ful legend of our Lady's life has been collected and interwoven in the narrative, which is full of touching and devout reflections; with one of which, upon the character of our blessed Lady, we will conclude our notice:—

“But it is not to the great and sublime, in the history of our Lady, that I would call your attention; it is rather to that which seems, though it is not, the little and the low; for if she was the Bride of heaven, and the Mother of the Most High, she was also the spouse of a poor carpenter, and the mother of One who chose to be considered as the lowest of his nation. Her soul was like a perfect instrument, ranging from the highest to the lowest tones, without a break or discord to mar the beautiful harmony of the whole. Every virtue and every shade of virtue, may be found in it; and the young and the virgin may dwell with her in the temple; the wedded and the parent may study her at Nazareth; while those called to yet higher perfection, or to anguish of body, or desolation of soul, may stand beside her on the heights of Mount Calvary, and learn from her to suffer and be still.”

X.—*Westminster Abbey and its Associations: Two Lectures*, delivered at Westminster, on the Feast and Octave of St. Edward the Confessor, 1852; with Notes and an Appendix, the latter containing a sketch of His Eminence's recent Lecture on the same subject, and other interesting matter. By WILLIAM REES GAWTHORN.

These interesting Lectures were delivered at Westminster during the Octave of St. Edward the Confessor, (in aid of the St. Mary's Church Enlargement Fund,) and we believe were very favourably received. They are published by request, and are calculated to do good. The many extracts which they contain from various sources on subjects connected with the establishment of the Hierarchy and the Anglican claims, greatly enhance their value; the historical account of the ancient Abbey, and its vicissitudes, is also very interesting. St. Edward is one of the patrons of the Diocese of Westminster, the others being Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, and the Prince of the Apostles.

XI.—*Poems, Narrative and Lyrical*. By EDWIN ARNOLD, of University College, Oxford. 12mo. Oxford: Macpherson, 1853.

With many dispositions to encourage a young and unpractised writer, we cannot speak favourably of this volume. Mr. Arnold's verses belong to that large, and not very

interesting class, which has been styled the "Poetry of the Million." We regret to say that they do not appear to us either to possess much poetical merit in themselves, or to bespeak much promise of future eminence in their author.

XII.—(1) *Meditations on the Mysteries of our Holy Faith; together with a Treatise on Mental Prayer.* By the Ven. FATHER LOUIS DE PONTE, S. J., being the Translation from the original Spanish, by JOHN HEIGHAM. To which are added, the Rev. F. C. BORGIO's *Meditations on the Sacred Heart*, translated from the Italian. In six vols., vol. 2. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin and Derby. 1852.

(2) *Meditations on the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ*, being those taken from a Novena for the Feast of the same. Translated from the Italian. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin and Derby. 1852.

These two series of meditations are, as will be seen from their title pages, intended to form one volume; both appear to be of a highly practical character. We need not speak of their learning, or their deep devotion; the names of the venerable writers give assurance of all that in these respects the heart of a Christian can desire. But we may say that the subjects of the meditations, the mode of dividing them, and the short beautiful colloquies attached to each head, and which are really models of mental prayer; are such as to make them eminently and generally useful.

XIII.—*The Poetical Work of John Edmund Reade.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1852.

These poems are of considerable pretension, and unquestionable merit; they deserve a more careful analysis than we have space, or indeed inclination to give to them. To say the truth, in such poetry as this we cannot take delight. Thoughts which seem deep—which are indeed oppressive mystery—make us feel that every sentence demands a seriousness and conscientious scrutiny from which we recoil alarmed, and yet which lead to nothing. —Philosophy, high sounding, solemn, yet so vague, we know not whither it would drift us:—imagery, grand sometimes, but too laboured; and all this conveyed in learned and sonorous diction, which is very heavy. Let our readers judge from this definition whether Mr. Reade can be con-

sidered as a poet. We have done the author no injustice ; we appeal to his description of his own "ideal," in his own words :—

"I sought to be
The poet, to build up my name a virtue,
Rhyming not tales of baffled passion, phases
Of the same human weakness, I aspired
To wield some world-involving argument
Shaped out from vision of deep thought, some text
To expound from nature's book, my audience
The universal man ; to inspire the soul
And tone it for great acts. I would have opened
The doors of life, and time, and mystery,
And through half-unclosed portals caught the gleams
Of lightning revelation."—p. 290, vol. i.

Now we cannot follow Mr. Reade through all this ; but what we dare undertake to say is, that he is no genuine poet. He is a learned, highly intellectual man, of great power of thought and language ; but he has not even imagination enough to be original. He is a palpable, we will not say plagiarist, but imitator ; his "Italy" so reminds us of "Childe Harold," as frequently to recall stanza by stanza. "Cain," in addition to the radical defect of a bad selection of a subject, has a striking resemblance to Lord Byron's drama ; it is however encumbered and confused by visions upon which Lord Byron would not have ventured ; and it is deficient in the lovely pauses of beauty and sweetness, with which the poet relieved his dreary metaphysics. We could go much further, but it is an ungracious task. Mr. Reade is far too self-centred, too earnest a man, to have adopted willingly the expression of another man's mind ; but wanting innate power, he therefore wants originality, and his thoughts have assimilated themselves with those of the great poet he has studied. Yet let us not seem to pass too sweeping a censure ; to have studied and imitated Byron as our author has done, implies poetical feeling, and a great capacity—though not one of the first order. There are, moreover, occasional touches of beauty, which make us regret that we cannot conscientiously give a higher opinion of the writer's poetical merits. We will conclude our notice with one of these passages:—

"The sun is setting ; his last rays are steeping
In golden hues yon clouds that steadfast keep

Their station on the blue horizon sleeping,
Breasting the sky yet blending with the deep :
Lo, from their braided edges glittering sweep
Sharp pointed spires, in blue air faintly shown,
O'ershadowed as the sea-mists round them creep ;
Away—those shadows are to substance grown,
For Venice there doth sit upon her ocean throne !

“Yea, there she sleeps, while on the waters lying
Her spires and gilded domes reflected shine,
Twilight's last lustre 'mid their shadows dying :
Silent and lone as a deserted shrine
Reared o'er the waves clear, floating hyaline !
Ancestral Venice ! younger powers bowed down
Deeming her ancient sway would mock decline :
There still she sits, a queen without her crown,
The fading halo round her of her past renown.

“Enter—as in the vision of a dream,
Where all is strange, grotesque, mysterious, wild,
Ye glide through paths that are the ocean stream ;
'Midst marble palaces around you piled,
Looking desertion, yet unreconciled
To be the sepulchres of greatness fled ;
Where silence is a presence felt, the child
Of desolation, for ye hear no tread,
No shout, no trump, to wake this city of the dead !

“The gray Rialto's arch is left behind,
Ere memory from the past can disenthral
Visions that crowd on the bewildered mind :
Ere startled meditation can recall
Fair Venice, when her ring imperial
Wedded her green haired bride ; lo, witness stands
Yon bridge, where first with freedom's coronal
She bound her brows : when her devoted bands
Of patriots fixed their homes upon the shifting sands.

“Child of protecting Rome, wert thou not heir?
Stamp not thy records lineal origin ?
The stoic will, to suffer as to dare :
Thou who from that heaped sandbank didst begin
To cope with mightiest empires, and to win
Homage from thrones thou saw'st their rise and fall,
Roman, Frank, Lombard, Goth, and Saracen ;
Byzantium's friend or foe, until thy thrall
Owned the wide East, and paid her tribute to thy wall.”—

p. 22. vol. ii.

XIV.—*Little Mary's Hymn-Book*, Part I., by M. WALFORD, a convert Anglican Clergyman. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.

This book is dedicated, by permission, to the Very Rev. Father Faber, and contains some very simple hymns for Catholic children. It would be found useful among the children of our poor-schools, as well as among those of the higher classes. We believe that a second number is in progress.

XV.—(1) *The Forest*, by J. V. HUNTINGDON, author of "Alban" and "Lady Alice."

(2) *Bedfield, Clinton Hall*. New York: 1852. London: Dolman.

We are not acquainted with "Alban" and "Lady Alice," and had they not been mentioned, should have been inclined to fancy this, the *first* work of the author. There is a kind of RAW freshness,—of unconsidered originality about it, which would not be found in a *practised* English writer. Most of our readers have been delighted with descriptions of 'Life in the Far West,' and to these the hunting scene with which the story opens, with all its accompaniments, of forest scenery, will be in some degree familiar. The heroine—Mary de Groot—is travelling through the forest, to the Adirondack Lakes, accompanied only by an Indian messenger and her own servant, to rejoin her father, who has fallen sick amongst a tribe of Christian Indians; meeting with Alban Atherton, a former friend, she accepts his escort: and with them as a companion to Mary, goes a young girl, the pretty, puritan cousin of Atherton, whose love for him serves afterwards to guide her to the truth, and to a cloister. The adventures which befall the little party upon their journey, remind us in some degree of Cooper; and their reception by the truly Primitive Christians and their priests, with the life-like picture which follows, of the habits, manners, and devotions of these people, is very interesting. The dying father of Mary is an Infidel, he had refused the last request of his wife, to bring up her infant child in the Catholic faith, but now desires to wed this, his heiress,—a Catholic almost by miracle,—to the Catholic Atherton; whom he exhorts in vain, to believe what he pleases, but not to adopt outwardly a faith "detested by a great mass of his countrymen, and thereby to render himself an out-cast." There follows a strange maze of religion and

passion. Many passages show power, and a knowledge of the human heart ; but all are—as it were—unshaded, wanting in the depth, the refinement, the FINISH of delineation which we are accustomed to, in our better class of novelists. Mary undertakes a pilgrimage to the grave of St. Catherine the “Martyr of the Iroquois,” for the recovery of her father. She goes accompanied by Indian women, on foot, in hardship and humility, into the forest. Wild perils await their return, but she is saved, her father miraculously recovered ; and all ends well. The story is short, too sketchy and abrupt, more, indeed, like a series of flitting pictures, than an earnest narrative of human life. We believe, however, that with greater attention to the development of his characters and story, the author might produce a work of first-rate interest.

XVI.—*The Saints and Servants of God*,—*St. Jane Frances de Chantal*, *St. Rose of Viterbo*, and *Blessed Mary of Oignies*. Vol. 33. Richardson and Son : London, Dublin, and Derby.

We have to congratulate our readers, and the editor and translator, too, on the appearance of another volume of this excellent series. It completes the life of St. Jane Frances de Chantal (which was begun in the preceding volume), and gives us, besides, the admirable lives of St. Rose of Viterbo, and the Blessed Mary of Oignies. The life of St. Rose and that of the Blessed Mary are such as are more particularly adapted to the use of devout Christians living in the world ; as the former, not being permitted to enter the convent of St. Mary of the Roses, voluntarily adopted the rule of St. Clare as well as that of St. Francis, even while she lived in the house of her parents ; and the latter, being married in early youth, converted her husband to a religious life, and practised with him the higher life of perfect chastity. The account of the miraculous appearance of our Lady to St. Rose, of the miracles which the latter wrought while living, and of the miraculous translation of her body from the church of St. Mary at Viterbo to the monastery which she was forbidden to enter during her life, will be read with the very deepest interest.

Archdeacon Wilberforce's interesting work on the *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* has been received too late for notice in our present number. It is, however, of so important a character, that we shall not fail to give it our earliest attention.

